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THE

Parliamentary Debates

FROM

THE YEAR

1803

TO THE PRESENT TIME:

FORMING A CONTINUATION OF THE WORK ENTITLED
"THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1803."

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

T. C. HANSARD.

VOL. XIV.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD
FROM
THE ELEVENTH DAY OF APRIL
TO
THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF JUNE
1809.

LONDON:

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1812.

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LIST OF HIS
MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,
FROM
JANUARY TO JUNE 1809.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. George Canning	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart.	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymaster-general.
Right Hon. Charles Long	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Postmaster-general.
Earl of Sandwich	
William Huskisson, esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE

Parliamentary Debates

During the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Twenty-first, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Nineteenth day of January, 1809, in the Forty-ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King GEORGE the Third. [*Sess.* 1809.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 11, 1809.

[MINUTES.] On the motion of Mr. Huskisson a new writ was ordered for the borough of Eye, in the room of the hon. H. Wellesley, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Mr. Campbell moved that a new writ be issued for a member to serve for the borough of Air, &c. &c. in the room of col. John Campbell, deceased.—On the motion of Mr. H. Martin, it was Ordered, 1. That there be laid before this house an Account of the Fees received at the Privy Council office from the 25th of March 1808 to the latest period to which the same can be made up, and of the application thereof, shewing the receipts and payments of every quarter, and specifying the amounts paid for the salaries and establishments of the said office, and the sums paid into the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer: 2. An Account of the gross produce of the Fee Fund belonging to the several offices of his majesty's secretaries of state for the foreign, home, and war departments, during the years respectively ending on the 31st of Dec. 1807 and 1808, specifying the amounts received in each year, and the application thereof: 3. An Account of the gross produce of the Fee Fund belonging to the office of his majesty's secretary at war, during the years ending respectively on the 31st of Dec. 1807 and 1808, specifying the amounts received in each year, and the application thereof: 4. An Account of the gross produce of the Fee Fund belonging to the office of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, during the years respectively ending on the 31st of Dec. 1807 and 1808, specifying the amounts received in each year, and the application thereof.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that previous to the recess he had given notice that he would on an early day move for the revision of a motion made by an hon. admiral (sir C. Pole) for the printing of the Report of the Commissioners of Naval Revision, and a notice on that subject stood for this day. He had, however, conversed with the hon. baronet on the subject since he came into the house, and understanding from him that he would be contented with the Report itself, without the Appendix, which was very voluminous, he should have no objection to the hon. admiral's motion to that extent. He could not, however, avoid mentioning the vast expence which the public was put to in the article of printing the Papers of that house. Certainly every member had a right to any paper laid on the table of that house, and where the whole, or part was actually necessary for the due investigation of any matter to be brought before the house, it was right such papers, or parts of them, should be printed for the general use and advantage of every member's being in possession of the subject: he hoped however, that gentlemen would duly consider how far any paper was really essential before they moved for the printing of them.—Sir C. Pole said, that he was never more surprized than when he saw the statement of the right hon. gent.

who had just sat down, that the printing the Report he had moved for, would cost from 15 to 20,000*l.* He had no idea of incurring even the twentieth part of that expence. But as that was a Report of gentlemen who had been chosen to revise the acts of others who had been previously appointed to enquire into the transactions of a most important department, he thought the printing the Report would be highly necessary: but as he found the Appendix was so very voluminous, he was willing that the order made on the motion, which he had brought forward on a former night, should be discharged, and a fresh order made, comprehending only the Report, which was accordingly done, and a new order made, that the Report be printed without the Appendix.

[Papers relating to Spain and Portugal.]—Mr. Secretary Canning presented the following

PAPERS

relating to SPAIN and PORTUGAL.

No. I.—*Extract of a* Letter *from Sir John Moore to Mr. Frere. Dated, Salamanca, 27th Nov.* 1808.

The conversation which Mr. Stuart states you to have had with the [   ] and the remonstrances with which you have followed it, are perhaps as much as can be done by you in your situation. The effect produced upon the   and the measures which he said were determined, are very good, if we were looking to events six months hence; but the situation in which we are, calls for something more efficient and energetic; Madrid is threatened, the French have destroyed one army, have passed the Ebro, and are advancing in superior numbers against another, which from its composition and strength promises no resistance, but must either retire or be overwhelmed; no other armed force exists in this country; I perceive no enthusiasm or any determined spirit amongst the people. The French cavalry, even in parties so weak as eleven or twelve men, enter the villages in Leon and the neighbouring provinces, and raise contributions without opposition.—This is a state of things quite different from that conceived by the British government, when they determined to send troops to the assistance of Spain. It was not expected that these were to cope alone, with the whole force of France, but as auxiliaries to aid a people who were believed to be enthusiastic, determined and prepared for resistance. It becomes therefore a question, whether the British army should remain to be attacked in its turn, or retire from a country, where the contest, from whatever circumstances, is become unequal.—I wish to throw no responsibility off myself, which properly belongs to me; the question is not purely a military one, but belongs as much to you as to me to decide upon it. Your communications with the Spanish government, and the opportunities you have had of judging the general state of the country, enable you to form as just an estimate of the resistance which is likely to be offered; you are perhaps better acquainted with the views of the British cabinet; and the question is, what would that cabinet direct, were they upon the spot to determine? It is of much importance that this should be thoroughly considered. It is comparatively of very little consequence, in whom shall rest the greatest responsibility; I am willing to take the whole or a part; but I am very anxious to have your opinion. The movements of the French give us but little time for discussion. As soon as the British army has formed its junction, I must, upon the supposition that Castanos either is beaten or retires, march upon Madrid, and throw myself into the heart of Spain, and thus run all risks, and share the fortunes of the Spanish nation, or I must fall back upon Portugal: in the latter case, I fall back upon my resources in Lisbon, cover a country where there is a British interest, act as a diversion in favour of Spain, if the French detach a force against me, and am ready to return to the assistance of the Spaniards, should circumstances again render it eligible.—By marching into Spain, I detach myself from my resources, and should probably be able to take with me a small portion of the military stores I have brought forward; in which case I should not be equal for a time to much contest, but every thing would be sent from Lisbon to Cadiz, and from thence join me. The movement into Spain is one of greater hazard, as my retreat to Cadiz or Gibraltar must be very uncertain; I should be entirely in the power of the Spaniards. But perhaps this is worthy of risk, if the government and people of Spain are thought to have still sufficient energy and means to recover from their defeats, and, by collecting in the south, be able, with the aid of the British army, to resist, and finally to repel the formidable attack which is prepared against them. It is impossible not to wish that the Spaniards may be at last successful in a struggle which does them so much honour. They are a fine people. But I much fear the opportunity is now passed, and no effort they are likely to make will be sufficient, or in time to stand the armies they must engage. Upon this subject however I cannot be very decided, and shall be most happy to find myself mistaken.

No. II.—*Extract of a* Letter *from the right hon. J. H. Frere, to Sir John Moore. Dated Aranjuez, 30th Nov.* 1808.

With respect to a retreat upon Portugal, I wish to confine myself to a simple political opinion, which, supposing other considerations not to be decidedly adverse, might, I think, determine for a retreat upon Gallicia or the strong country in the neighbourhood of Astorga in preference to Portugal, supposing of course a retreat to be already determined upon as absolutely necessary. If, however, you do me the honour to consult me respecting the general state of the country, and the means of resistance to be expected from it, I should say, that the provinces which you have hitherto seen, are, of all Spain, the least distinguished for a military spirit.—In the course of the late events they have been wholly passive, and have seen their country occupied successively by the stronger party; and indeed it is difficult to blame them; living in open towns in vast plains, without either arms or horses, they have neither the means of defence or escape. But even here we see that the towns have been abandoned at the approach of the French; that no magistrate has ever been brought over to take an oath of allegiance, nor have the French been able to enlist a single soldier. The whole of this country however has in all ages belonged to the party which was superior in cavalry. In the extremities of the kingdom, weaker powers have been enabled to preserve their independence for ages.—From every thing that I can learn of the disposition of the other provinces, they seem to be possessed by the most ardent and determined spirit, which, even in the event of the defeat of the levies which they are raising for the general defence of the kingdom, would lead them individually to continue a desperate resistance under the direction of their separate Juntas, with such assistance as England could afford them.—But it must, I apprehend, be the wish and intention of government on every account to prevent things from being brought to this extremity. There seem to be two modes of acting with this view, one which you state justly to be of greater hazard, inasmuch as we place ourselves effectively in the power of the Spaniards. But, as you observe at the same time with great truth, this may be worthy of risk, if the people of Spain and their government have sufficient energy to recover from their late defeats. Of the people I have no doubt; the government are new, but they are resolute, and I believe every man of them determined to perish with the country; they will not, at least, set the example of weakness and timidity, which the ruling powers and higher orders in other states in Europe have exhibited.—The military system is certainly defective; but I am persuaded that your representation, in this as well as all other points, would be listened to with the greatest deference.—If you should determine to march into Spain, exclusive of the importance of covering the capital, there are, I think, these advantages which would result from hastening the measure. We have now in Castile an army of 20,000 men, upon which Castanos is falling back; the reinforcements are daily passing through the provinces; and the addition of the British would give a force very much, I should think, superior to any thing which the French would be able to assemble by that time, especially having a strong country in arms against them on their left, the whole way from the Pyrenees. There is besides at present a great delay in the arrival of the reinforcements which were promised them, and which, if they had been sent, would by this time have composed an enormous force. There are reports, that the resistance to the conscription has been much more obstinate than usual, and the pastoral letter of the bishop of Carassone seems to imply as much.—Every great effort on the part of France has been preceded by an interval of weakness or internal disturbance; an advantage therefore which should be obtained at this moment would be of double importance, inasmuch as it would render a conscription for a third attempt upon Spain infinitely difficult. If on the other hand, the French with their present forces are allowed to maintain their present advantages, and to wait the completion of their conscription, they would pour into Spain with a number of troops, which would give them the immediate possession of the capital and the central provinces; the war would then be reduced to an absolute competition between the two countries in standing out against the waste of population, enormous as it would be on both sides. I cannot but think, therefore, that considerations both of policy and generosity call upon us for an immediate effort.—If, however, this view of the subject should not appear sufficiently clear or conclusive, to induce you to take a step which would, I am convinced (since you do me the honour to refer to me on that subject), meet with the approbation of his majesty's government, I would venture to recommend retaining the position of Astorga. The retreat from that place to Corunna would, as far as an unmilitary man may be allowed to judge, be a matter of less difficulty than through Portugal to Lisbon; and we might in that position wait for the reinforcements of cavalry from England, which would enable the army to act in the flat country, which opens immediately from that point, and extends through the whole of Leon and Old Castile.—I have already troubled you with my political reason on this head. I mention this however, in my humble opinion, only as the least objectionable of two modes of retreat. The object, I should conceive, would be to unite a force capable of repulsing the French, before they receive reinforcements. The covering and protecting Madrid is surely a matter of great moment for effect in Spain, and much more in France and in the rest of Europe; it would be a point of the utmost importance for Buonaparté to be able to publish a decree or to date a letter from Madrid. The people of the town are full of resolution, and determined to defend it in spite of its situation, which is judged to be an unfavourable one. This determination ought to be encouraged by a show of support. The siege of Madrid by a pretender to the throne, would be a circumstance decisive against his claim, even if in other respects it had been a just one.

No. III.—*Copy of a* Letter *from the right hon. J. H. Frere, to lieut. general Sir J. Moore,* K. B. *Dated Talavera de la Reyna, 3rd December* 1808.

Sir; Though I have little to add to the general representation respecting the means of resistance at present existing in Spain, which I had the honour of stating in my letter of the 30th of last month, yet the report which is just brought me by of the state in which he left Madrid, is so strong a confirmation, or, more properly speaking, so much exceeds every thing which I had ventured to say of the spirit and resolution of the people, that I cannot forbear representing to you in the strongest manner the propriety, not to say the necessity, of supporting the determination of the people of this country by all the means which have been entrusted to you for that purpose. I have no hesitation in taking upon myself any responsibility which may attach itself to this advice, and I consider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely for the present upon the decision which you may adopt. I say for *the present;* for such is the spirit and determination of the people, that if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their *ultimate* success.—You will see by the date of this, that the Junta are removed from a situation in which they were exposed immediately to be made prisoners. —They have determined to remove to Badajoz, where I shall hope to be honoured by your answer. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) J. H. Frere.

No. IV.—*Copy of a* Letter *from the right hon. J. Hookham Frere, to lieut. general Sir John Moore,* K. B. *Dated Talavera de la Reyna, 3rd December,* 1808.

Sir; In the event, which I did not wish to presuppose, of your continuing in the determination already announced to me, of retiring with the army under your command, I have to request that the bearer of this, whose intelligence has been already referred to, may be previously examined before a Council of War. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. (Signed) J. H. Frere.

No. V.—*Extract of a* Letter *from lieut. general Sir John Moore,* K. B. *to the right hon. J. H. Frere; dated Salamanca, December 6th,* 1808.

I had the honour to receive on the 2nd instant your letter of the 30th ult. [No. II. of these Papers.] in answer to that which I addressed to you on the 27th November. Had this army been united and ready to act at the time of general Castanos's defeat, much as I think it would have been risking it, yet it was my intention to have marched on Madrid, and to have shared the fortunes of the Spanish nation. If I could not have sustained myself there, I thought that by placing myself behind the

Tagus I might give the broken armies and people of Spain, if they had patriotism left, an opportunity to assemble round me, and to march forward to the relief of the capital. That this was my intention, is known to the officers with me, who are in my confidence; it is known also to lord Castlereagh, to whom I had imparted it in one of my late letters. I wished to have my opinion confirmed by yours, which was my reason for addressing you on the 27th; but had you seen the affairs of Spain in a different light, and had you been adverse to the army being committed in the heart of Spain, your opinion upon such a subject would, I may say certainly, have decided me to have altered my intention.—With respect to the determination which I made on the evening of the 28th, upon receiving from Mr. Stuart the account of Castanos's defeat, I should, had you been with me, have communicated it to you, but should never have thought of asking your advice or opinion, as that determination was founded on circumstances with which you could not be acquainted, and was besides a question merely military, of which I should have thought myself the best judge.—At that time the army was divided in three different corps, and could not possibly have been united before the 13th or 14th of this month, before which period there was every reason to believe that it would be attacked by all the force of the enemy; and after Castanos's defeat, I knew of no Spanish army from which it could receive the smallest assistance. The army I commanded was weak from separation, and, when collected, amounts only to 26,000 men fit for duty. I had been left without any communication with any of the Spanish armies; I expected no assistance from any; and it behoved me to consider the safety of the British troops. I therefore directed sir David Baird, whose corps would not have been collected at Astorga until the 4th of this month, to fall back on Corunna. I directed general Hope, by forced marches, to join me here, where I intended, if I was permitted, to wait his arrival; and I took measures for retiring with him into Portugal, with a view either to defend that frontier, and ultimately to retire on Lisbon, or to return to Spain, should any change of affairs there render it eligible.—The resistance made by the people of Madrid has occupied the French, and has prevented any corps from being detached against me. This example of enthusiastic patriotism in the capital, if it holds, may be followed by the most happy effects, if the flame communicates, and the example is followed by the provinces.—There has been no example of any such resistance in any other part of Spain, and, though I hope this will produce it, I have neither seen nor heard of such enthusiasm or patriotism elsewhere, though I trust it will prove otherwise. I cannot but consider it as doubtful, whether the people of Madrid will continue firm when they come to be pressed. If they yield, the whole is gone.—I received yesterday a letter from the Junta at Madrid. I have ordered sir David Baird to march back to Astorga, and I have stopped my preparations for retreat on Portugal. I have put myself in communication with the marquis of Romana at Leon, and, without being able exactly to say in what manner, every thing shall be done for the assistance of Madrid and of the Spanish cause, that can be expected from an army such as I command. I cannot make a direct movement on Madrid, because the passages of the Guadarrama and Somosierra are in the hands of the French: besides, until joined by sir David Baird, I am much too weak.—I have thought it my duty thus calmly to explain to you the reasons which have and do actuate my conduct, and I wish anxiously, as the king's minister, to continue upon the most confidential footing with you; and I hope, as we have but one interest, the public welfare, though we may occasionally see it in different aspects, that this will not disturb the harmony that should subsist between us. Fully impress as I am with these sentiments, I shall abstain from any remark upon the two letters from you, delivered to me (No. III. and IV. of these Papers.] last night and this morning by [ ] or on the message which accompanied them.

No. VI.—*Copy of a* LETTER *from the right hon. J. H. Frere, to lieut. general Sir John Moore,* K. B. *Dated Truxillo, 9th December* 1808.

Sir; After the representations which have been made to you from other quarters, I can hardly hope that a further remonstrance on my part can produce any effect, where high military rank and authority, and the influence of persons whom, I am told, you honour with your private esteem, have been found unavailing. The advantages which Mr. Stuart possesses in this respect will, I hope, enable him to urge to you with the warmth of personal regard, what I may be allowed to state at least with impartiality and candour towards a person with whom I am no otherwise acquainted than by the honour which he has done me by his correspondence. I mean the immense responsibility which you take upon yourself, by adopting, upon a supposed military necessity, a measure which must be followed by the immediate if not the final ruin of our ally, and by the indelible disgrace to the country with whose resources you are entrusted. I am unwilling to enlarge upon a subject, in which my feeling must either be stifled or expressed, at the risk of offence, which, with such an interest at stake I should feel unwilling to excite; but thus much I must say, that if the British army had been sent abroad for the express object of doing the utmost possible mischief to the cause of Spain (with the single exception of not firing a shot against the Spanish troops) they would, according to the measures now announced as about to be taken, have most completely fulfilled their purpose. That the defence of Galicia should be abandoned, must appear incredible. I am, &c. (Signed) J. H. Frere.

No. VII.—*Extract of a* Letter *from lieut. gen. Sir J. Moore,* K. B. *to the right hon. J. H. Frere; Dated Salamanca, 10th December* 1808.

Colonel Graham, whom I had requested to go to Madrid, returned last night. He got no further than Talavera, where he met two members of the Supreme Junta, from whom he learnt the capitulation of Madrid, with the circumstances relating to it.—I own I cannot conceive how the duke of Castel Franco and M. de Morla could have given up the town, if the inhabitants had been very resolute in their determination to defend it.—It is, I suspect, like the cry of the armies, who, to cover their misconduct, accuse their chiefs of treachery, and, in the instance of general St. Juan, put them to death.—Although I have little hope of the success of the Spanish cause, for I see no marks any where of enthusiasm or a determined spirit, either amongst the people or the government, yet, as it is possible that it may be roused, and as it is said that forces are assembling in the South, I shall unite the British army, and, in concert with the Marquis de la Romána, undertake such operations as shall appear to us best. I have not yet received an answer from the Marquis to my late letters, but I expect to receive one hourly. I do not know the number of people he has collected, but I hear they are not of a description from which much can be expected.—I have now with me general Hope's division, the artillery and the whole cavalry; which last, however, as yet amounts only to 2,200 men.—Madrid, in the state it is, must occupy a considerable portion of the enemy's force. Saragossa still holds out, and the levies in the South will attract his attention. The whole cannot be turned against us, and in a very few days I hope to have the army in readiness to act. I shall begin to-morrow to put a part of it in motion, and my wish is to unite it at Valladolid.—If, at this moment, this town, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Zamora, were armed, they could defend themselves; it would be of considerable service; as otherwise, when I go towards Valladolid, my communication with Almeida and Portugal, from whence I draw my resources in ammunition, &c. may be intercepted.—A man of energy, as captain general of this province, residing under the protection of this army, and explaining in proclamations or otherwise to the people the services expected from them, and which they might perform, would be of infinite use. The people are left too much without direction, and we cannot get, even for money, common intelligence. It is only by colonel Graham, last night, I knew the capitulation of Madrid, which happened the 3rd.—I take the liberty to state these particulars to you, as perhaps, by means of the Junta, remedies might be applied.—I shall thank you not to mention any direction in which I mean to move, but to say in general that the British army will act in conjunction with the army of La Romana.

No. VIII.—*Extract of a* Letter *from the right hon. John Hookham Frere, to lieutenant general Sir John Moore; dated Merida, 14th December* 1808.

I was last night honoured by your letter of the 10th [No. V. of these papers,] and was sincerely gratified at learning, that with hopes infinitely less sanguine than I confess myself to entertain of the success of the Spanish cause, you had determined to make an effort in its favour. A resolution taken with such views must have been in a great measure founded upon feelings similar to those which you will have seen very strongly expressed in a letter of which Mr. Stuart was the bearer, and of which I wish now to say nothing more, than that I feel highly gratified in the idea of your having partaken them with me; and that without communication between us, the same sentiments which at that very moment were influencing your conduct, were guiding my pen.—Your letter happened to be delivered to me while I was with the Junta, and I communicated such parts of its contents as were most important and gratifying to them, with the reserve which you pointed out.—You know, I presume, that general Romana is invested with the authority of captain general in Leon, Castile, Gallicia and Asturias, and I can congratulate you on having to do with a man whom you will find perfectly of a right mind, and determined to keep every man to the performance of his duty. The placing the towns which you mention in a state of defence suitable to the means of attack which the enemy might at present be able to direct against them, would, I should imagine, fall within the limits of his authority; but I shall state the subject to the Junta, and I have no doubt of their approbation of any measure which you suggest. The one of giving a temporary species of defence to the open towns has, I think, great advantages in a country like this, which is not overrun with luxury and timidity, and where a kind of provincial pride exists not only in every province, but almost in every town; the people would be animated not only against the enemy but in rivalry with each other; the enemy would be obliged to overcome, at the price of his blood, obstacles which had been opposed to him by mere labour; and a thousand barriers would be interposed against that deluge of panic which sometimes overwhelms a whole nation at once, and of which at one time I was afraid I saw the beginning in this country.—With respect to what you mention of directing the public mind by proclamation, and other means of popular impression, Marquis Romana is, with very few exceptions indeed, the man the most capable of judging rightly that I have ever seen. *I send enclosed an ordonnance* [not transmitted] which has been published in Arragon, and which has not yet appeared in the papers; I will thank you to forward it to Romana by your next opportunity, if it is not printed in the meanwhile.—You will be glad to hear that it is much approved of by the Junta, and that they are well persuaded that it is only in this way that things can be done.—The extinction of the popular enthusiasm in this country, and the means which exists for reviving it, would lead to a very long and delicate discussion; I would only say, that if I am at all right in my judgment of the cause of the evil, it is already done away by the acts of the Junta, and I trust that its effects will not long survive. I have been pressed to write to the Commander in Chief in Portugal, to reinforce the army under your command with all the troops that he can spare, and have already transmitted home a representation to that effect.—No official report has yet been received of the capitulation of Madrid, nor is it as yet by any means certain that any formal stipulation existed. Nothing has been heard from Morla, Castellar, or Castel Franco, nor is it known where they are. An order has been drawn up, and is to be published, prohibiting all persons concerned in the capitulation, or holding any command in the town, from approaching the residence of the Junta.—The army of Arragon have repulsed an attack on the 2d. Palafox's official report represents the unfortunate action of Tudela as an exceedingly bloody one, and that the French confess to a loss of 4,000 men. All the reports from Madrid represent the force of the French as very much reduced. I have heard no estimate above 26,000. Indeed all these estimates are vague; but officers who were witnesses of the attack, are confirmed in the opinion of the weakness of the enemy, by what they observed of his appearance and mode of approach.—The Junta are on their way to Seville. I follow them from hence to-morrow. This province is raising horses and men with great zeal, and sending them forward to defend the passes of the Tagus, particularly to Almaraz.—The Junta have been received with uniform respect by the people, and with great deference by the inferior Junta.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 12.

[MINUTES.] On the motion of lord Ossulston it was Ordered: 1. That there be laid before the house, a Return of all Offices regulated or abolished since the year 1782, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Commissioners of Accounts in 1787, or of the Committee of Finance in 1797, together with an account of such as have not been regulated or abolished in pursuance of such recommendation, distin-modation one-half. And indeed of the remaining half, the lamps were so badly fed with oil, that they were in general completely extinguished by one or two in the morning, so that the city was in total darkness from that hour till the return of day-light. It was wholly unnecessary for him to comment upon the many inconveniences and dangers which must result from a neglect of this sort. The next paper he intended to move for was a return of the expences incurred in opening a sewer in Capel-street, one of the most populous streets in the city. It seemed the Commissioners were very anxious to carry into effect a favourite project of their own; this project was, to make a sewer with ledges to support main pipes, and large enough for men to work in. And here he begged that the house would observe that this project had been submitted to the ablest and most eminent engineers in either country, who had one and all, after the maturest consideration, condemned it as intolerably expensive, most absurd, and absolutely impracticable. One would have expected that after such an opinion from the best judges, the Commissioners would have paused before they would have wantonly squandered away the public money in useless experiments; but so far from it, they immediately proceeded to open an immense gulph in one of the most frequented streets, widening the gulph until the very foundations of the houses were in danger, and the houses themselves were shut out from all access by the quantity of earth thrown up on each side, and all business actually suspended for three months in one of the most trading streets in the City of Dublin. So severely was this nuisance felt, that the corporation petioned the lord lieutenant, and his grace, with all his characteristic politeness and attention, interfered and put a stop to the work till the propriety of continuing it should be farther considered. The opening of this sewer to the extent of about 30 yards cost little short of 1,000*l.* The length of the pipes in Dublin exceed 50 miles, so that this circumstance in itself confirms the report of the engineers, when they stated the expence to be intolerable, and that they were equally justified in reporting the project as absurd, was evident from this consideration, that the water passing through pipes so placed must be unavoidably contaminated by the filth of the sewer, and of course be rendered unfit for the use of the inhabitants. And it was to avoid an evil of this sort that the London engineers, in laying pipes, always lay them as far from a sewer as possible; and when obliged to cross a sewer, the pipes were always made of metal. The remaining papers he had to move for would, he was sorry to say, prove to the house how little inclined the Commissioners have shewn themselves to consult the wishes of the citizens, from whom they were levying such enormous taxes. The circumstances which led to the correspondence, of which those papers would be a copy, were simply these: The commissioners of the Ballast Board, a most respectable body, had just completed a wall on the quay of Dublin, much to the ornament and security of that part of the city, and not without considerable expence to the inhabitants; scarcely had it been finished, when the commissioners of paving erected a paling under the windows of the Ballast Office, in the handsomest part of the city, and against the new wall, enclosing a sort of depôt for sand for paving, though, at the other side of the street, there was a vacant piece of ground equally near the work carrying on, and the occupation of which could have been productive of no inconvenience whatever. The ballast office commissioners wrote to them requiring the removal of the depôt upon two grounds, that it was a great nuisance to the street itself, and that it seriously endangered the new wall by the weigh that it imposed upon it. The commissioners of wide streets, conceiving it to b their duty to prevent such a nuisance i so public a situation, made two applications to the same effect. The very extraordinary answers (to give them no worse name) which communicated to these tw most respectable authorities the unqualified refusal of the paving board, will b found in the papers he now intende moving for. The grand jury also wrote and indignant at a similar refusal, presented it as a nuisance. The paving boar entered a traverse against the presentment and thus the public money designed for th improvement of the city of Dublin, an placed in the hands of those commissione for that purpose, may be thrown away i defending their wanton and outrageous i sults upon the citizens who supplied th money. The papers he now moved fo he was convinced would satisfy the hous that so far from extending the powers this board, they should rescind many those they already possess. The hon. member then concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house a return of the number of lamps taken down within the city of Dublin since the month of August, 1807; also a return of the expences already incurred in making a sewer in Capel-street in the said city; and, thirdly, a copy of the correspondence between the commissioners of wide streets, the ballast office of Dublin, on the one part, and the commissioners of paving and lighting on the other, so far as said correspondence related to a certain nuisance on Aston quay, Dublin."—The motions were then severally agreed to without opposition.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 13.

[MINUTES.] Lord Archibald Hamilton rose to give notice, that in consequence of the disclosures that had been made in the Report of the East India Committee, he should, on to-morrow se'nnight, submit to the house a motion respecting the same; and, as the disclosures were of so voluminous a nature, he thought it necessary distinctly to state, that on that day he should call the attention of the house to that part exclusively relating to the Conduct of lord Castlereagh.—Lord Ossulston moved for an Address to his majesty, praying that there be laid before the house a Return of all places, posts, and offices held immediately from the crown, whether during pleasure or good behaviour, or by reversion, or any other tenure, and, whether in the home department or the colonies, together with the nature, duty, and salaries of the respective offices, and the duties of their several institutions. Ordered.—Mr. Henry Martin moved, that there be laid before the house an Account of the Balance in the hands of the Register of the High Court of Admiralty, the Register of the Court of Prize Appeals, and the Register of the High Court of Delegates, as far as the said balances were the property of persons suitors in that court, distinguishing the balance for each year, from the 5th of Jan. 1793, to the 5th of Jan. 1809. Ordered.

[CHELSEA HOSPITAL—COLONEL GORDON.] Sir *Francis Burdett*, seeing a noble lord in his place, expressed a wish to know from that noble lord, if what he had heard with respect to the disposal of the public property to an individual was founded in fact. The circumstance he alluded to was this: he had understood that a portion of the ground belonging to Chelsea Hospital, lying along the bank of the River Thames, and particularly calculated for the air and exercise of the pensioners, had been lately consigned over to the use and possession of col. Gordon. He should forbear from commenting on the nature of such a consignment until he learned from the noble lord whether it was true, or how far it was so; and, according to the answer he should receive, he would be guided as to the nature of the parliamentary proceeding he might then think it advisable subsequently to adopt.

Lord *Castlereagh*, observing that he was particularly applied to by the hon. baronet, begged leave to assure him, that that was the first time he had heard any thing of the circumstance alluded to, and that therefore it was not in his power to give the hon. baronet any information whatever on the subject.

Mr. *Huskisson* admitted that what the hon. baronet alluded to was not altogether unfounded in fact. The state of the grounds belonging to Chelsea hospital had been submitted to the Commissioners, and it did appear that the Infirmary was inconveniently situated. It was considered that it would prove most advantageous to the interests of that institution, to have the ground that could not be better disposed of let out for building. Under these circumstances it was, he believed, that colonel Gordon had become a holder of that part of the ground.

Sir *Francis Burdett* said, that he was glad he had brought the matter before the house, as it was evident that the statement which had been made to him did appear to be founded in fact. It was clear that it ought to be followed up by every possible investigation. He thought it would be requisite that a committee of the house should be appointed to inspect the ground in question, or at least some means should be resorted to for the purpose of ascertaining the value of the ground disposed of, and the manner in which it had been disposed of; for certain it was, that if it had been disposed of in the manner in which he had been informed it was, there could be no doubt whatever that a great and serious abuse had been committed.

Mr. *Rose* professed his entire ignorance of the transaction alluded to.

Mr. *Long* confirmed the statement of Mr. Huskisson; when sir F. Burdett again rising, The *Speaker* here suggested that there was then no question before the house, and asked the hon. baronet, whether it was his pleasure forthwith to submit a motion to the house, or to give notice of such a motion?

Sir *Francis Burdett* said, that he would to-morrow submit to the house a motion on the subject.

[Breach of Privilege.] Sir *C. Hamilton* complained that a Sheriff's Officer had yesterday seized his person, in his own house, and treated him with great rudeness, which he deemed to be a breach of the privileges of the house. He moved therefore, "That Daniel Butler, the officer alluded to, do attend at the bar of the house to-morrow, to answer for the said breach of privilege."—Ordered.

[Local Militia Bill.] The order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the Local Militia bill having been read, the bill was recommitted on the motion of lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of introducing several amendments, which he felt it necessary to propose in various provisions of the bill —In reply to a suggestion made by sir Thomas Turton, relative to a particular amendment, lord Castlereagh stated, that it was his intention in this stage of the measure to propose the several amendments which occurred to him as necessary, after which he would move to have the bill re-printed, and should then be happy to hear and attend to any suggestion or amendment, which the hon. baronet, or any other hon. member, might have to propose.—Much desultory conversation then took place upon each clause and amendment, as the committee proceeded through the bill. The period for completing the local militia was extended to January next, and the bounty to volunteers raised from one to two guineas. The rank of the officers of the local militia was fixed next after the rank of officers of the original militia, and rank for rank above that of officers of yeomanry cavalry, whose rank was to follow that of officers of local militia, as the rank of the latter came next after that of the original militia. This arrangement was objected to, as insulting to yeomanry officers, by sir Thomas Turton; but his objection was over-ruled, as was also a suggestion of Mr. Dundas, that the yeomanry and local militia officers should take rank from the date of their commissions, whereby volunteer officers who should transfer their services to the local militia, would take rank from the date of their commission as volunteer officers.—On the clause to authorise lord lieutenants, upon representation to government in certain cases, to order regiments of local militia from the county for which they may have been raised, into an adjacent one to be trained, lord Castlereagh felt it necessary to explain the ground upon which this clause rested, in order to remove a misapprehension which had taken place respecting it. The sole object of the clause was to consult the convenience of the men. In many counties there were no great towns large enough to afford quarters for the local militia of the counties, in which cases it was thought desirable that there should be a power to march the regiments to be trained into an adjacent county. There were other cases in which the regiments would have to march 25 or 31 miles within their own counties, to a town capable of affording them proper quarter, whilst by being sent into the adjoining counties, they would have but a march of five or six miles to convenient accommodation during their period of training. It was solely, therefore, to remedy the unavoidable inconvenience that would result in such cases from training the regiments of local militia in their proper counties, and to promote the accommodation of the men themselves, that this clause had been introduced.—After a few words from Mr. Giles and sir T. Turton, this explanation was considered satisfactory, and the clause agreed to.—Lord Castlereagh then brought up a number of clauses which were agreed to without opposition.—The bill then went through the committee, the report was received and ordered to be taken into further consideration on Monday next.

[Irish Spirit Duty Bill.] The house then went into a committee on the Irish Spirit Duty Bill.

Mr. *Foster* observed, that when the duty should be reduced so low as to meet the wishes of the gentlemen on the other side of the house, the Irish distiller would have an advantage over the English distiller, as the latter was obliged to produce 21 gallons of spirits from 200 weight of sugar; whereas the Irish distiller need only produce 18. It therefore followed that the Irish spirits would be made stronger for the same duty. He thought it but fair to take notice of this circumstance, although he was ready to conform the duty to the wishes of other gentlemen.

Mr. *Barham* said, that while there was no spirit intercourse between Great Bri tain and Ireland, there could be no advantage gained by one over the other. He wished much that the duty should be lowered in Ireland, in order to prevent illicit distilleries.

Mr. *Marryat* was of the same opinion.

Mr. *Foster* said, that it had been his intention to reduce the duties, in consequence of the suggestions which had been made to him, from *3s. 2d.* to *2s. 10d.* a gallon. He should, however, keep himself unfettered until the next Report of the committee which were then sitting. When that Report should be presented, which would probably take place in less than five weeks, he would still hold himself at liberty to alter the present bill, or bring in an entire new one, as it should then appear proper.

After some further conversation, the Bill went through the committee, and was ordered to be reprinted, with the amendments.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 14.

[Campaign in Spain.] The Earl of Liverpool laid upon the table some further documents respecting the operations of the late Campaign in Spain, which were ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

Lord *Auckland* wished to put a few questions to the noble Secretary of State, to which, however, he did not expect or require an immediate answer. His object in putting these questions was to disentangle, as much as possible, and clear the ground for the main discussion respecting the conduct of the late Campaign in Spain and Portugal, and to endeavour to fix the leading points upon which that discussion might be expected to turn. That discussion would naturally involve not only the conduct of the war in those countries, but also the nature and tendency of the Treaty lately negociated between this country and Spain. And first, he would beg leave to ask in what sense were to be understood the terms "lawful successor," in the Article by which this country was bound not to make peace until Ferdinand 7th was restored, or his lawful successor and heirs. If it was intended not to make peace until Ferdinand 7th was restored, or until the crown of Spain was again placed on the head of the lawful successor of Ferdinand, a Bourbon, such an Article of a Treaty might expose the country to difficulties which it might not be expedient to draw upon it. If, again, the article only meant that we were to consider any person, even Joseph Buonaparté, should the choice of the Spanish nation appear to appoint him the sovereign of that country, as the lawful sovereign of Spain, he should then say the Treaty in this respect would be wholly nugatory. This, however, might be a matter of delicacy, and he by no means desired to press the noble Secretary for an answer respecting it; wishing only that he would bear in mind how material a point the consideration of that part of the Treaty must prove, in the approaching discussion. The next point he had to allude to was also a delicate one; he meant the two Letters and Message of Mr. Frere to sir J. Moore. There was no person who was more disposed than he was to make every allowance for the conduct of gentlemen in diplomatic situations; but he could not but consider the tone of these letters as somewhat out of the usual way. What must appear still more extraordinary was a message sent to sir J. Moore, desiring the bearer of the message to be heard before a Council of War, on the nature of the military plan to be adopted on the emergency in which the British army was then placed, when Mr. Frere and the Spanish Junta were themselves obliged to take to flight; and most extraordinary again must it seem, was it to be found that the bearer of such a message was a Frenchman! In what light must he have viewed the treatment to which a British commander in chief was thus submitted? These letters, this message, or the nature of it, at least, he conceived, should necessarily be laid before the house for a proper understanding of such a strange mode of proceeding. Sir J. Moore treated the letters and the message in a manner worthy of him; he could scarce believe they were intended to be seriously acted upon.—He had now to advert to another point which he had on a former occasion endeavoured to press upon the attention of the house, and that was, the facility with which the enemy was allowed to take possession of Ferrol, of the naval squadron and naval arsenal in that place. It was true that some communications which passed upon that subject between sir David Baird and admiral de Courcy had been laid before the house, but it contained no satisfactory explanation of the matter, and indeed was far from shewing that any effectual steps had been taken to secure that great national object. Here, then, was another point upon which the late Treaty bore, and which must naturally find an important place in the discussion of the merits of that Treaty, or in any discussion respecting our present connection with the issue of affairs in Spain.—The other points he had to call the attention of the noble Secretary to, might be considered of minor importance; but they were still what that house and the public should be fully and accurately informed upon. He meant a correct Return of the losses sustained in the British infantry and cavalry, which he feared far exceeded what they were generally understood to amount to. He feared the losses of both would not be found short of 8,000 men; of cavalry it was said, that 3 or 4,000 had been sent out, and that of these not more than some hundred horses had returned. He should not only wish to see it stated, how many horses exactly belonging to the mounted cavalry had been lost, but also how many belonging to the waggon-train, &c. &c. had never returned. Without due information on these matters, no complete and satisfactory estimate could be formed of the real loss sustained by the British army during the late campaign in Spain and Portugal. These questions he had proposed to the noble Secretary of State, not expecting an immediate answer to all of them, but from a wish to have it understood, that a more complete explanation of these points would be expected in the course of the approaching discussion than had yet been submitted to the house by his majesty's ministers.

The Earl of *Liverpool* acknowledged the noble lord had acted with perfect propriety, in not pressing for an immediate answer to many of the questions he had put. Indeed, most of them were rather matter of argument for future discussion than of immediate explanation; and he should therefore defer touching upon them, until that discussion came regularly before the house. With regard to Mr. Frere's Letters, and the Message alluded to by the noble lord, they had never come in an official shape into the hands of his majesty's ministers; and he therefore did not imagine they could be regularly produced or argued upon. Even in the department to which such a correspondence more regularly belonged, he did not believe that much was known of the nature of the message upon which the noble lord had laid so much stress; but whatever was known would no doubt be communicated, when that point came more immediately under their lordships consideration. With respect to the losses said to be sustained by the British army in its retreat from Salamanca to Corunna, an Account of them had been laid before the house in as complete a shape as it could well be made out; but he must entreat the house to remember, that in estimating these losses they would take into the account the losses sustained in Portugal, in the battles of Roleia and Vimiera, as well as what resulted from the retreat of the army to Corunna, and the memorable battle at that place. The whole should be embraced in a comprehensive view, and not frittered into separate and minute particulars.

Earl *Grey* could not consider the points touched upon by his noble friend, as mere matter of argument, but as questions which called for a full and explicit explanation. Could any thing be more important and urgent to ascertain, than what was the real meaning of the most important article of the recent Treaty with Spain? That article bound this country to make no peace with France until Ferdinand VII, o his lawful successor, was restored to the throne of Spain. Why, in the first place Ferdinand the VII.? What was his right to the throne in preference to Charles IV.? Or what authentic information was th house in possession of respecting tha right? Charles IV. was said to have abdicated in favour of his son; but did we know that that abdication was a voluntary one? Besides, if the Spanish nation ha thought proper to make choice of Ferdinand in place of his father, were we to acknowledge and sanction the propriety of that choice? It was true, Ferdinan would, in the course of things, have succeeded his father as the lawful successor; but upon what ground did we sanction his actual possession of the supreme power while his father lived? In this respec the house were in possession of no accurate and official information, and therefore, th thus binding the country to persist in war for his restoration, or that of his lawful successor, he held to be matter of the most serious consideration. Ministers had, however, in various documents described Ferdinand as prince of the Asturias; upon what ground was it that they now considered him as the only legitimate sovereign of Spain, in whose cause we were to co-operate with the Supreme Junta of Spain

If by 'lawful successor' was to be understood any person whom the Spanish nation might acknowledge as their sovereign, then it might apply to the present usurper; and in that case he must join with his noble friend in considering the Treaty as wholly nugatory. On the subject of the losses sustained by the British army in the retreat from Salamanca, the house were by no means accurately informed. In its consequences, that retreat would be found to have proved extremely fatal. Such was the excessive fatigue to which it exposed both officers and men, that many of those who had escaped from Spain had died since their return. These consequences must greatly aggravate the original loss, and in order to ascertain it more accurately, he should on Monday next move for some additional accounts to that effect.

Lord *Auckland* made some further observations on the dates of some of the articles of the Treaty with Spain, such as the date of the last article, which purported to be of the 21st of March last. It was impossible that this article, at least, could have been ratified. It would therefore follow, that what was before the house as a Treaty, could not as yet be regularly considered as such.

The Earl of *Liverpool* seemed to admit the force of the observation, but deferred any explanation respecting it to a future occasion.

Earl *Grey* then observed, that in order to meet the wishes of some noble lords to whom it was inconvenient to attend on Tuesday next, he would, with the permission of the house, defer his motion respecting the late Campaign in Spain till this day se'n-night, on which day he was determined to bring it forward.

[Sir John Craddock.] The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* rose, to bring under the consideration of their lordships the unpleasant situation in which sir John Craddock was now placed. Sir A. Wellesley had just been appointed to take the command of the British forces in Portugal, and that at a moment the most critical for the feelings and fame of the officer who now commanded them. Of the military talents of sir A. Wellesley, it was impossible for any man to entertain a higher opinion than he did. Neither could any man feel more admiration and esteem than he did for that gallant and distinguished officer. He still, however, could not suppress his feelings with regard to the cruel situation to which sir J. Craddock must now be exposed. Every measure adopted by sir J. Craddock since his arrival in Portugal, had, he believed, received the fullest approbation of government. It was such as might be expected from an officer who had so ably conducted himself in India, in Egypt, &c. and who was distinguished by such flattering testimonials from lord Hutchinson, and the other distinguished commanders under whom he had served. As to the insinuations which had gone abroad, respecting imprudent measures on his part respecting the native troops, he took upon himself to assert, that in no one instance had sir J. Craddock acted in a manner repugnant to their feelings, or contrary to the customs of the native troops. There were documents which he might bring forward to prove these assertions, and he was certainly prepared to take every step for the vindication of the character of an honourable officer, which to him, on many accounts, was extremely dear. What was the present situation of Portugal? By the intelligence arrived this day it appeared that Oporto was now in the hands of the French. He had also information on which he could rely, that a large hostile army was now pouring into Portugal, and that they were already on their march against Lisbon; that such was the impression made by the idea entertained there of the numbers and strength of this hostile force, that it had been in agitation to re-embark the British troops in that country, and to leave it to its fate; that such, however, were the exertions made by sir J. Craddock to collect the British force and so to station it as to prepare a decided resistance to the enemy, that the resolution of abandoning the country was given up. After all these efforts on the part of sir John Craddock, and at a moment when such a prospect of adding to his military fame was opened to him, could any thing be conceived more cruel to the feelings of an honourable mind, than to be removed from a command under such circumstances, and to be superseded by an officer so much his junior? He hoped his majesty's ministers would not impute any blame to sir J. Craddock on account of this expression of surprize and regret, which was wrung from his friendship for sir J. Craddock. If blame was to attach to any man on such an account, it was to himself alone, and his crime could only be his attachment to a friend, who, in every respect, was intitled to the exertion he could make in his behalf.

"Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum."

The Earl of *Liverpool* could not help considering the observations and the questions of the noble earl as an attack upon the prerogative of the crown, and as a refutation of all notion of the responsibility of ministers. The king had the command of the army, and to say, that for certain services, he should not propose certain officers recommended to him for such services by his confidential advisers, would be to take the command of the army out of his hands, and thus infringe on the prerogative of the crown. Ministers, besides, were responsible for the advice they gave his majesty on such occasions; but there would be an end to that responsibility, were they to be questioned upon the reasons why, on any particular occasion, they preferred one officer to another. He never should silently suffer such questions to be put, at least he should never answer them. With regard to sir J. Craddock, he, for one, had the highest opinion of his military character, and he believed the rest of his majesty's ministers entertained the same opinion of his services and merits; and he was happy to have this occasion of bearing the fullest testimony to the deserts of that gallant officer.

The Earl of *Limerick* was glad to hear the honourable testimony paid to the merits of gen. Craddock by the noble secretary of state; for the character of that gallant general must be peculiarly dear to his feelings.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire*, in explanation, said that he had no intention of putting improper questions to the noble secretary; his only wish was, to draw from him the acknowledgment the noble secretary had just made of the merits and good conduct of sir J. Craddock in Portugal.

The Earl of *Liverpool* observed, that he protested against such questions being addressed to ministers, lest it should be drawn into a precedent, and that upon occasions when it might not be in the power of ministers to speak of the commander then alluded to, as he was now able to speak of the character and conduct of sir J. Craddock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 14.

[Breach of Privilege—Arrest of a Member.] Sir *C. Hamilton* rose and stated to the house that a few days ago, being in his own house, a servant in livery came there with a note, which was brought into the room to him by his own servant, on opening which he found it was from a person he did not know, and while he was telling his servant it was a mistake, and the note was not to him, Daniel Butler the person complained of, and another man, rushed violently into the room, and Butler said he had a writ against him which he gave him to read; that on reading it, he found it was for sir John Charles Hamilton, on which he told the officer that he had made a mistake; that his name was not John Charles, but merely Charles Hamilton; that he was not the person, and, besides all that, he was a member of parliament. The officer, however, persisted that his name was John Charles Hamilton, insisted he should go with him, and behaved with great rudeness. Finding all remonstrance vain, he agreed to go with him; but previous to doing so, he said to the officer, in the presence of all his servants: "Then you persist in my attending you, notwithstanding all I have told you?" Butler answered—Yes. "And if I don't go quietly I suppose you will force me?" Butler replied—Yes, certainly. On which sir Charles went with him to his attorney and there the man being convinced of his error, let him go. Sir Charles said, he was informed by the attorney that he had no remedy against him by a legal prosecution, so that if he had not been a member of parliament, he must have put up with the insult. This circumstance happened in the afternoon, but neither in the course of that day nor the next did the officer send to make any apology. He thought it therefore his duty to state the transaction to the house, as it so materially concerned their privileges. He concluded by moving "That Daniel Butler be called to the bar."

On Butler's appearing at the bar, the Speaker told him that sir Charles Hamilton having informed the house of his having arrested him, he (Butler) would state what he had to offer in his defence for having so done. The man making no answer, and having a paper in his hand, the Speaker asked him, what paper that was he held in his hand? He answered, He could not read.—Q. Did he know the contents? A. Yes.—Q. What where the contents?—Not answering, he was asked; did he write it himself? A. No.—Q. Did he dictate it? A. No.

Mr. *Yorke* moved that he should withdraw; which having done, he moved that Butler be examined as to the statement made by sir C. Hamilton. Being called in, the Speaker asked him, "If when he arrested sir C. Hamilton, that gentleman did not endeavour to satisfy him he was not the person whom Butler came to arrest? He answered, Yes.—He was ordered to withdraw.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he believed the house could have no doubt of this being a gross breach of privilege. The hon. baronet had evinced a most patient and forbearing spirit, and as the man had not attempted to palliate his offence by the slightest apology, he moved, "That the said Daniel Butler having arrested and insulted the said sir Charles Hamilton, as stated in the said complaint, is guilty of a high breach of the privileges of this house."—Which was agreed to *nem. con.* He then moved, "That Daniel Butler, for the said offence, be committed to Newgate."—Ordered.

[WEST INDIA PRODUCE.] Mr. *C. Ellis* observed, that all persons interested in our West India colonies, must naturally be anxious to obtain the information, which he had no doubt of his right hon. friend's inclination to take the earliest opportunity of affording, with regard to Martinique. He therefore requested to know whether any, and what engagements had been entered into upon the capitulation of that island, relative to the importation of its produce into this country, and also, if that business was left open, whether it was the intention of government to allow the produce of Martinique to be imported here upon the same footing as the produce of our own colonies, or if not, upon what terms?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated in reply, that the Gazette contained all the engagements entered into upon the capitulation of Martinique. But he had further to inform his hon. friend, that our commanders had received a peremptory order not to enter into engagements upon the subject referred to by him, and it was therefore left perfectly open. He had no difficulty in adding, that it was not the intention of government that any part of the produce of Martinique should be admitted into this country for home consumption, but merely for the purpose of exportation.

[CHELSEA HOSPITAL—COLONEL GORDON.] Sir *Francis Burdett* rose, pursuant to the notice, which in his opinion he had been called upon very unnecessarily to give upon this subject, to make his promised motion. But yet he had complied with the request of a notice, as the hon. gentlemen on the other side appeared to be so ignorant of the case. At this ignorance however, he confessed himself extremely surprized, because he thought it impossible for any man to see the land upon which colonel Gordon's house was preparing to be built, or to have any idea of its situation contiguous to Chelsea hospital, and particularly to the infirmary, without being convinced that such a building should not be permitted, and that the whole bargain which gave that officer possession of this ground, ought to be revoked. It was impossible for any man to give an accurate idea of the state of this land, as it depended so much upon locality. But, from the view which he. accompanied by a member of that house, had taken of it in the course of the morning, he was enabled to assert, that such a building ought not to be tolerated. The ground upon which this building was to be erected, was, he understood, originally crown land, a long lease of which was granted to sir R. Walpole, which lease became the property of lord Yarborough. Of this lease a certain number of years were unexpired, when government thought proper to purchase it, for the benefit, avowedly, of Chelsea Hospital. But what was done after the purchase? Why, that to which he objected, as well because the proceeding would tend to spoil a magnificent establishment, as because it was a scandalous job; the effect of which would be, to deprive the Hospital of twenty times more benefit than it could confer upon the individual for whose favour it was meant. To this individual was appropriated a fine piece of land adjoining the river, which ought to have been reserved for the use of the Hospital, particularly under existing circumstances, when the great increase of our military force was so likely to render necessary an extension of the Chelsea establishment. But the alienation of this property from the Hospital, was not more to be deprecated than the manner in which it was to be used. Colonel Gordon's house was, it appeared, to be built upon the banks of the Thames, between that and the infirmary; so that this useful institution, which was already too much hemmed in by buildings and plantations, was, by colonel Gordon, to be completely shut out from the river, so indeed as to deprive the sick soldiers of the free circulation of air. It appeared to him very extraordinary that the officers at Chelsea did not remonstrate against the matter of which he complained. The government surveyor, who was resident at Chelsea, seemed deficient in his duty in not reporting upon it. He must say also that the physician and surgeon of the infirmary ought to have pointed out the grievance to which he felt it his duty to call the attention of the house. Indeed he could hardly suppose that any member who would take the trouble of walking down and looking at the premisses, would entertain a different sense of duty. It must excite any man's complaint to see an attempt made, for the accommodation of an individual, to take away from the comfort, in old age, of a meritorious body of men who had spent the greater part of their life in a hard service. It was a pity that such men should be inconvenienced for the mere purpose of a job, or at least of that which had all the appearance of a job. He should be happy if ministers could explain the business, so as to remove the impression upon his mind, that it was deserving of this character. But if they could not, sure he was, that it would appear to any visitor, as it did to him, that an infirmary appropriated to our sick soldiery, was cooped up, was deprived of the free air, so essential to their recovery, merely for the purpose of gratifying an individual. The course he meant to pursue was, first to move for a Copy of the Warrant of the Treasury, under which the grant of the land alluded to was made to col. Gordon; which warrant was, it appears, dated the 11th of March, 1809. When this Warrant should be laid before the house, he had it in contemplation to move, that the physician and surgeon of the Hospital should be called to the bar, in order to their examination as to the consequences likely to result to the sick from such a structure as that of col. Gordon, by whom it was designed to erect a wall eight feet high between his ground and the infirmary.—The motion being read,

Mr. *Long* rose and said, that as one of the Commissioners for superintending the concerns of Chelsea Hospital, he felt it his duty to pay every possible attention to the comforts of the meritorious persons resident therein; and he was certain that such also was the feeling of all his colleagues. In consequence, therefore, of the representation of Dr. Moseley, the physician to the Hospital, that an infirmary was much wanted, it being inconvenient to have the sick placed at the top of the hospital, the lease of the ground alluded to was purchased. Of this ground, all that was deemed necessary by the architect, or the medical men, was set apart for an infirmary, which was accordingly erected ; and if all the ground had been required it would have been so appropriated for the ground which remained, col. Gordon, it appeared, presented a Memoria to the Treasury, tendering terms for a lease of it. The Surveyor-General, as wa usual in all cases with regard to Crow Lands, was ordered to make a Report as t the value of the ground bid for by col Gordon, and when the Report was made according to the tenor of the act, the application of that officer was complie with, but upon terms different from those he had originally proposed. The hon. baronet was, no doubt, aware that it wa open to any other person to bid for this land. According to the act introduced by Mr. Pitt in 1794, to regulate the disposa of Crown Lands, it was enacted, that i should be referred to the Surveyor General to inquire as to the value of any suc land about to be let, and that two Surveyors should swear to that value, befor the Treasury should dispose of it. Al those enactments had been complied wit in this transaction, and therefore, if th hon. baronet would complain, his complaint must apply to the act. So far fro the contract with col. Gordon being objectionable, he really believed, that if th ground had been put up at public auctio better terms could not be obtained for i This was so strongly his impression, an he also thought any complaint relative t the hospital so groundless, that he wa fully inclined to think, that when all th papers connected with the business wer laid before the house, the hon. barone himself would feel the propriety of declining to take any further proceedin upon it. The fact was, that there was bu a small piece of this ground fit for buildin upon, the remainder being made groun for gardens.—The right hon. gent. assure the house that as much of this ground ha been set apart for the purpose of the Infi mary as the Surveyor General and th medical gentlemen thought necessar Every care was taken to guard that building against any inconvenience. To th production of the papers moved for by the hon. baronet he could have no objection. But he would move for other papers, in order that the house should be enabled to understand the whole of the case. He would move for Copies of the Report of the Surveyor General, with that of the Surveyors who valued the land; and when these papers should be laid before the house, he was confident that it would clearly appear there was no foundation for denominating this transaction a job.

Sir *Oswald Moseley* said, that having accompanied the hon. baronet to view the premisses to which the motion alluded, he was enabled to confirm his statement. The infirmary, which did not in fact occupy one-tenth of the ground purchased professedly for the use of the hospital, would, he must contend, be entirely precluded from the free air of the river by the projected buildings of col. Gordon, who occupied the remainder of this ground. In fact, col. Gordon's was by far the superior part of the ground, and that upon which the infirmary was built appeared quite damp and cold, and it must be rendered more so, if col. Gordon should be suffered to proceed.

Mr. *Long* observed, that there was a special provision in the lease granted to col. Gordon, that he should not build or plant in any way to inconvenience the infirmary. So that particular care was taken to guard against such evil as the hon. baronet had alledged to exist.

Mr. *Huskisson* generally supported the argument and statement of Mr. Long, and stated further, that the plan of the infirmary had been transmitted to the Treasury by the governors, physician, and surveyor, and they had fixed on the spot as the most convenient and best situation. Whether they were as well able to judge and determine on that head, as the hon. bart. and the hon. seconder of the motion, he would not determine. The hon. baronet had mentioned the corner in which they were cooped up as not a twentieth part of the ground granted to col. Gordon. Now, the surveyors had on oath valued the land for the infirmary at 6,000*l.* and on the same oath the land of col. Gordon was only valued at 52*l.* a year. Col. Gordon having been informed by sir David Dundas, perhaps, or some other officer of Chelsea Hospital, that the land in question was to be let for building on, had offered the terms of the valuation, and if the hon. baronet had applied and offered more than any other, he would have had it. The Treasury had been cautious that no house should be built so as to annoy Chelsea Hospital, and a particular instruction had been given on that head to the surveyor-general. The provision papers, he said, would embrace all the particulars relating to this ground, from the time of the purchase to the period of the grant to col. Gordon; and when they were produced, the hon. baronet would have no occasion to make his motion, or to call the surveyor or surgeon to the bar of that house.

Sir *John Newport* wished to be informed why it was, that, when a subsisting interest had been bought up with public money, that part of the land, which was not deemed necessary for the use of Chelsea Hospital, had been transferred to the crown lands, and not to the funds of the hospital, in as much as the lands had been originally granted for ever by the crown to the trustees of that institution?

Mr. *Huskisson* informed the hon. baronet, that the land in question, though part of the Chelsea estate, from which the grant had been made by the crown to the Chelsea Hospital, had never been granted to that institution. A lease had been granted by the crown of this land to sir Robert Walpole, and it was the residue of the term so granted that had been bought up with the public money. That part, however, of the land, which was thought necessary for the Infirmary for the hospital, had been purchased to be transferred to the use of the hospital.

Sir *John Newport* observed, that any mistake he might have fallen into had arisen from the imperfect statement of the hon. gent. himself.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* maintained, that the hon. baronet had no ground for the observation, that it was in consequence of the ignorance of his friends, relative to this transaction, that the hon. baronet was called upon yesterday to give notice of this motion. For although his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) was unacquainted with it, as he must be naturally supposed, having no connection with it, still nearly the same explanation had been given to the hon. baronet yesterday, which the house had heard to-day. But yet he was happy that the notice was called for. He esteemed that rule of proceeding, because it guarded the house, or, at least, those who might be particularly interested, against being taken by surprize; but it did more; by apprizing persons of an intended motion, those likely to be affected by it, and particularly ministers, means might be taken to counteract statements, which would otherwise go forward uncontradicted, to produce inflammatory impressions—the only object possible, in some cases, of bringing them forward. The hon. baronet was constantly jealous of persons in office. Perhaps it was a very laudable jealousy, and he did not mean to quarrel with it. But he could not help observing, that the hon. baronet looked at every thing proceeding from administration with a very prejudiced, jaundiced eye. If not, how could the hon. baronet designate the transaction under discussion as a scandalous job? How could he think of inflaming the public mind by such an assertion, without having, as it appeared, taken any trouble to enquire into the circumstances? Why, without such enquiry, endeavour to produce the impression out of doors, that in order to gratify some favoured individual, the poor sick pensioners were exposed to inconvenience, as if there was no feeling for the fate of these men but in the breast of the hon. baronet? But, let gentlemen consider the plain state of this case. It appeared, that a lot of ground was purchased for the use of the Infirmary, at Chelsea. Upon this ground the Infirmary was built, and a certain proportion of the ground remaining was unappropriated. This was the proportion disposed of to col. Gordon. If such a disposition had not been made; if the remainder of this ground had been left useless and unproductive, how probable was it that, with the jaundiced eye of the hon. baronet directed towards all ministerial measures, he would have come down to that house to complain, that ministers, that those who, in his opinion, forfeited all public confidence, by endeavouring to serve the public in office, were such improvident stewards of the public property, that they had left a certain portion of land utterly useless and unoccupied, which might have been let on good terms? But in all future dispositions of crown lands, the hon. baronet, he supposed, would rather that ministers should consult him than the surveyors appointed by law. To this idea, however, with all respect for the hon. baronet's judgment in such matters, he could not accede. The right hon. gent. concluded with expressing his confidence, that when the papers moved for were produced, they would serve to refute all the aspersions which the hon. baronet had thought proper to fling out against his majesty's ministers.

General *Tarleton* thought the hon. baronet entitled to the highest thanks for calling the attention of the house to this subject. Any attempt to diminish the convenience, or even to interfere with the beauty, of Chelsea Hospital, he should most strenuously deprecate. That building he considered as a splendid monument of the benevolence, and a gratification to the pride, of the country. It furnished accommodation to the old, and encouragement to the young soldier; and therefore every friend to the army must be anxious to preserve it unimpaired. Certainly, nothing that could tend in the remotest degree to reduce its comforts, ought to be even risked for such a sum as 52*l.* a year. But he hoped the evil complained of would be removed. Neither the receipt of rent, however considerable, nor the merit of any officer however distinguished, should reconcile him to any grant likely to interfere with the comforts of the meritorious body who occupied Chelsea Hospital. The hon. officer concluded with stating, that he should be happy to find that the papers did justify the confident language of the right hon. gent. who spoke last; but if not, he declared his intention to support the hon. baronet in his motion for bringing the Surveyors and the Medical Gentlemen of the Hospital to the bar, to be examined upon this subject.

Mr. *Rose* observed, that one would suppose from the arguments of the hon. general, that something had been taken from Chelsea Hospital to be given to a favoured officer; whereas the fact was, that when this ground was bought by government, it was left to the physician of the Hospital, the trustees, and the surveyors, to cut and carve out of it what they thought necessary for the use of the Hospital. Before the 34th of the king, the disposal of crown lands was a source of influence to ministers; but since the passing of that act, the crown lands had been let with as much attention to the interests of the public, and as accurate regard to their actual value, as the lands of any bishop, or corporate body in the kingdom.

General *Tarleton* said, he had not stated that any thing was granted from Chelsea Hospital to a favoured officer. He had only said, that he would not consent to a grant to any officer living or dead, which would be injurious to that Hospital.

Mr. *Biddulph* was glad that the atten-ion of the house had been called to this subject, because it must be productive of one good effect; that it would induce gentlemen to look into the provisions of the act of the 34th of the king, under which the disposition alluded to took place. In his opinion, a much more beneficial arrangement than that act prescribed might be provided to regulate the disposal of crown lands. That act was originally introduced upon the alledged ground of guarding against the influence of the crown; but it appeared to him, that there was still left quite scope enough for that influence to operate. The land was never advertised, and the bargains were close. Now, instead of such a mode of proceeding, he would have the land advertised, take the surveyor's report, and then sell the land by public auction. This struck his mind as a much more beneficial plan for managing the crown lands than that which was now pursued.

Sir *Francis Burdett* expressed a hope that he should experience the indulgence of the house whilst he took some notice of the allusions which the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thought proper to make to his general conduct. Those allusions were so foreign to the question before the house, and so irregular in other points of view, that he really should have hoped that the eye of the chairman would have caught that of the right hon. gent. and checked him in his high career, when imputing improper motives to the conduct of any member. This observation he made, he could assure the right hon. gent. without any feeling of that indignant warmth which appeared to actuate him. Arrogance might be imputed to him for pronouncing any opinion upon the subject of the building referred to, without inquiring about the reports of the architects and surveyors. But if he had incurred such an imputation before, he feared that still more arrogance would be imputed to him when he declared, that after hearing all that had been said explanatory of the reports, so much relied upon by the gentlemen on the other side, he continued to retain the same opinion. The right hon. gent. became, he perceived, quite angry when he talked about attaching a feeling of suspicion to the whole conduct of ministers. For himself, he was ready to say, that he should be sorry for the existence of such a feeling if undeserved; but from experience he must say, that he was highly glad to see that such a feeling prevailed, because he thought that it rested upon good grounds, and that the public mind had been too long deceived.—One right hon. defender of the transaction to which his motion referred, had stated, that the ground sold to colonel Gordon was unfit to build upon. Now, he would ask that right hon. gent. how it came that if this ground was fit for the building of col. Gordon, it was not for that of Chelsea hospital? As to the report of the physicians, it was impossible, he thought, that they could consider an Infirmary, occupying in the whole not more than a quarter of an acre of ground, as benefitted, or rather as uninjured, by a wall 8 feet high, built in such a position as to interrupt the free circulation of air. Sure he was, that no man of common sense could subscribe to the opinion. But, that such an institution should be subjected to such an inconvenience for the paltry consideration of 52*l*. a year, the idea was intolerable! He would rather pay that sum out of his own pocket, than suffer such a grievance, than allow it to exist, if it were only to prevent a magnificent public edifice from being deformed, much less to preserve the comforts of a meritorious body of veterans. Among those who attempted to argue against him he could not help noticing the hyperbole of the hon. gent. (Mr. Huskisson) in his allusion to slave ships. Now, having said nothing whatever to warrant such an allusion, it was therefore quite misrepresentation; and such misrepresentation of an opponent's argument always furnished a presumption that the person using it was wrong.—After describing the situation of the ground upon which colonel Gordon was preparing to build, the hon. baronet said, that he knew many gentlemen who would, he had no doubt, be ready to give 10,000*l*. for it. With regard to the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he looked at the whole conduct of ministers with a jaundiced eye, he assured the right hon. gent. that, on the contrary, he had no wish whatever to hamper or to supersede them. He had said often elsewhere what he would then repeat, that he thought them even as good ministers, under the present system, as any other set of gentlemen he knew were likely to make. But still he looked at them with jealousy, as he would at any ministers, and that jealousy was the natural result of the conviction upon his mind, that the public interests had not, for many years back, been attended to as they ought. When the right hon. gent. expressed his apprehension that if this ground had not been let, he (Sir F.) was such a captious person, that probably he would have brought forward a complaint against ministers for being so improvident, he would appeal to the house, whether he had manifested any disposition to warrant such an apprehension; whether, in fact, he had ever been in the habit of bringing forward such motions? He should feel much better pleased if he could consistently agree with the majority of any assembly in which he happened to sit, but while he could not do so, he would never shrink from his duty, however painful the task of performing it. As to official forms, which had been dwelt upon by the hon. secretary, the hon. baronet allowed that recent experience shewed that all those forms might be strictly complied with, while the grossest mal-practices were going forward.—After recapitulating and enforcing his arguments, the hon. baronet persisted in his intention to call the persons to the bar, who were most competent to inform the house upon this transaction, which he continued to consider a scandalous job; which, leaving the Infirmary entirely out of the question, ought not to be disposed of in a way that would take from the beauty of the hospital. The hon. baronet approved of the idea thrown out by his hon. friend, of moving that a plan of the grounds alluded to should be laid before the house. But he would recommend gentlemen to go, as he had done, to look at the building under consideration, and their own observations would, he was confident, serve more to convince their minds than any argument that could be offered upon the subject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* in explanation stated, that he did not mean to impute any improper motives to the hon. baronet. If he had done so, he was ready to apologise to the house and to him. At the same time, the hon. baronet must expect the language of irritation from him, when he characterized as a job a transaction in which he had been concerned.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* observed, that all that had been required for Chelsea hospital was granted. If those more particularly connected with the hospital had desired the whole of this ground, they would have had it. He could conceive no motive that could have induced them to ask less than was really wanted. The Treasury, he contended, had throughout strictly performed their duty, and had expressly restrained the lessee from building houses, or planting trees in any situation where they might be in the slightest degree inconvenient to the purposes of the hospital.

Mr. *G. Vansittart* wished to be informed what was the quantity of land transferred to the hospital, and what the quantity let to col. Gordon.

Mr. *Huskisson* replied, that this would appear when the plan and the papers were before the house.

Sir *F. Burdett* replied, that it consisted of four acres and a quarter, of which the quarter had been assigned to the hospital, and the four acres to col. Gordon. (Hear! hear!)

Mr. *Stewart Wortley* observed, that the Treasury had acted with all the precautions required by the act of parliament. It was a serious thing to bring a charge against the Treasury of having been engaged in a scandalous job, and then to say that the hon. baronet had been unacquainted with the circumstances under which they had acted.

Mr. *P. Moore* said, that all who were interested in Chelsea Hospital, were greatly obliged to the hon. baronet for having brought forward this business. Of all the things wanted for an Infirmary, fresh air was the most requisite, and he hoped the building on this ground would not be permitted to proceed until some further inquiry was made. He also expressed his wish that the terms on which the lease had been purchased by the Treasury from lord Yarborough, should be stated, because this appeared necessary for the purpose of comparison, and would contribute materially to the attaining of correct views on the subject. He even thought it might be advisable to move for the proper documents on that point.

The motion of sir Francis Burdett was then put and carried.

Mr. *Huskisson*, in moving for the other papers, said, that he need not trouble the house with much farther observation. He denied, however, that the Infirmary would be cooped up in the manner described by the hon. baronet. He stated that the sum which had been paid to lord Yarborough, upon the report of the Surveyor, was 5,000*l.* but he saw no reason for calling for the documents. He concluded by moving for a Copy of the Letter of the Secretary of Chelsea Hospital to the Treasury, soliciting a grant of part of this ground for an Infirmary: for the Letter from col. Gordon for the lease, for the Warrant to the Surveyor to examine the ground; for the report of the Surveyor, and other documents to shew the course of the transaction.

Mr. *P. Moore* remarked upon the extraordinary nature of the proceeding in this case, where 5,000*l.* was admitted to have been given of four acres and a quarter of land, of which the quarter only had been assigned to the hospital, while the four acres were given to col. Gordon at 52*l.* a year. (Hear! hear!) This he thought a matter for serious inquiry; for if the business was not a scandalous job, it had at least been conducted in a dark corner.

The motions were then agreed to.

[Admiral Harvey.] Mr. Robert Ward stated at the bar, that the Admiralty had found it necessary to issue its Warrant to take rear admiral Harvey into custody, in order to stand his trial before a Court-Martial, under charges of a breach of naval discipline, exhibited against him by lord Gambier. As admiral Harvey was a member of the house, it had been thought a mark of just respect to state the circumstance, and lay a Copy of the Warrant on the table.—The Speaker ordered the Warrant to be delivered in at the table.—The clerk read the Warrant, which purported that the proper officer was to take admiral Harvey into custody, and to bring him before a Court Martial, to be held at Portsmouth on Monday the 1st of May next, or as soon after as a Court Martial could be assembled, to answer to charges exhibited against him by lord Gambier. It also intimated, that it was not the intention of the Admiralty that the confinement of admiral Harvey should extend any farther than he should give his honour to appear before the court.

[Board of Controul.]—Mr. *Creevey* rose pursuant to notice, to move for copies of the Minutes of the Treasury, assigning an Official Residence in Downing-street to the President of the Board of Controul. If the fact was true that such a residence had been assigned, he was prepared to contend that it was against law. In the mean time he should content himself with moving for the Minutes.—He moved accordingly.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted the fact, and stated that the house in question had been in the occupation of sir Charles Morgan, the late Judge-Advocate, who had been permitted to retain it after the resignation of his situation till the time of his death. A salary of 500*l.* a-year had been granted to his successor in lieu of the house. When the house became vacant, it was thought that it was impossible to turn it to better purpose than to assign it as an official residence to the President of the Board of Controul, as an additional emolument to a most important office, the duties of which were very inadequately paid. He had no objection however to the production of whatever papers were necessary to illustrate this transaction.—The motion was then agreed to.

[Vote of Thanks to the Captors of Martinique.] Lord *Castlereagh* rose pursuant to his notice of yesterday, to call the attention of the house to the merits of that part of the army and navy which had effected the conquest of Martinique. This he stated was not the first time that the gratitude of parliament had been expressed to the Conquerors of Martinique; and that service had certainly never been effected in a manner more honourable in every point of view, to those who had been employed in it, than on the present occasion. Whether the house regarded the whole course of proceeding, or the shortness of the time in which the conquest had been accomplished, the service must be considered as having been performed in a way that called for the best acknowledgments of parliament. It was a most important feature in this transaction, that it had not interfered with other services; that it had been accomplished without an armament from Europe, which had on former occasions been required, but that the ability of the officers abroad had been adequate to the purpose without any effort from home. It was a proud circumstance in the military situation of the country, that this conquest had been effected in the West Indies, while 50,000 men were employed abroad in Europe. The time was so short, and the operations were all conducted with such activity, that it was impossible to look at the whole without admiration. Throughout the whole of the business, the troops had displayed signal instances of valour, as they always did when opportunity offered. But there was another feature in the conduct of this expedition, which was highly creditable to those who had the management of it, viz. That the conquest had been accomplished without that injury to the health of the troops which had usually attended West India service. But so careful had the officers been, that on this occasion the health of the troops had been as perfect as if they had never moved from their cantonments; indeed, as perfect as if the service had been effected in a more temperate climate. But this service had not only been accomplished in a manner the most meritorious in a military point of view. It had been equally well conducted in every other light in which it could be regarded. No stipulation had been admitted which could preclude any regulations which his majesty might see fit to adopt with respect to the island; and the inhabitants, who had shewn a good-will to the British cause, had been treated with every possible kindness. Every thing, therefore, proved the claim of the officers and troops to the thanks of the house. In every branch of the service the utmost zeal and activity had been displayed; and the two services had acted together with that unanimity and cordiality which was the surest pledge of success. He concluded by moving the following Resolutions:—1. "That the thanks of the house be given to lieut. gen. George Beckwith, for his able and gallant conduct in effecting the conquest of Martinique. 2. That the thanks of this house be given to rear-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, k. b. for his able and meritorious direction of the naval force in effecting the conquest of Martinique. 3. That the thanks of the house be given to lieut. gen. sir G. Prevost, to gen. Maitland, &c. &c. for their gallant and meritorious services in effecting the conquest of Martinique. 4. That the thanks of the house be given to commodore Colburne, the captains and officers of the fleet, for their meritorious conduct in the same service. 5. That the house acknowledges the zeal and good conduct of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in effecting the conquest. 6. That the house acknowledges the good conduct of the sailors and marines in the same services." All these Resolutions were agreed to nem. con.

[Bankrupt Laws Bill.] On the motion of sir Samuel Romilly, the house went into a Committee on the Bankrupt Laws bill.

Mr. *Jacob* made some objections to the clause respecting the appointment of Assignees, to which he proposed making some amendments.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* said, that no remedy was at present proposed, and considering the advanced state of the session, and the great consideration which a bill of this kind required, he could not consent to any alteration. The remedy of the hon. gen was not even matured; and if it was, h understood it was intended to be modelle on a plan which had been brought int the house of lords last session, and whic had been thrown out there on account o its ineligibility.

A long discussion took place on th wording of the clause for empowering the Commissioners to summon the Assignees, even before a dividend, to deposi the money they received in the hands of banker. The Clause was however finally agreed to as proposed, without any amendment.—The wording of the next Clause for allowing sureties, and acceptors o bills who should pay their debts after th Commission, to prove under the Commission produced a very considerable discussion, and an amendment was agreed to —After some further clauses were gon through, the Chairman reported progress and had leave to sit again.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 17.

[Committee to inquire into Abuses &c.] Lord *Folkestone*, on the order of th day being read for taking into furthe consideration the Minutes of Evidence respecting the Conduct of the Duke o York, rose. He said, he should troubl the house only with a few words. Indeed he thought it impossible that the hous should not see the nature of the motion h had now to submit to them. The hous would recollect that in the course of th Inquiry on which they had lately bee engaged, other matters had come out no immediately affecting the Commander i Chief. It was obvious from the evidenc which the house had heard, that grea abuses prevailed in various departments o the state. He did not allude to the fac that it had come out that improper use had been made of the patronage of th East India Company, which had given ris to an Inquiry, which again had produce a voluminous Report, crowded with instances of the abuse of the patronage o that Company. The Evidence adduce before the Committee, also proved tha abuses existed in other important departments of the state. It shewed that ther were a certain number of men employe as agents in the disposal of offices in ever department of the state. It was impossible for the house to allow such a scandalous practice to prevail without inquiry

Such inquiry was necessary, in order not only to punish those who were guilty of the practice, but to apply a remedy to the evil. Other facts likewise came out as to complaints in the practice of the army; that the Commissions in that service were disposed of by brokers, contrary to the regulations of the Commander in Chief. Another abuse was also disclosed in regard to Levies, of which an instance was before the house in the case of colonel French's Levy. Here mal-practices of the most serious sort had been exposed, and it appeared from the evidence of the person best acquainted with the nature of the abuses, that the most minute attention was not sufficient to prevent them. It was impossible therefore, he presumed to think, that the house could refuse its attention to the nature and abuses of those other Levies. When his lordship gave notice of his motion on this subject, he did so only from the feeling at the time of the existence, from what the house had heard, of other abuses which from the nature of their inquiry they were then precluded from going into. Circumstances, however, had since occurred, to afford great additional reason for going into the inquiry for which it was now his object to move. The evidence adduced before the East India Committee, he thought it impossible to read and not to see that there were other abuses in the various departments of the state, and that these abuses were proceeding to a great extent. On these grounds he was of opinion, that the house was called on to institute an Inquiry into these points, and to see that the abuses were remedied wherever they should be found to exist. He therefore moved, "That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the existence of any corrupt practices with regard to the disposal of Offices in any department of the state, or any agreement, negociation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale thereof; and of any corrupt practices relative to the purchase and sale of Commissions in the Army; and also, to examine into the terms on which Letters of Service have been granted for raising men for the Army by way of Levies, and the manner in which the said Levies have been conducted; and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house, together with their observations thereupon; and that the said Committee have power to report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, and their proceedings, from time to time, to the house."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he could not allow the present motion to be put without declaring his opinion that it was by no means advisable for the house to agree to it. The noble lord grounded his motion on the Evidence brought before the Committee appointed to inquire into the Conduct of the Duke of York, on these two grounds, that by farther inquiry other individuals might be found out who might be brought to censure or punishment; and that such inquiry would prevent the recurrence of similar abuses in time to come. The noble lord seemed to think a general inquiry necessary without any specific grounds of charge being assigned. Now, he was of opinion, that such inquiry could not go to an investigation into the conduct of every individual who might have by chance been concerned in the disposal of any offices. There might be a variety of instances in which persons might have erected themselves into a sort of agency concern, misrepresenting themselves to be authorised by this person and the other who had power to dispose of offices, while with such persons they had no concern; and in this manner might procure money under the pretence of using their interest with the person who had the actual power of disposing of the office in question, while of this proceeding the person having the gift of the office was utterly ignorant. It might also happen, that the person who had the power of disposing of an office might, as in the case of Mr. Thellusson, give it to a near relation or friend in whom he had confidence, but which might be abused. If the Committee were to institute inquiries of this kind, they would be investigating what they had no right to punish. Any farther inquiry, therefore, he submitted, was not desirable. He asked, was it convenient or politic to set on foot an inquiry into all abuses that might or might not have happened, for the sake of keeping the public mind in a ferment? (A laugh.) Gentlemen might laugh. He was satisfied that there were, on the other side, gentlemen who would not agree with him in this opinion. He believed that these gentlemen, from no improper feeling whatever, were of opinion that nothing was to be apprehended from the keeping alive this spirit among the people. He therefore was not surprised that they should differ from him. But, he had stated what he believed, that there was no reason to suppose that there were such abuses to be detected as those which the noble lord suspected, and he submitted it to the feeling of the house, if from the expectation of discovering abuses, they would agree to set on foot an inquiry. He was of opinion it would not be expedient or proper to do so, and he hoped the house would consider before they assented to it. The other object of the noble lord was to prevent any farther abuses. The house had a notice of this already before them; and farther inquiry might only produce farther evidence to the same effect, without shewing any new or more extended system of abuse. On this subject, however, there was a Bill before the house, which he had introduced the day before the recess. He hoped it would be found adequate to every object which might seem to be required; at all events, it was in the power of the house, and of the noble lord himself, to consider how far it should be extended. He was, therefore, on the whole, of opinion, that the inquiry proposed would neither be beneficial nor politic. No particular statement of delinquency had been brought forward, and to a general statement the house could not listen, especially after the Parliamentary Inquiry which had lately taken place.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton*. Sir; I can by no means agree that the discoveries made in the course of the Evidence brought before the house were of that loose and insignificant kind as to require no farther inquiry and elucidation. On the contrary, I consider farther inquiry indispensible. The right hon. gent. deprecates the idea of keeping the spirit of the people alive, or, as he terms it, in a ferment. The ferment will certainly be increased, and not diminished, if you attempt to stifle further inquiry. That ferment will, by such attempt, most certainly be still further inflamed. If corruption does exist, can the Chancellor of the Exchequer think that no danger is to be apprehended to this country? Does he think that, if such ferment really exists, it would not be more wise to detect, expose, and punish those abuses which are so strongly suspected to exist? As to the alarming extent of the powers of this Committee—they are, it is true, extensive and general, but they may be revoked at the pleasure of this house.—With respect to the dangers to be apprehended from the fermentation in the minds of the people—those dangers, I will venture to assert, are infinitely less to be dreaded than what must ensue from the people discovering our unwillingness to prosecute inquiry into corruption and abuses.—The only way to satisfy the people, and reconcile them to the endurance of the enormous burdens they sustain, is to shew them that we are sincere in our prosecution of those inquiries that will lead to a general reformation o abuses.

Lord *Folkestone* said, that although the speech of his noble friend had rendered i less necessary for him to trouble the house yet he wished to say a few words. As to the Bill alluded to by the right hon. gent. he could say nothing, as it was not befor the house. It was rather strange, however, that the house should be told to ac upon a measure of which they knew nothing; and even if its provisions wer known, he submitted that the house mus be legislating in the dark, without furthe inquiry. His lordship submitted that i was impossible for any gentleman to rea these proceedings and not to see that farther inquiry must follow on them. Th right hon. gent. had said, however, tha though inquiry did follow, the law woul not reach the parties concerned. Th house, however, he trusted, had more tha one way of proceeding and would no allow its own labours to fall to the ground If it was at all politic or convenient fo the house to enter into the investigatio of abuses: if every thing was fair an proper, the right hon. gent. himself ough to be the first to support the motion, an to convince the people that the abuse alledged did not exist. The right hon gent. had said that he was afraid of continuing the ferment on the public mind but as his noble friend had properly aske the right hon. gent., Which was the bette way to allay this ferment; to go into, o to refuse to go into, the investigation o the abuses said to exist? The impressio on the public mind was that these abuse did exist to a great degree. He called o the house to go into the inquiry, and they did exist to punish the persons guilt of them; if not, to set the government rights in the eyes of the people, by convincing them that it had been belie This should be the conduct of the rig hon. gent., whether he thought the abus did exist or not. He ought, in eith event, to feel anxious that the investigatio should be gone into; and such, the nob lord insisted, would be his conduct, if h were not afraid of inquiry. On the contrary, he, the friend and associate of th alleged culprits, was found strenuous opposing investigation of every kind.

Lord *Henry Petty*, agreeing as he did, with some of the observations of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, must differ from him in thinking that a prospective measure was all which the house or the country could require on a perusal of the evidence before them. Though he, therefore, agreed with the noble lord who brought forward the present motion in thinking that some farther inquiry, arising out of the evidence on the table, was not only proper but necessary, he must at the same time differ from him in the motion as worded. What he felt a reluctance in acceding to was in the extent of the trust which by the present motion parliament was called on to delegate to a committee. He came down to the house expecting that the motion would be for a reference to a committee to inquire into certain facts contained in the Minutes of Evidence, and pointed out by the house to the committee to be by them inquired into. As the motion stood, however, it would be for every member of that committee to suggest to the committee what facts they should go into. This was a power which the noble lord contended could not be given to any committee, as the house was not entitled to part with any of the powers which it could exercise itself; and he submitted, if there was any power which it could delegate to a committee, which would not be better exercised by the house itself. If he looked to the motion, it extended to every thing, and to every department. He did not say that it would not be right that such investigation should take place, if the particular facts to be inquired into, and on which the reference to a committee was founded, were pointed out and referred to; but he could not agree to confide so general and extensive a power to any committee. His lordship was willing to support any specific motion, founded on any specific fact developed in the Minutes of Evidence, whether the motion were made by the noble lord or by any person else. In the present spirit of the public mind, he was disposed for inquiry of every kind; but when he looked to such instances as his memory furnished him with of the house instituting general inquiries, he could not forbear from thinking that they almost all proved abortive. His lordship particularly alluded to the Tory Administration in the reign of queen Anne, and the committee appointed to enquire into sir R. Walpole's administration, neither of which had produced any general good. He therefore thought it better that the house should determine itself to discharge this meritorious duty, more particularly at a moment like the present, instead of referring it to any committee. In doing so they would pursue a course more conformable to the practice of the house, and better calculated for the public good. In appointing a committee such as that now proposed, the house would be conferring on them accusatory powers, which he was satisfied it would be far from their intention to do. If, however, the noble lord would limit his motion to any one specific enquiry, he should support it.

Mr. *Whitbread*.—I feel it, Sir, impossible to give a silent vote on a question of such high importance as the motion of the noble lord, and more especially as I conceive that what has been urged in the course of this debate, so far from amounting to a justification of the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, only tends more strongly to shew that a general inquiry is absolutely necessary. The existence of general abuses, is not now pretended to be denied—that time is gone by. In the levity of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer complained, in one part of his speech, I felt no disposition to concur; I am not disposed, at any time, to treat with levity, any thing that is said by that right hon. gent., and least of all at this moment, when the serious situation in which we stand calls for our most serious and profound attention. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has acknowledged, that, if inquiry should be instituted, abuses might possibly be traced. This fact I take it, he has admitted—I shall, however, at any rate, myself assume it. Whatever may be the sentiments in this house, there can be no doubt, that out of it there is an universal feeling of the people, that various mal-practices would be brought to light by the institution of a general inquiry, such as that which has been moved for by the noble lord. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer has argued, that even admitting abuses to be discovered, he should think the appointment of a Committee useless.—'It is not,' says he, the 'punishment of past grievances which we should so ardently seek, as remedies and preventives of a repetition of such abuses.' Against this, he tells us, it is the very object and foundation of his Bill to provide.

But much as we know, I must be allowed to question the possibility of his framing any Bill on this subject, which shall be effectual in its provisions, unless we shall first be informed of much more than has hitherto come to our knowledge. And here I conceive the argument which was made use of by the noble lord, to be unanswerable. How can you tell, says he, in what manner to frame a Bill to prevent the repetition of abuses, the nature and full extent of which are yet undiscovered? The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that before the investigation which has occupied so much of our time and attention, he was informed of certain nuisances in the city. He had heard of the office of Messrs. Pollman and Keylock, who were able to dispose of an extensive patronage, for the most corrupt of all things, money, the grand source and medium of all corruption. Now when the existence of that office was first mentioned in this house, it was received with universal levity, it was laughed at on all sides of the house. But the right hon. gent. on that occasion, so far from betraying the least consciousness of the existence of any such office, did not even countenance the possibility that the representation which was then made could have the slightest foundation; and he laughed, with the rest, at a statement which was so generally received as improbable. That these gents. Messrs. Pollman and Keylock, had carried on this sale of patronage for years, was very well known; and no attempt was made to put a stop to practices so nefarious, no inquiry was ever instituted; till at length, when the investigation took place, it suggested itself to the right hon. gentleman to put a stop to that species of traffic, by the introduction of his promised bill. Now will any gentleman pretend to say, that these negociators of patronage may not, somewhere or other, have connections either in the army, or the navy, or in the civil departments of the state; for their negociations it seems were almost universal, which it is highly desirable for this house to know. When it is considered what facts have come to light with respect to East India patronage, when we reflect on the names that have come out on the inquiry into that subject—can the right hon. gent. affect surprize that the public mind should be in a state of ferment? The public are alarmed, sir, at the discoveries that have been made; and unless we shew them by our proceedings that every thing will be investigated; that every delinquency will be dragged forth to public view and punished, if not by the immediate sentence of the law, by the censure and contempt of this house, a punishment exceeding perhaps any which the law can inflict; I say, unless we convince the public of our sincerity in the pursuit and prosecution of corruption, it is wholly unreasonable, nay absurd, to expect that the popular ferment of which the right hon. gent. has so pathetically complained, should subside. But above all, to endeavour to shelter or screen delinquencies, by precluding inquiry, on the ground of the too great generality of the motion of the noble lord, is a procedure which I do assert to be pregnant with the most imminent danger. I do not deny that the motion might have been in terms more definite, and more specific; but I solemnly declare, that I do not see any thing in the nature or expressions of the motion which can form any reason why I should vote against it. It is alledged, that the power to be granted to a committee, if this motion should be agreed to, is indefinite, and greatly too extensive. But I would ask is it not in our power to make a selection from amongst the members of this house of men deserving of our confidence, to sit on that committee? Can we not change and even dissolve that committee at our pleasure? Sir, I do think that twenty-one persons may be found in this house, to whom this general power may with great safety be delegated, even admitting the extent of such power to be of importance fully commensurate with what has been stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Such a power vested in a committee could never be attended with the slightest danger, or even inconvenience, being at all times under our immediate controul, and revokable the moment that an inconvenience, or even apprehension was felt, from the manner in which it might be exercised. I cannot but think that my noble friend (lord Henry Petty) has taken a wrong view of the subject:—such a committee would not be furnished with the power of accusation; the members of that committee would not become the public accusers; their province would be simply to investigate; and having investigated, to report, where they should see occasion, matter of accusation, subject to the consideration and decision of the house of commons. For my own part, I most sin erely wish that I could feel a doubt, hether matter of accusation would probaly be found by such a committee; but I eeply lament the necessity I am under of tating my firm belief, that there would be und much matter and strong ground for ccusation, in instances almost innumerale; and I greatly fear, that on a general nvestigation, practices of a nature most orrupt, would be found to exist in departents where their existence cannot even ave been dreamt of by the public. Sir, will venture to assert, that by such an nquiry, practices would be brought to ght, the exposure and punishment of hich are the only means by which you an continue a safe government, such as ou now are. My noble friend has reinded us of two special instances of geneal inquiry, from which no beneficial ffects were found to result. But there is question which, determine as we may, he public will very naturally ask; and hat is, whether in the progress of those nquiries, when the committees touched on ome fact of magnitude, so great that it ught to have been exposed, and laid bare o the view of an expecting and indigant public; they will, I say, naturally sk, whether the committees did not on hose occasions blink the question? If, sir, hose committees neglected to do their uty, I cannot hold that to be an arguent why we should shrink from the perormance of that duty which we owe to the eople, by whom we are, or ought to be, ent into this house. There is, I admit, a ery powerful reason for minute caution in crutinizing the qualities of those whom we may appointon that committee; but whatever danger may be apprehended by he appointment of such a committee, and with such general powers, and which ommittee seems to be so greatly the obect of terror, it is my firm conviction that he refusal or hesitation of this house to grant and even promote a general inquiry nto those abuses, of the existence of which the people are impressed with so irm a conviction, will be attended with anger paramount to any that can be suggested by the apprehensions of those gentlemen who oppose the motion of the noble lord. Whatever may be the extent of their apprehensions of danger, I cannot but think that an investigation of the abuses existing, or which are suspected to have existed, is of the highest importance to the welfare and tranquillity of the country; and it is my unqualified opinion, that nothing can so certainly allay the ferment which has been raised in the minds of the people, as that the true colour of every transaction, whether black or white, should be displayed. If black, let exposure and punishment follow; if white, let us have the satisfaction of displaying to the nation the purity and innocence of those into whose conduct inquiry has been instituted. With these views, and for these reasons, I shall certainly support by my vote the motion of the noble lord.

Mr. *Tierney* remarked, that the house had certainly something to complain of with respect to the proceeding of the noble lord, who had not given a notice of that specific nature which the magnitude of the case required. For if he had been asked even ten minutes before he came into the house, what the nature of the noble lord's motion was, he would have said that the object was, leaving the duke of York out of the question, to refer some collateral points in the Evidence to a committee, to determine what further proceeding ought to be had on the evidence there stated. He did not think it altogether fair to come upon the house all of a sudden with one of the most important steps that could possibly be suggested, considering the ferment into which the public mind had been thrown. The object of the motion was no less than to arraign the whole system of the government of the country through all its departments (Hear! hear! from the ministerial benches). He did not think that a motion of this vague and general complexion ought to be entertained. He admitted, that where a specific case was stated, it would be disgraceful to the house to blink it; but while the house attended, as it was bound to do, to the interests of the people, it would always recollect that it owed something to the government of the country (Hear! hear!). Was this a mode of proceeding which any one would venture to propose with regard to an individual? If not, why should a different principle be entertained with respect to the government? The noble lord, he supposed, had some cases in contemplation, for he could not imagine that he would propose the appointment of a committee without having something to lay before them. But why did he not tell the house what these cases were? He conceived it to be impossible to accede to a motion put in these general terms, embodying suspicion, as it were, against the whole of the government of the country. He differed from the gentlemen opposite in many important political subjects, but neither with respect to them, nor with respect to any man could he agree to this vague sort of motion. He himself had been in office; he knew the responsibility attached to the situation, and was ready to meet any accusation if fairly stated. But this motion extended back—how far nobody knew; and was calculated to put all those, who, for a great number of years past, had been employed in public situations upon their trial; many of whom were precluded, in the course of nature, from giving those explanations that might be necessary to defend themselves against charges, or to prevent suspicion. He did not wish to throw a veil over delinquency; all he wished was that the delinquency and the nature of the evidence should be stated; that the charges should be specifically mentioned, and the individuals named against whom they were to be preferred, and then the house would consider whether the motion was such as ought to be entertained. Even on the ground of precedent he did not think that this was a proper mode of proceeding. His hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread) had said, that the house might watch over the proceedings of the committee. But the house could not know what the committee was about till they reported. He gave the noble lord credit for the most honest and upright intentions; and after what had come to light, he could blame none for being desirous of inquiry; but the house ought not to depart from the ordinary grounds of its proceedings. The motion assumed that the government was corrupt through all its departments, and this without pretending to state any evidence (Hear! hear!). Even in the abuses that had been found to have been carried on in the patronage of the East India Company, there was nothing that related to the public government of that department. The abuses at most reached only to the Court of Directors, who were governed by a separate law; and he was even surprised that a committee on the abuses in the patronage of the Directors had been granted. These abuses were of a description amenable to law, and to this they ought to have been turned over. If any abuse had been discovered to have existed in the public government of the East India Company, that, no doubt, would have been a proper subject of parliamentary inquiry. In the Minutes of Evidence, the existence of abuses at the Horse Guards had been made out; but this was the only point of which the noble lord proposed to keep clear. His motion went to impute corrupt practices to the admiralty, and every other department of the government, without the shadow of evidence; and all were to be put upon their trial without any specific charge! He hoped the noble lord would withdraw his motion, and put it in a different shape. He did not wish to protect delinquency, but he could not consent to put the whole government on its trial without specific charge alledged. The motion, he thought, could scarcely have been brought forward with any hopes of its being carried. The noble lord must have something in his mind to lay before the committee; of which, as the mover, he would be a leading member. All he asked of the noble lord was, to state what that was. Doubts were certainly entertained of the purity of some parts of the government. Public opinion was strongly excited on the subject of these abuses. But, however anxious he might be to expose corrupt practices, and to punish the delinquents, no popular cry should make him vote for a motion of this kind.

Mr. *Brand* rose to give a brief statement of the grounds upon which he found himself compelled to dissent from the motion of the noble lord. He differed from him merely as to the mode of inquiry. The motion was so worded, its generality was of such a nature, that nothing like it was to be found in the history of parliament. He agreed with those who thought it more satisfactory that the cases which the noble lord had in contemplation should be stated to the house before they appointed the committee, that they might be aware of the nature of the reference to be made to the committee. As no specific charges were stated, he thought the motion very objectionable, and he felt it his duty, however reluctantly, to oppose it.

Mr. *Lethbridge* observed, that he had come to the house prepared to vote for the noble lord's motion, under the impression that he meant to alledge specific charges against particular individuals. He was anxious to do so, both upon the justice of the case, and from the knowledge which every one must have of the suspicions prevailing in the minds of the people, who were calling loudly for inquiry. But finding that the motion of the noble word was not such as he imagined it would have been; finding that it was one of a general nature, and that its tendency was to put whole departments upon trial without any specific charges of delinquency stated, he could not concur in the motion.—He felt himself bound to dissent from it in its present shape, and he would wait till either the noble lord, or some one as well able as he was, or better, came prepared to state particular charges against particular individuals.

Mr. *Ponsonby.* Sir; I hope that I shall not be accused of wishing to protect abuses, for there is no man in this house, not even the noble lord himself, more anxious to promote the punishment of corruption and abuses, wherever they can be proved to have existed, than myself. But I certainly will not agree to the adoption of the noble lord, because he takes for granted the existence of abuses in every branch and department of the government, without any proof whatever on the subject. The noble lord might with great facility have obtained his object by proposing other means than this motion for a Committee of General Inquiry. If he had followed the example of an hon. gent. (colonel Wardle) he might, by adhering to that line of proceeding, have obtained the most ample redress that he can wish or desire. In the motion brought forward by that hon. gent., a specific ground was stated, on which he meant to found the charges against the Duke of York. On that ground, so specifically stated, and on the statement of the nature of the evidence which he meant to adduce in support of his charges, the house of commons supported his proposition, and a committee was accordingly appointed, in conformity to his wishes and request. But I do not believe that there ever was an instance in which powers so unlimited and indefinite have been entrusted to a committee, merely because allegations have been made, and examinations taken on other matters tending to charge Corruption, out of which it is supposed that some fresh matter may arise. It cannot even be supposed that the house of commons, on such grounds only, will adopt a resolution which tends in fact and in substance to criminate every man in every department of the state. I find it impossible, on the occasion of so extraordinary a proposition, to content myself with a silent vote, and more especially when I see a disposition in some persons not in the house, to charge every public man in the kingdom with corruption. This is a charge of a most serious nature; and particularly when it is considered how readily and with what avidity every thing that is charged against this house is received out of doors. The people are even industriously told in some places that there is no distinction whatever in this house, that we are all knaves and rogues alike (Hear! hear! hear!); that it does not signify in what hands the government is placed; for, provided they are parliamentary, the country can expect nothing but corruption (Hear! hear! hear!). These, Sir, are most foul, impudent, barefaced, and infamous calumnies; for, I will venture to maintain, that there are in this house, men as honest, as upright, as uncorrupt, and possessing as great integrity as those who make these gross and unfounded charges. And, be he who he may, I do assert and maintain, that he is not an honester public man than I am, nor do I see the smallest reason why I, or any other member of this house, should hesitate for one moment to repel this unmerited and general stigma. My conduct has already proved, in numerous instances, that in all matters of public economy and reformation of abuses, I am disposed to go as far in the protection of the people against extravagance and abuse as any man in this country; and I am still disposed to persevere in that conduct, which I conceive to be only a faithful discharge of my duty to the public. But to the motion now before the house I cannot agree.

Mr. *C. H. Hutchinson* could not content himself with a silent vote on a motion of this importance. He would support the motion of the noble lord, and would briefly state his reasons. He considered this as a most awful moment: he did not attribute improper motives to any man, but he had unfortunately long been of opinion that the system upon which the government had for some time acted, was not such as ought to be continued—and had the further misfortune to concur with many others, who thought that if it was continued the most calamitous consequences might ensue within a period, up to which, those in that house, who were not very old, might live. Therefore, great as was the inconvenience of granting those unlimited powers, which it was proposed to vest in this committee, he must, without any prejudice or partiality as to this or that government, vote for the noble lord's motion. Considering the times, considering the state of public opinion, he thought that the investigation, however inconvenient, ought not to stifled. He took it for granted, that the noble lord was prepared to bring some points before the committee as soon as it was constituted; and he could conceive that he might have some very rational reasons for not chusing to mention them at present. Understanding the motion to be directed not particularly against the existing government or any other, but generally against abuses, he felt it his duty to support it. He venerated the antient institutions of the country, and no better proof could be given of that veneration than to strike at the abuses which had crept into them and threatened their destruction. The great object was to root out the system of corruption and abuse, and believing this to be the design of the noble lord's motion, and conceiving it, notwithstanding its inconveniencies, to be well calculated for that purpose, he could not refuse to give it all the support in his power.

Mr. *Parnell*.—Sir; the right hon. gent. below me, who made the charge against the noble lord, of not having stated in his notice the nature of his intended motion, can certainly not support that charge; for the noble lord did in his notice distinctly state, in substance, the nature of his motion; and that, too, in terms sufficiently explanatory to authorize him in bringing it forward in its present shape. Sir, I cannot agree with those gentlemen who object to the adoption of this motion, on the ground that it is of too general and indefinite a nature. The objects which are intended to be included in the inquiry are three; and they are certainly specifically stated. The first applies to the mode that was adopted of augmenting the army at the time of colonel French's levy being on foot; the next, to the illicit purchase and sale of commissions in the army; and the third, to the infamous traffick in the disposal of places in various departments of the State. The powers demanded for this Committee are therefore by no means of that general nature which has been asserted. It has been said that the Committee would have an object of inquiry to seek, as their labours would commence without having one before them. But this I deny; for here are three specific objects, every one of which is specifically named, to which the inquiries of the Committee are proposed to be directed. I make these observations with a view of shewing that no such charge as that which has been brought against the motion can be supported. But, were the motion more general even than it is, I for one, should certainly vote for it. It is impossible to have sat in this house, and have heard what has passed here, and to have read so much of what has passed elsewhere, without entertaining a strong suspicion of the existence of numerous, crying, and notorious abuses in various offices and departments; an inquiry into which, it is my opinion, is imperiously demanded.

Mr. *C. Wynn* observed, that if he understood the motion correctly, it went to an inquiry into all corrupt practices and abuses, without any restriction as to time place, or circumstance. All abuses, a whatever distance of time, whether those concerned were dead or alive, might be brought before this committee, though those who might be able to explain or defend, might be in their graves. To such a motion he could not accede. The want of limitation, as to time, was a strong objection; but he fully agreed with the noble lord below (lord H. Petty), that it was improper to delegate to any committee that discretionary inquisitorial powers which belonged to the house itself. On every case brought before the house, it was customary to act from consideration of prudence, as well as with a view to abstract justice. In the first place, the house ought to be enabled to decide, whether the case was of sufficient magnitude to call fo inquiry; and, secondly, whether the evidence stated was sufficient, if actually produced, to bring home the charge to the accused. He had heard that there might be cases brought forward, which had taken place in Ireland previous to the Union cases which might affect lord Cornwalli and Mr. Pitt, who were in their graves. He was ready to say, that the greatest inconveniences would result from this. In short, there was no case, at whatever distance of time it might have occurred which a committee, constituted as the noble lord proposed, could refuse to entertain. Such a motion could not be accede to, and it had his decided opposition.

Mr. *Thomas Foley* did not conceive that there was any weight in the argument as to the suspicion which the motion was said to cast upon all the departments of government. An inquiry would be the most effectual way to do away those suspicions, if they turned out to be unfounded That there was a strong suspicion in the public mind could not be doubted. If that suspicion was not founded in fact, those who laboured under it ought to have an opportunity of clearing themselves. But if, on the contrary, crying abuses actually existed, inquiry was necessary to expose those abuses, and to prevent their recurrence. In every view, therefore, he was convinced of the propriety, of the necessity, of inquiry, and would certainly vote for the motion.

Sir *John Anstruther* objected to the motion on account of its generality, and its assuming as a fact, that there existed abuses in all the departments of the state, in proof of which there was not a tittle of evidence. But the hon. gent. behind him (Mr. Hutchinson) went farther, for he said, that the general system of the government was such as ought not to be continued. The house of commons was part of that system, and he, therefore, now called upon the house of commons to try itself. A gentleman under the gallery had said, that it was right to suspect persons in office: What right had he to suspect them? If he had any facts to produce, let him state them; but if he had no facts to state, then he had no right to suspect. As to the inadmissibility of the motion, he thought there could be no doubt upon that point. It went to inquire into one did not know what, and was utterly incompatible with any practical plan of conducting business. If particular facts were stated, it might be fair and reasonable to investigate; but at the same time he could not listen to vague and loose stories even against individuals. The proper plan was to send them to the Attorney-General, and not to place the justice of the country in the worst possible hands; not only in the hands of the house of commons, but what was still worse, in those of its Committees.

Mr. *P. Moore* hoped the noble lord would receive back his motion, and bring forward some specific case. He understood, that his motion was to be of the nature described by his right hon. friend next to him (Mr. Tierney), that it would relate solely to some collateral matter arising out of the investigation of the charges against the Duke of York. If the noble lord had read the Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, it was strange that he should have mentioned French's levy only as a subject of investigation. He might have found in that Report, that there were no less than twenty-one such levies. It would have been well worth his while to investigate into the manner in which these levies were obtained, how conducted, and the result with which they were attended. He would find that no less than 500,000*l.* of the public money had been lavished in this way, and that the produce of men had failed almost in every instance. The examination had only yet proceeded as far as 211,000*l.* of this expenditure, and it was discovered that of this sum no less than 96,000*l.* had been drawn by fraud and imposition. There was matter sufficient in these to have afforded a Committee employment for the rest of the session.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that considering the impression which the notice of the motion, given by the noble lord previous to the recess, had made out of doors, and the public expectation it appeared to excite, he felt it incumbent upon him to state his sentiments. It would not become a person filling the situation he did to give a silent vote. It would be impossible for him, consistent with his duty, and valuing the frame of the constitution as it stood, not to give his most marked and decided disapprobation of the motion. In opposing it, he did not oppose a motion for a specific inquiry into specific abuses, but he opposed a motion that had no relation whatever to it. A specific inquiry would have fastened on individuals, or abuses; but the object of a motion, so general and undefined as that before the house, could have no other purpose than to scatter general censure, to keep up a ferment in the public mind, and to do mischiefs beyond the apprehensions of those whose apprehensions were strongest. The noble lord had accused his right hon. friend of a disposition to screen abuses, and had reproved the remedy which was proposed by him to prevent confederacies out of doors, for the corrupt disposal of patronage. Another gentleman had pointed out to the noble lord objects for inquiry, which it appeared were already under examination. It did therefore appear that these manifold abuses, which were supposed to prevail in every department of the state, were not wholly without remedy. If these remedies were insufficient, why did not the noble lord say so, and propose those that might be more effectual? He deprecated the practice of pointing at government as the source of corruption. The effect of exaggerating this evil was, not to allay but to perpetuate the public ferment. An hon. member under the gallery said, that the people had a right to suspect government; another hon. member blamed the whole frame of the government: and to this Committee it was proposed that the task should be delegated, of enquiring into the whole frame of that government; of inquiring into the conduct of every man who was engaged in any one of its departments! This important investigation was to be made, not by the house itself, but by a Committee. A Committee! If ever there was an instance in which a mighty labour was to be executed by a diminutive power, it was this. He could not conceive for what rational or practical purpose this motion was brought forward. Was there no mischief in keeping a persuasion alive in the public mind, that it was the opinion of impartial men in that house, that so much rottenness and corruption existed in every part of the state, as rendered such an inquiry necessary? The motion held out no hope of immediate advantage to the people; but it held out the whole cast and class of public men to suspicion. They were all represented as eagerly struggling for places and power, and as having nothing in view but the emoluments of office. The emoluments of office! If there was any man who considered the labours of an official situation, the duties that were to be performed, the anxieties that were undergone, the warfare which a public man had to support, not only in that house, but from the malignity which assailed him out of it, and could think that these things were to be compensated by money, he did not envy such a man his feelings or frame of mind. If there was any man who could think so, it was to him a subject not of regret, but of pride, to be the object of the suspicion of such a man. The noble lord and his abettors might succeed in fixing this imputation on public men, and driving them from power; in rendering them a degraded class, that he and those who supported him might succeed to that ruin and degradation. He could not agree in this wide wasting motion, without admitting the truth of assertions, for which he was persuaded there was no foundation.

Lord *H. Petty* rose to explain. The noble lord observed, he had been entirely misapprehended; he had not said, nor did he mean to say, the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer had a wish to screen delinquency, or to prevent inquiring into abuses.

Lord *Folkestone.* Sir; the right hon. gent. on the bench below me, has complained of my conduct with respect to the imperfect notice which, he says, I gave of my intended motion, to which he states his dissent from the two extensive powers with which, from the generality of the terms, it would invest the committee. With respect to my notice, I can only say, that it appears to me to be unfounded. With respect to the motion itself, I am in fact merely doing that which he wishes me to do, specifying the objects of the motion, which, to my no small surprize, it has been stated are not specified. Sir, I am confident that a great part of what has been said in opposition to this motion arises solely from misapprehension. It is said that I am bringing forward a general charge, and involving every man, in every office, in every department, in one general indiscriminate accusation. But what is the true state of the case? My motion was grounded on the order of the day, and certainly refers entirely to the evidence that was taken before a committee of the whole house: out of this evidence I propose to refer particular points to the consideration of a committee. If this motion had been an original proceeding, the accusation which has been made against me would have been correct. But as the motion which I have made is grounded on the order of the day, I conceive the objections which have been made against it in that respect to be wholly groundless and indefensible.

The house then divided, when there appeared,

For lord Folkestone's Motion	30
Against it	178
Majority	148

List of the Minority.

Lord Ossulston
Lord Viscount Forbes
Sir Wm. Lemon, bart.
Sir T. Miller, bart.
Sir John St. Aubyn, bart.
George Hibbert, esq.
George Knapp, esq.
Thomas Foley, esq.
J. Scudamore, esq.
T. J. Symmonds, esq.
Thomas Creevey, esq.
Lord Althorpe
Wm. Ord, esq.
Hon. C. Pelham
D. North, esq.
Henry Parnell, esq.
G. L. Wardle, esq.
S. Whitbread, esq.
Lord A. Hamilton
C. C. Western, esq.
H. Tracey, esq.
T. W. Coke, esq.
Joseph Halsey, esq.
H. C. Combe, esq.
John Calcraft, esq.
Hon. C. Bradshaw
Lee Antonie, esq.
Hon. W. Lambe
Hon. W. Lyttleton
J. M. Lloyd

TELLERS:

Lord Folkestone
Hon. C. Hutchinson

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April 18.

[Campaign in Spain.] The Earl of *Liverpool* laid on the table the two letters from admiral Apodaça to Mr. Secretary Canning, which he moved for yesterday, and which were ordered to be printed. His lordship took the opportunity of observing with respect to some correspondence between the Junta of Gallicia and capt. Kennedy, which was stated by earl Grey, on the preceding day, to be wanting, that the letters alluded to were not in the possession of government, but as capt. Kennedy was in town, he would endeavour to procure some explanation from him.

Earl *Darnley* said a few words with respect to the Letters of Mr. Frere to sir John Moore, which had formerly been represented by the noble secretary of state as unimportant, but which on their production were found to be of great importance; and he could not accord with the denomination attached to them by noble lords opposite, of their being letters of a private nature. They had certainly exhibited very extraordinary conduct in our minister at Madrid, who had written in so very peculiar terms to sir John Moore, whereby that illustrious general was involuntarily induced to march further than Salamanca, and, unfortunately for his country, afterwards lost his life. He felt it certainly an invidious task to impute improper conduct to any individual, but such had been that of Mr. Frere, he thought the house would be wanting in their duty, if they did not speedily move an Address to his majesty for the immediate recal of that minister; it was a duty they owed to the memory of the illustrious and gallant officer sir J. Moore. He conceived it incumbent to bring this particular subject very soon under the consideration of the house. With regard to these Letters also, their importance was such as to remove every blame contrived to be attached to the conduct of that lamented commander, and clearly to shew it was to be imputed wholly to another quarter.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, he wished to be clearly understood with respect to what he had stated on a former occasion. It would be in their lordships recollection, that he had not asserted the Letters referred to were of no importance, he merely stated, they would be found not material; with respect to sir John Moore's further march from Salamanca, true it was, he entertained an opinion that sir John Moore had acted wisely under all circumstances in proceeding further at the time, but he was still disposed to differ from noble lords opposite that sir John Moore was not led to do so by any letter sent to him from Mr. Frere. When he had also described the letters to be private, he had defined in what way he meant to use that expression. He merely applied that word to the form in which they were received, and not to the subject matter of their contents. He thought it proper to rise for the purpose of giving this explanation, but he was not disposed to be drawn into any collateral discussion on this question, as next Friday the whole of it would come before the house.

Earl *Grey* was surprised how any one could peruse the letters referred to, and the answers of sir John Moore, and maintain that he had not been driven against his own inclination to march further than Salamanca. If he recollected correctly what had been stated by the noble secretary, respecting the letters being of a private nature, he certainly understood him to have expressed himself differently at the time. He was sorry noble lords on that side of the house had been led to suppose the objection to their being produced, rested upon their contents being of a private nature. There could now, however, be no doubt the fatal event of the campaign in Spain, was in consequence of the interference of Mr. Frere with the conduct of sir John Moore.

The Earl of *Carysfort*, after having adverted to the papers on the table, mentioned his having been absent for want of health; and therefore he did not distinctly know whether any motion had been made, similar to the one he intended to propose. He now gave notice he should to-morrow move for a copy of all Instructions sent from his majesty's government to Mr. Frere; for it was of great importance to ascertain the powers possessed by Mr. Frere, which authorised him to controul the conduct of a commander. It was also mentioned that a particular person was the bearer of a message to Salamanca, yet his name was kept secret, and was omitted, by a blank in the printed papers. He could not conceive why this person should not be named; but he would to-morrow move, unless he was previously informed, that it should be disclosed to the house.

The Earl of *Liverpool* could assure the noble lord, that no instructions were sent, which authorized Mr. Frere to controul the conduct of our military commander. The communication which took place, was merely consequent on our minister being the political agent of the directions given by the government of that country. With respect to the name of the person, noble lords would consider it might be attended with inconvenience and injury, if ministers were under the necessity of disclosing the names of persons officially employed; and for that reason he did not feel warranted in naming the person alluded to.

Earl *Grey* did not believe the noble earl would be successful in the first part of his motion, after he himself had said so much relative to the instructions sent to Mr. Frere. After all the papers which had been laid on the table, there was so much information kept back, that he declared it was not possible for the house to arrive at a correct judgment on the whole of the proceedings. There could be no inconvenience resulting from mentioning this person's name, for it was already known it was no secret; yet it was said, because a case might be inconvenient to name a particular person, the information was refused; such language was unbecoming a secretary of state.

Lord *Auckland* observed, that it was known who the person alluded to was. He should abstain from mentioning his name, but it might be very material, under all the circumstances, to know who he was, whether a person sent from this country and attached to Mr. Frere's suite, or a person employed there; and whether he were a native of that country or a French officer.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* said a few words respecting the insufficiency of the Return relative to the Arms furnished to Portugal, it not stating what quantity of those sent had been received.

The Earl of *Liverpool* supposed that all sent had been received.

Viscount *Sidmouth* wished to know if it was the intention of ministers to make any motion respecting the Spanish Treaty?

The Earl of *Liverpool* answered in the negative.

Viscount *Sidmouth* observed, that the house had been called upon on the first day of the session, to express their satisfaction, that such a Treaty had been concluded, and now it appeared they were not to have the opportunity of discussing its provisions.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, that the treaty not having been accompanied by a message from his majesty, it was not the usage for his majesty's ministers to make any motion upon it, nor did they intend it, but it was open to any noble lord to bring forward any proposition on the subject.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday April 18.

[Smithfield Market Bill.] On the motion of sir C. Price, for the second reading of the Smithfield Market Bill,

Mr. Alderman *Combe* objected to the further progress of the bill, as tending materially to injure many, who had for a long time resided were the market now stands. It was rather singular, that all those who lived where the present market was held wished it to continue there, and all who lived where it was intended to remove it to, objected to such removal. With these sentiments he would move that the second reading of the Bill should be deferred to this day six months.

Mr. *H. Martin* seconded the amendment. If this bill, he said were to pass into a law, the greatest inconveniences would arise from driving cattle through the streets leading to the projected market. Many individuals in the neighbourhood of the ground chosen for this purpose, would also suffer severely, by being in a great measure prevented from letting their houses. He knew of one individual, a Mrs. Doughty, possessed of upwards of one hundred and forty houses in that quarter, the loss to whom would be immense, some thousands, were the proposed measure carried into execution. He said it was absolutely impossible for them to find out any better spot than the present scite.

Mr. *Rose* said that the present market had been found much too confined to answer the purposes for which it had been originally intended. In former years, one hundred thousand head of cattle was generally the utmost which had been sent to it; but latterly this number was increased to more than one hundred and fifty thousand. The consequence of this increase was, the cattle were crouded to such a degree, that they not only injured themselves, but those who came for the purpose of buying or examining them. The city of London, sensibly feeling this great inconvenience, had made several efforts for some time past to enlarge the present market. It now consisted of four acres and a half; and, to render it commodious, an addition of twelve were necessary. This addition, then, had been anxiously attempted to be made, but after much inquiry and fruitless expence, it was discovered that no more than two acres could on any terms be procured. What, then, could they do, but come down to the house, and attempt to carry the removal of the market, and this they had done at a very great disadvantage to themselves. The spot to which the removal was projected, had been however objected to; he had to inform the house that two other situations were then in contemplation; if neither of which could be found eligible, then the house might reject the bill when it came to a committee; but he thought it would be peculiarly severe indeed to oppose the second reading of it. If it was thrown out, much inconvenience in his opinion would ensue, not only to the capital itself, but to the country at large; for many of the landlords would be debarred from the sale of their cattle owing to the want of room in the market. He trusted, at all events, that the house would allow the bill to go to a committe, where an opportunity of more mature consideration would be at least allowed.

Mr. *Horner* observed, that he understood that the city of London was in treaty for the particular spot in question. His principal objection was to the spot to which it was intended to remove the market.

Mr. *Lyttleton* expressed himself against the further progress of the bill.

Sir *C. Price* supported the bill, and urged the necessity of its being allowed to go to a committee.

Mr. *C. H. Hutchinson* objected to its being allowed to go to a committee. He feared, if it were left to the decision of a committee, that the spot fixed upon would be chosen. He was at a loss to know why they should pitch upon this place, which was so particularly objectionable.

Mr. *Rose* said, that the city of London had abandoned the spot they had first fixed upon, and had instructed their counsel to that effect.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said, that when the city of London expressed their wish to improve and beautify the metropolis, he felt a great desire to forward their views; but he hoped they would not attempt such improvement at the expence of private property. He was willing to accede to the second reading of the bill, but would not pledge himself to approve of any place which the committee might adopt?

Mr. *Mellish* objected to the bill. If the evil were removed from one place, it was not unlikely it might become equally objectionable. A place had been named, which would seriously affect the Gray's Inn Society.

Mr. *Fuller* thought the city of London should point out the spot where they would remove the market, before they had his vote. He had no right to trust them, if they would not trust him.

Mr. Alderman *Shaw* spoke in support of the Bill. He thought all the objections might be done away in the committee. A place in front of Gray's Inn had been chosen, on a declivity particularly well suited for the purpose from whence drains could be readily formed to carry off the dirt into the Fleet river.

Mr. *Barham* said, his objections went to the way in which the bill originated. It was introduced without the parties interested having notice of their intention, and was an injustice to those individuals. How was it to be remedied? to be changed to some other place, where the people had notice of it? But then it was said, their interests might be guarded by regulations. He thought it the wisest course to reject the bill altogether. The mode he conceived fittest for removing such an annoyance as this market, would be to appoint a committee of indifferent persons, who might lay down some plan, which could have the effect desired. He believed such an annoyance was not to be found in the heart of another city in the world.

Mr. *Whitbread* opposed the original motion. A worthy Alderman had said that the injury from driving the cattle might be prevented by putting up bars. He wondered he did not also provide against their making a noise.

The *Attorney General* said, for his part, he really did not see how the worthy corporation could silence the beasts, unless in their wisdom they thought proper to send the city officers along with them. (A laugh). It was pretty evident, from the silence of the hon. baronet, that the city did not intend to relinquish the objectionable spot of ground. When the offer was made him of empowering the committee to insert a clause, prohibiting the selection of this plat of ground, he did not offer to give his assent to it. But the gentlemen of the city thought they would rather benefit this spot of ground. "Oh, such embellishments as it would receive! Such magnificent houses as they would build on it!" But for whom would they erect those buildings; for the beasts? Certainly no human beings could inhabit them! Who could possibly wish to fix his residence were vast droves of cattle were continually parading, and where all the disgusting scenes and tumult incidental to such a market were constantly exhibited? It was unjust then, in the first place, as it tended to the injury of private property; and impolitic in the next, as it went to defile one of the handsomest parts of the city; but then, says the Corporation, since you have such objections, we will relinquish this scite; we will select another; and how could he satisfy his conscience if he stood silently there content to ward off injustice from one part of the community, with the consciousness that it must fall upon another. He could not tolerate such an idea for a moment, and would oppose the further progress of this bill.

The question being loudly called for, the gallery was cleared, but the Amendment was agreed to without a division.

[Irish Currency.] Mr. *Parnell* desired that the Report of a Committee appointed in 1804, to enquire into the State of Ireland, as to its Circulating Paper, its Specie, and current coin, and the Exchange between that part of the United Kingdom and Great Britain, should be read, and the same having been entered by the clerk as read, the hon. gent. addressed the house as follows;—

Mr. Speaker; I rise, Sir, for the purpose of moving that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take this Report into consideration; and if the house shall think proper to accede to this motion, I shall then submit to the committee the following Resolution: "That it is expedient that the Coin of the United Kingdom shall be of the same standard and value as the Coin now is of Great Britain."—It appears to me, Sir, that the difference which now exists between the currencies of Great Britain and Ireland contributes to keep alive a feeling of separation and distinction between the inhabitants of these countries, very inconsistent with their mutual prosperity: that it gives a character to the respective parts of the United Kingdom that belongs rather to countries foreign to each other than to members of the same community, a character by no means belonging to the spirit of real union and the true interests of the people. I have always considered the Act of Union as very imperfect, because it did not provide for the assimilation of the coin; and though I opposed that measure and now think that it ought to be repealed, if the expectations which the people of Ireland were taught to entertain of its beneficial consequences are for ever to be disappointed, still I am desirous to do every thing that can be done to establish unanimity and identity, between the two countries, and therefore I wish to see the difference in the currencies completely done away.—Another bad consequence of this difference, is the restraint that it imposes upon the commercial intercourse of the two countries; a restraint very inconsistent with that perfect freedom of trade, which is necessary, in order that trade may be carried on to the greatest possible advantage. For though the operation of converting sums of one currency into sums of the other is a very simple one, and to those accustomed to it may present no difficulty whatever, still it necessarily must be to all others the source of doubts, respecting the results of any commercial speculation connected with Ireland in which they may embark, and therefore it must contribute to deter many from undertaking such speculations, however strong the probability of their success might be if the local circumstances, and national resources of Ireland were alone taken into consideration. I therefore feel that there is good ground for stating, that this difference does form an obstruction of very considerable effect to the free circulation of the capital, labour, and industry of these countries, and, consequently, ought to be removed.—But the principal inconvenience that results from the present state of the currencies is, in my opinion, the existence of an Exchange between them such a thing not being known ever to exist between any two places that have a circulating currency common to both of them.* I shall endeavour to support this opinion by an examination of the causes of fluctuations of exchange, and by reference to such authorities as ought to have considerable weight in the house upon this subject.—Exchange between London and Dublin is considered to be at par, when a bill for 100*l.*, payable in London, will ll in Dublin for 108*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This exchange, except when influenced by some temporary and very particular occurrences, fluctuates from one to two per cent. above and below par. It was, in 1804, as high as nine per cent. in favour of London; but, in the last two months it has been two per cent. in favour of Dublin. Fluctuations of this sort are attended with great inconveniences to trade, and coniderable loss to individuals, who have occasion to make large remittances of money from one country to the other. They have been attributed to various causes. Some persons have said that the remittances of rents to absentee proprietors; others, that the balance of trade; and others, that the depreciation of the currency of Ireland, were the circumstances that occasioned them. I am, sir, of opinion, that the doctrine which lays it down that remittances of rents give rise to them, is not tenable: because, as these rents are annually and constantly remitted the rates of exchange would be constantly unfavourable; whereas the fact proves the contrary, the exchange being more frequently in favour of Ireland than in favour of England. The balance of trade is not a good criterion to go by, for two reasons; first, because in the Custom-house statements, from which the balance is taken, no entry is ever made of the quantity of money imported and exported, though money, in its true character, is as much a commodity of trade as any other article: secondly, because in calculations of this kind no allowance is made for any alterations which may occasionally take place in the value of the currencies of the respective countries carrying on the trade in question; though every variation in the value of them will have its effect upon the rates of exchange, and sometimes render an exchange nominally unfavourable, though in reality it may be quite the contrary. The opinion which I entertain upon the subject of these fluctuations in the rates of exchange is this, that whenever they are very great, and that the rates of exchange continue for any time very unusually high against one country and in favour of the other, there has been some great depreciation in the value of the currency of that country to which the exchange is unfavourable. This was proved to be the case, in respect to Ireland, in 1804. But, if it is desired to explain upon what circumstance the ordinary fluctuations depend, then I should say, that the best explanation to be given is the usual one, that they depend upon the proportion which the supply of bills of exchange in the market bears to the demand for them, and that if a more radical explanation is sought for, the attempt to discover one will altogether fail. In order, therefore, to do away these fluctuations in the rates of exchange, it is necessary to do away all fluctuations in this proportion which the supply bears to the demand for bills of exchange. But as this is impracticable, then we are to consider what the functions are of bills of exchange, and endeavour to attain some other thing possessing their properties. The peculiar characteristic of them is the facility which they afford in making remittances of money from one country to another; but of this quality bank paper is equally possessed, if it has currency in both countries; for so soon as the bank paper of one country is current in the other, or can be converted into paper there current, then a person wishing to remit can do so with bank paper, and at no other expence than that of the postage of the letter containing it. The means of remittance will no longer be confined to bills of exchange; fluctuations in the proportion which the supply of these bills bears to the demand will no longer produce fluctuations in the rates of exchange, but the funds of making remittances being the whole paper currency, the existence of an exchange must cease altogether.—If then, Sir, Bank of England paper was current in Ireland, and Bank of Ireland paper, of a given value, convertible into Bank of England paper of the same value, every person having occasion to make a remittance to London would be able to do so by sending Bank of England paper to his London correspondent: he would no longer be dependant upon the supply of bills of exchange, and he never would be under the necessity of paying a premium for the means of making his remittance. It is very easy to illustrate the accuracy of this statement by reference to the way in which matters of this kind are conducted between London and Liverpool, or any other place carrying on a great trade with London. A person in Liverpool having occasion to make a remittance to London can do so, either by a bill of exchange, or by bank paper, equally current at Liverpool and at London. If he could not obtain bank paper current at both places, then he would be compelled to purchase a bill of exchange, and thus have to pay a premium or receive one, according to the quantity of bills at 'Change. Now, as the only difference in the relative circumstances of Liverpool and London, and Dublin and London, in regard to exchange, is that Liverpool and London have a currency of Bank paper common to both places, and that Dublin and London have not such a currency, it is plain, that if such a currency was established between Dublin and London, the existence of an exchange between these places would no more exist than it now does between Liverpool and London.—I am aware, sir, that the assimilation of the Coin of the United Kingdom may be effected without reference to the currency of Bank paper; but, sir, as my object is to establish not only an assimilation of coin, but of the currencies as composed both of coin and Bank paper, and as I conceive that the assimilation of the coin should be accompanied with regulations, so as to secure a common currency of Bank paper, I feel that I have a right to infer from the foregoing arguments, that if the assimilation of the coin is accompanied by such regulations, the exchange will be entirely done away. I am also aware, sir, that it will, in some degree, depend upon the conduct of the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, whether or not Bank of England paper shall become current in Ireland. But though it certainly might be made so more easily by their assistance than without it, I shall presently shew, that its becoming current there does not depend altogether upon them. I have too good an opinion of the Directors of this Bank to think that, if every thing was done towards establishing a common circulating medium of paper between both countries, except what they had it in their power to do, they would so far oppose the public interest as to refuse to pay their notes with Bank of England notes, or with bills on London payable at certain fixed rates for interest and commission. I have, sir, the authority of the committee, whose Report has been read, for the practicability and policy of such an arrangement. They say, "Other modes of obtaining a common medium, such as that of inducing or even compelling the Bank of Ireland to give Bank of England Notes in exchange for their own on demand, or to make their own exchangeable for them in London, or to give Bills of Exchange on London for them, have been suggested; and there is no doubt any of them would have the effect of rectifying the exchange. The objection that has been made to this proposal, is the difficulty and expence to the Bank of Ireland which would attend the procuring a fund in London on which to draw. On this your Committee observe generally, that neither the difficulty, nor the expence attendant on this measure would be so great as that to which the Bank, by its constitution, is necessarily subject at all times when not protected by a restriction from performing its engagements; and that whatever funds the Bank formerly applied, or intend again to apply, on the removal of the restriction, to provide for the difficulty and expence of obtaining a supply of gold, might in the interim be applied to the procuring of English Bank notes; the Evidence of Mr. Winthrop points out the practicability of obtaining a sufficient supply of Bank of England notes with such a fund; his expression is, that 'the Bank of Ireland, 'or any person, may procure Bank notes 'now to any extent if they will pay for 'them.' But Mr. Mansfield's Evidence so clearly shews the practical mode of carrying this measure into effect, that your committee cannot impress it too strongly upon the attention of the house; it shews, in the example of Scotland, how effectually a very small sum, vigorously and wisely applied, did operate, and that banks there did establish an adequate fund, with ultimate advantage to themselves.—His account states, that 'There 'was, after the peace of Versailles in 1763, 'an exchange of 5 or 6 per cent. against 'Scotland with London, created by per- 'sons collecting Gold from the different 'banks there, bringing it to London, and 'passing their bills at Edinburgh for it, in 'order to put a profit into their own 'pockets by raising the exchange. The 'two chartered Banks of Scotland seeing 'that this exchange arose from artificial 'means, collected as much funds as they 'could to bring to London, and by draw- 'ing gradually at $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 per cent. less 'than the others, reduced the exchange to 'what they esteemed par bills of 40 days 'date;' at which it has steadily continued ever since, unaffected by the failure of the Bank of Ayr; the convulsions to credit in general in 1792 and 1793; the failures in 1795; and the difficulties which caused the restriction in 1797 in England, but which was not extended to the chartered Banks of Scotland; and all this notwithstanding the great presumption, that if an account of all pecuniary transactions between Scotland and England could be ascertained, it must have often happened that the balance was against the one country or the other.—This fact gives great force to the arguments of those witnesses who propose that the Bank of Ireland should establish a credit for the like purpose in London; and the present peculiar situation of the Irish Finances not only point out a ready, but an adequate and effective fund, which at the same time that it gives to the Bank of Ireland every prospect of success which has attended the measures of the chartered Banks of Scotland, exempts it from all expence, risk, or difficulty which might attend it; for your Committee must observe, that the Bank of Scotland undertook to provide this fund at their own expence, but the Bank of Ireland has an opportunity of establishing it without expence to themselves; and further, it appears to have been suggested to the Banks of Scotland by their good sense and patriotism, to try the efficacy of a measure without precedent, while the Bank of Ireland has only to follow an example where success has been already demonstrated by experience." I therefore, Sir, in saying as I now do, that a common circulating medium of Bank paper may be established by the Bank of Ireland, say that which is recommended to be done by this committee, upon their finding that a similar measure had been adopted in Scotland with complete success. But, Sir, independant of these motives to induce the Bank of Ireland to make their paper convertible into Bank of England paper, their own private interests should have great weight in pointing out to them the policy of such a step; for, if it should be attended with the consequence of preventing future fluctuations in the rates of exchange, it will relieve them, whenever the restriction of cash payments is taken off, from the expence of providing guineas to answer the great demands which are made for them whenever the exchange is unfavourable to Ireland; and for the same reason the Bank of England is also interested in preventing fluctuations in the rates of exchange, as they are liable to similar demands upon them, whenever the exchange is unfavourable to England. If however, Sir, the Bank of Ireland should refuse to give Bank of England notes in exchange for their own on demand, or to give bills on London for them as has been suggested, the currency of Bank of England paper may in a great measure be obtained in Ireland, by making it a legal tender equally and to the same extent as Bank of Ireland paper is. One effect of this regulation would be the impossibility of an exchange unfavourable to England, because no one would go to 'Change and give a premium for a bill of exchange, when he could get a bank note without a premium, which would answer every purpose of a bill in making a remittance to Ireland; and thus one half of the business of doing away the exchange would be accomplished. But just in the degree and to the extent that Bank of England paper would be sent to Ireland for the purpose of keeping exchange favourable to England, a stock of it would be there established with which the exchange would be prevented from becoming unfavourable to Ireland; for, as the tendency of the exchange to be unfavourable to Ireland would arise from the demand for bills on London being greater than the supply, all this stock of Bank paper would come in to the aid of the bills in meeting the demand for the means of making remittances. I cannot think that it is proposing a very unreasonable thing to require that Bank of England paper should be as current in one part of the United Kingdom as in other parts, and that, if there is no objection to give it that quality in the farthest parts of England, and the most remote quarters of Scotland, now that Ireland forms one and the same country with England and Scotland, it is but removing a distinction that ought not to exist, to make it as current in Ireland.—I have now, sir, stated the several reasons that occur to me to prove the policy of assimilating the currencies of the United Kingdom, and I shall now proceed to lay before the house very good authority in support of the arguments which I have made use of. The Committee already referred to, in their report say, "if it shall be thought expedient to equalize the currency, by making the shillings contain only twelve-pence, Your Committee submit the advantage of doing so."—As to the effect of an assimilated currency of bank paper, they say, "Your Committee cannot entertain a doubt of the practicability of what they recommend," [That the Bank of Ireland should pay their notes in Bank of England paper, or in bills of fixed rates on London], "nor that it ought to have the sure effect of reducing exchange to par. In case of such event, they would also strongly urge the doing away the name of exchange, and putting an end to its calculation, by equalizing the monies of account and monies of circulation in both countries, and the fixing the future interchange by bills, at a stated number of days, adequate to defray the expence of remitting at all times, so as fully to adopt the same practice which prevails between Edinburgh and London, and between Liverpool and London." And then they go on to say, "Before your Committee quit the subject of exchange, they wish to observe, that if their enquiries have failed in enabling them to propose any effectual remedy, still a remedy ought to be sought for by the wisdom of the house, for that a great country, now placed as Ireland is under the same legislature with England, forming a constituent part of the united empire equally as England, or any county in England does, its metropolis, not so distant from London as any part of Scotland, Newcastle, Carlisle or Durham, should labour in its pecuniary intercourse with England, under a constant varying exchange, which the others are free from, is a portion so strange that your Committee cannot believe it to be founded in the common nature of things."—But, Sir, I can yet refer to a still better authority in support of the policy of assimilating the currencies. I mean to the precedent—the proceedings relative to the Coin of England and Scotland at the time of the Union afford. At that period there existed a difference between the currencies of these countries exactly similar to the difference between those of England and Ireland; the English shilling being then current in Scotland for 13 Scotch pence, and the rates of exchange being 11 to 12 per cent. against Scotland. Those who were concerned in drawing up the terms of the Scotch Union were so fully impressed of the advantage which would attend the getting rid of this difference in the currencies, and of this unfavourable exchange, that they framed a specific article for the purpose. The 16th Article, declaring, "That from and after the Union, the Coin shall be of the same standard and value throughout the United Kingdom as now in England." It is mentioned, Sir, by De Foe, in his History of the Union, that measures were so taken that no inconvenience whatever attended the assimilation of the currencies, and that the rates of exchange, which before were 11 or 12 per cent. to the disadvantage of Scotland, immediately came to par. A circumstance, Sir, which is most strongly illustrative of the accuracy of those arguments which I have advanced concerning the exchange between England and Ireland.—I have now, Sir, stated to the house what appears to me to be conclusive proof of the policy of this measure of assimilation. I do not think that any arguments ever were advanced on any subject so completely borne out by authority and precedent as those which I have submitted to your consideration. The Committee to whose Report I have referred, consisted of persons perfectly well qualified to perform the task imposed upon them; and nothing can be more in point than what took place at the time of the Scotch Union.

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* The commission and interest charged on bills drawn at Bristol, Liverpool, &c. on London, not being considered in the nature of an exchange.

I shall next proceed to state the Plan, which upon the fullest consideration, appears to me to be the best calculated to accomplish this measure. Till the reign of William III, the currencies were the same in both countries, and it was only on the issuing of the new silver coinage by this king that, for the first time, the English shilling was made current for 13*d*. The guinea of England was current in Ireland for 23*s*. till 1736, when it was reduced to 22*s*. 9*d*., so as to correspond in value with the shilling at 13*d*. The present coin of Ireland is composed of guineas, which circulate in considerable quantities in the north, of silver bank tokens, Spanish dollars, and of copper coin issued in 1805. The value of the shilling at 13*d*. forms the whole difference between the coin of Ireland and England; and that being the case, it is plain that the way to get rid of it, is to make the English shilling current for 12*d*. The Report of the Committee, to which I have so often alluded, points out this way of proceeding, it states, that "The equalization of the currency may be accomplished by making the copper penny, halfpenny and farthing of England equally current in Ireland as the silver shilling and golden guinea; and the Committee recommend that they should be so made current in preference to the forming of a new copper coinage of a separate device or description for Ireland." The Privy Council, however, did not think proper to adopt this recommendation of the Committee, but, on the contrary, advised his majesty to issue a copper coinage for Ireland in 1805, having a separate device and description. I am ready to acknowledge that this step has thrown an obstacle in the way of the assimilation; but it is one by no means of such a nature as to be insurmountable. It has been suggested to me that this object might be attained by issuing a proclamation declaring that the shilling should be current for 12*d.* of this coin; but as this measure would be justly liable to the imputation of being an unfair one, I shall not propose it. But I shall adopt the plan recommended by the Committee, of making the English penny, halfpenny, and farthing current in Ireland. In order to carry this measure into effect, it would be necessary to call in the copper coin now circulating in Ireland, and to issue a new coinage of the same standard and value as the English copper coin, and if this new coinage was prepared, so as to be ready to be issued to supply the place of the present one when called in, no inconvenience would be experienced by the people of Ireland. There would certainly be some loss to the revenue on this transaction. As, however, this coin has been issued for more than its intrinsic value, the loss would be confined to the expence incurred in making it, and to the weight of copper lost by the wear of the coin. The expence of making it was 42*l.* per ton for the penny, and 49*l.* per ton for the halfpenny and farthing coins, and 5*l.* per ton for packing, carriage and freight. There were made 152 tons of pennies, and 448 tons of halfpence and farthings. The whole expense being 41,336*l.* But all this sum would not be lost to the public, if the new coinage could be made upon the same terms as the last, because this was issued at a clear profit of upwards of 20,000*l.* But, though a loss should be to be incurred equal to the difference between the expence of making the last coinage and the profit of issuing 600 tons of new coin, it will be of little consideration when compared with the advantages to be derived from the transaction. As to the loss by the wear of the coin, this could be very little, in consequence of its having been so recently issued.—I shall now, Sir, advert to the silver money of Ireland. If that had continued to consist of mint silver as it did till 1804, no difficulty, whatever, would present itself on this head; but as there is now no mint silver in Ireland, and as its place is supplied by bank tokens, it is to be considered what shall be done with them in the arrangement for accomplishing the assimilation. They consist of pieces bearing the value of 6*s.* 30*d.* 10*d,* and 5*d.* Those for 6*s.* have been issued by the bank of Ireland on their own account, each token is a Spanish dollar newly stamped; and as the dollar is now current in Ireland for 4*s.* 10*d.* it circulates in these tokens for 14*d.* more than its true value. The amount of them in circulation is 232,352*l.* The other tokens had been issued by the bank on account of the government, under the 45 Geo. 3, c. 42, and 48 Geo. 3, c. 31. By these acts the token for 5*d.* contains 1-13 part of a Spanish dollar; for 10*d.* 2-13, and for 30*d.* 6-13 parts: thus giving to the dollar the value of 5*s.* 5*d.*, being 7*d.* more than its true value*. The amount of these tokens in circulation is 743,404*l.*—As, however, these tokens were issued to serve a temporary purpose, and to supply the place of mint coin, till a fit opportunity should present itself for issuing a new silver coinage, I shall propose, sir, in order to render the silver currency of Ireland, the same as that of England, that a new coinage shall be issued common to both countries, and I feel that I am fully warranted in making this proposal so far as England is concerned, because it is quite notorious that there is an absolute necessity for a new coinage in this country.—What I have proposed to be done so far, can be accomplished by the executive government, but this will not be sufficient, I have other measures to propose, but these must be carried into effect by act of parliament. As, Sir, I am most anxious that the alteration in the value of the currencies should not be attended with any injury to individuals, and that they should not have any grounds for entertaining even apprehensions of suffering injury, I shall propose that an act of parliament should be passed to declare that all contracts for sums of money, made previous to the day, on which his majesty should fix by his proclamation the assimilation to take place, should be construed as sums of Irish currency, unless otherwise expressed by the contract; and that all contracts for sums of money made subsequent to that day, should be construed to be for sums of British money, unless also otherwise expressed. Such a regulation would secure the faithful performance of all contracts, and prevent the possibility of any injury being sustained by the parties to these contracts. —I have also to propose, that it shall be provided by act of parliament, that no banker shall issue notes for sums in Irish currency after the same period; and in order to secure the currency of Bank of England paper in Dublin, with a view of obtaining an assimilation of paper currency as well as of the currency in coin, I shall propose that this paper shall be made a legal tender in Ireland equally with the Bank of Ireland paper. I conceive, Sir, it is quite sufficient to make the bank paper of one country current in the other, in order to obtain a common currency of paper, and that it will not be necessary to make Bank of Ireland paper a legal tender in England, because the power of converting Bank of Ireland paper into Bank of England paper in Ireland, which must be the result to a great degree of making the latter a legal tender there to the extent proposed, will give to the Bank of Ireland paper all the qualities of the latter.—These, Sir, are the several measures which I propose to have adopted, as forming a plan calculated to accomplish the assimilation of the currencies of the two countries. And, I feel quite confident, that each of them is not only practicable, but, in every respect calculated so as not to injure any one. I am very well aware of the great difficulty of arranging a plan for such a purpose, and was it not that I find such good authority for every thing that I have proposed, in the report of the Committee of this house and in the precedent of Scotland, I should be very backward in recommending it with the degree of confidence that I now do.—But, before I quit this part of the subject, I beg leave to call the attention of the house to some observations upon the probable operation of this plan. In regard to money on account, or the way in which accounts are stated, it will be optional to adhere to the mode of stating them in Irish currency, or to adopt the money of account in use in England. It certainly will be most convenient to state them in English currency because the money of account will correspond with the money of circulation. In respect to payments of money, those made with guineas, mint silver, or bank notes current for guineas, the operation of making them will be exactly the same as it now is. The guineas, will pay 22*s.* 9*d.* Irish currency, just as it now does, the half crown 2*s.* 8*d.*, the shilling 1*s.* 1*d.* Every one, therefore, receiving or paying rent, or interest money with them, will receive or pay just as much, both nominally and really, as he receives or pays under the present state of things. But payments made with bank notes current for so many pounds British currency, or with the new copper coin will appear to be differently made; though in reality they will not be so; for though 12*d.* of the new coin will pay what 13*d.* of the present one pays, as 12*d.* of the new coin will contain as much copper as 13*d.* of the present coin, the value of 12 pennies of one will be equal to the value of 13 pennies of the other. So the pound note for 20*s.*, though it will pay what the pound note for 20*s.* Irish pays together with 1*s.* 8*d.* Irish, as it will be worth 20 shillings, and each shilling will be worth 12*d.* of the new coin, it will be exactly of the same value as the Irish pound note, together with the 1*s.* 8*d.* Irish; and, therefore, the difference in way of making payments with those notes will be a nominal and not real one. For if a landlord shall receive 108*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of his rents as stated in Irish currency, by the payments of a note for 100*l.* of the new currency, he will receive the full value of his rent, because he will be able to obtain for this note of 100*l.* as many guineas, shillings, or pence, as he could get with 108*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of paper of Irish currency; or rather, sir, to speak with greater accuracy, he would be able to purchase with this note for 100*l.* as many commodities as he could purchase with the 108*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of Irish currency. It being an established maxim in the science of political economy, that the real value of a commodity does not depend upon the value of the money with which it is purchased, but upon the proportion which the supply bears to the demand of such commodity. If, sir, I was not perfectly convinced of the truth of this maxim, I never would have proposed any alteration in the currency of Ireland. For if landlords should be injured by it, I have many reasons to be adverse to it; and I should hope that I shall have credit given to me when I say, that the last thing that I would ever undertake would be a measure by which the tenantry of Ireland should be clandestinely injured.—I have now, Sir, only to make a very few observations as to the time of carrying this plan into effect. I conceive, sir, that no time can be so fit as the present, because it so appens that exchange is nearly at par. Vhen the Committee made their Report, xchange was so much against Ireland, at it formed a very inconsiderable obacle to the measure which they recomended. As it may again become unvourable in the same degree in which it as before to one country or the other, in nsequence of the power which the ank possesses of issuing whatever quanty of paper it pleases, it is particularly esirable that this opportunity should not e lost. This in fact has been the very rst opportunity that had occurred since e committee made its report; and it is for is reason that I have thought it advisable bring the subject before the house.—he conclusion then, Sir, which I desire at the house may draw from what I have id, is, that this measure of assimilating e currencies would be productive of the moval of feelings of distinction between e people of England and Ireland that ght not to exist; that it will relieve e commercial intercourse of these counies from a great and injurious restraint; d that it will do away the existence of n exchange between them; that the plan r carrying it into effect is one of great mplicity, and perfectly practicable without injury to any one, and that the present the most fit period that could occur for ccomplishing it; and though I cannot exect that a proposal of a great alteration a manner so extremely abstruse and omplicated, can at once meet with very eneral approbation, I do feel confident at the more it is examined, the greater ill be the numbers of those who will ive their support to it.—I shall move, ir, that you do now leave the chair.

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* It is impossible that any arrangement of the value of these tokens, could have been more against the spirit and advice of the report of the Committee than this, because 30*d.* 10*d.* and 5*d.* Irish are not convertible into any adequate sums of English currency.

Mr. *Foster* said, that though he agreed ith the hon. gent. as to the eligibility of oing away the exchange between the two ountries, yet he could not subscribe to the easure which he proposed, as he did not onsider it calculated to produce the end; ven if it were, he did not know by what gislative measure they could enforce the doption of it. Remittances, however ade, must be made in money, and both anks were tied up from issuing a guinea eyond a certain sum. He thought it impossible to put down the exchange altogeher; perhaps the most they could expect as to prevent the fluctuations to which was now subject. The hon. gent. reommended that the bank of England paer should be a legal tender in Ireland; ut he (Mr. F.) would ask, was the bank of Ireland paper a legal tender here? And he would warn the house how it would adopt any measure, the consequences of which might be so injurious to the country, as the making of bank paper a legal tender in any part of the kingdom. He must oppose the motion for going into a committee, as no good could result from it, and much injury might possibly ensue, in the present state of things, if the attempt were made without success. About four years ago, there was scarcely any currency in Ireland, but since then there was a sufficiency of silver to answer all her domestic purposes; she was also in complete possession of a copper currency much better than that of England; the amount of her silver currency was about 1,200,000*l.*, 200,000 of which was issued by the Bank of Ireland in Bank tokens; there was no part of the Irish currency aliquot parts of the English denomination. The hon. gent. proposed to call in and recoin all this money; but he had not stated what was to be done in the mean time, or how the inconvenience of waiting until it was recoined, was to be obviated. He (Mr. F.) was against holding up to the expectations of the country what was impracticable, and therefore he would oppose the motion for going into a committee.

Mr. *O'Hara* said, that the cause of the exchange between the two countries was, that one was in debt to the other, in which case, the exchange was always in favour of that which was the creditor. Ireland was much in debt to England.

Mr. *H. Thornton* said, that he was a member of the committee to which the hon. gent. had referred, but when the committee recommended the measure he had quoted, they had a view to an antecedent measure, which did not take place.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said, that though he entertained the greatest respect for every thing that fell from his hon. friend, who had, upon that occasion, displayed great ability and knowledge; still he was of opinion, that his plan would, after all, be attended with considerable difficulty, if it was not altogether impracticable. While the restriction with respect to the issuing of money from the Banks existed, he thought there was a great obstacle to it; nor did he think that the equalization of the coin would produce so great an effect upon the exchange as the hon. gent. seemed to think. A bill which had been brought forward by an hon. friend of his, the member for Waterford, (Sir J. Newport) permitting the export of corn from Ireland into England, had done more to equalize the exchange than all the other causes put together. Looking forward with hope to the time when it would be more practicable than at present, he would, if he might presume to advise his hon. friend, recommend that he would not press the house to a division upon the question.

Mr. *D. Giddy* allowed that it would be a desirable object to assimilate the course of exchange, but did not think the measure before them calculated to effect it.

Mr. *Parnell* said, that he wished to set himself right in the conception of the house, in a few parts of his statement, in which he had been misapprehended. He was always aware that bank paper was not a legal tender, and he thought he had guarded against the appearance of any intention of making it so, as his words were "as legal a tender in Ireland as in England," not simply a legal tender. As to what the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Foster) had said, his whole argument was founded on a misconception. When he proposed to call in the coin, he did not intend that it should be done until new coin was prepared to supply its place. As to what had been objected against the assimilation of the coin, &c. as inadequate to keep down the exchange, they would find that it had succeeded in Scotland; and with respect to the objection of time, the present state of exchange, as he had said before, rendered it peculiarly appropriate.

The motion was then negatived without a division.

[Militia Completion Bill.] The order of the day having been read for going into a committee on the Militia Completion Bill, lord Castlereagh moved, that the house do now resolve itself into the said Committee.

Lord *A. Hamilton* repeated his objections to the bill, on the ground of the pledge which had been given to the country in a former bill, which pledge the adoption of the present bill would forfeit.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied, that no such pledge had ever been given. As the best proof of this, he observed that he had introduced into the present bill words precisely similar to those in the bill alluded to by the noble lord, without the least intention that those words should carry with them any thing like a pledge. He should not consider it consistent with his public duty to make a proposition which should so tie up the future discretion of parliament.

The house then resolved itself into th committee. A long discussion ensued o the first clause. Mr. Giles and Mr. Windham contended that it was absurd to provide for supplying a deficiency in th Militia to the extent stated in the bil without the possibility of previously knowing whether or not the volunteering int the line would be so complete as to occasion that deficiency.

Lord *A. Hamilton* was by no mean satisfied that the different militia regiments would furnish the quotas require from them for the line; without speakin positively as to the fact in general, h knew one regiment which failed in furnishing its quota.

Lord *Castlereagh* could see no difficult in disposing of the supernumeraries in th Militia, even should it turn out, which h did not think it would, that the volunteering into the line would not be so extensive as the present bill anticipated. The might be added to the existing companie or formed into additional companies.

Colonel *Wood* observed, that in a regiment which he had the honour to command, the quota to be furnished by th bill would not even supply the deficiencies occasioned by the volunteering, fo the latter amounted to 550, while the former did not exceed 531 men.—The claus was eventually agreed to.

The next clauses related to the ballot.

Mr. *Giles* opposed the ballot, as productive of great mischiefs.

Lord *Castlereagh* defended the introduction of it in the bill before the committe He had been induced to extend the perio before which the ballot was not to be resorted to, from six to twelve months; bu he was completely of opinion, that if in th latter time the number of men require were not furnished by means of recruiting it would be unwise not to secure them b other means.

Mr. *Windham* ridiculed the expectatio that the recruiting could proceed successfully with a small bounty, while the me willing to enlist had in prospect the perio when the operation of the ballot woul necessarily cause a great augmentation bounty. The argument of the noble lor was, as if he should say to such me "Come, come, my lads, make haste, tak 12 guineas, for if you don't, you will b very soon compelled to take 40."—(laugh.)—Nothing could be more unfounded than the hopes that under circumstanc like these the recruiting would flouris

Mr. *Giles* objected to this as the worst ossible mode of recruiting the army, and r no means to be compared to recruit- g by the officers of government.

Lord *Castlereagh* maintained the clause a fundamental part of the present mili- ry system of the country which pre- rred the ballot to recruiting by other eans. He contended that the former as the surer mode of raising the men, d confessed he was not daring enough try the experiment of recruiting recom- ended by the hon. gent. The experi- ent for one year was all he durst venture on.

Mr. *Giles* explained. Whether friend the ballot, or recruiting, he would ually object to the noble lord's plan d take the sense of the house upon the esent clause.—The committee then di- led,

For the original clause - - -	52
Against it - - - - - - -	12
Majority - -	—40

On re-entering we found sir J. Montgo- ery proposing that recruits for militia giments might be raised in the counties joining to that to which they belonged; hich, after some observations, was agreed

Another divison took place on the clause imposing a fine of 20*l.* per man, on unties failing to furnish their quota of en.

For it - - - - - - - - - -	34
Against it - - - - - - - -	9
Majority - - -	—25

The remaining clauses having been gone rough, Mr. Biddulph proposed a new ause: the object of which was to prevent ers of the realm claiming exemption m the operation of the bill. On this ause the committee again divided; when e numbers were,

For the clause - - - - - - -	1
Against it - - - - - - - - -	37
Majority - -	—36

The house having resumed, the Chair- an reported progress, when the further nsideration was postponed till Thursday xt.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 19.

[Irish Commissioners' Fees Bill.] Mr. ster moved the Order of the day for e second reading of this bill.

Mr. *Parnell* said, that he did not in- nd to oppose this motion; but he wished to take this opportunity of expressing his opinion upon the reports already made by these Commisioners. He said, that he did not think the report upon the assessed taxes was such a one as the great defects in the manner of collecting them called for. That the Commissioners had not brought to light the abuses that notoriously prevailed, nor given any advice by which the system might be amended. He wished that they would review the subject of collecting these taxes, and suggest what might appear to them necessary for rendering them more productive. The other reports contained a large portion of very important information, and did credit to the zeal of the Commissioners. He wished, however, to know, whether the abuses they exposed had been put down, and whether the recommendations of reform contained in them had been acted upon. In the Custom departments they shewed great irregularities to have existed in the conduct of the officers employed to superintend the coasting trade, and to take care of goods landed on bills of view —a sum of 200,000*l.* having been lost to the public by goods taken away from the Custom-house, without payment of duty. —They likewise found great fault with the system in which the collector's accounts were ordered to be kept, and with the jurisdiction of the Sub-Commissioners. In the Excise department, they fully proved that where a revenue of 700,000*l.* had been collected on spirits, one of 2,200,000*l.* ought to have been levied. This was a matter of great importance, because it proved beyond a doubt that, if this duty was properly collected, no necessity would exist of any such tax as that proposed this year on malt. The Commissioners, as a remedy for illicit distillation, had proposed the adoption of small stills, as used in Scotland, a remedy that appeared to be the only effectual one that could be adopted. The hon. member said, it was absolutely necessary that something should be done immediately to meet the evil, for that one county had been fined at the last assizes 5,000*l.* He said that the existing laws were very defective, inasmuch as they imposed very heavy fines on illicit distillation, at the same time they obstructed legal distillation, by giving great encouragement to large stills, which requiring very great capital, could not be set to work in the counties where the illicit distilling was carried on, for want of sufficient capital. He next adverted to the

Auction duty, which appeared to give no produce whatever. But the most important matters in the reports of these Commissioners, was a recommendation that all revenue officers should be promoted in succession, and acccording to merit, for without adhering to such a system, it was impossible to collect the revenue; the greater part of the abuses arose from the improper manner in which appointments took place, and therefore he hoped that this advice would be strictly adopted. He thought it extremely hard upon the different boards of Commissioners that they should not be left at liberty to select and promote their own officers, and that, unless they had this power, it was impossible that they could discharge their duty in the manner they ought to do. He by no means intended to attach blame to the present boards, for any thing that these reports contained, because he did not know how far measures had been taken by them to remove the abuses complained of, or whether they had had the means of preventing them.

Mr. *Foster* said, that in respect to the assessed taxes, the sub-commissioners, and the distilleries, it was his intention to bring forward measures immediately for meeting the complaints contained in the reports. That steps had been taken with good effect already to do away the abuses that existed in the coasting trade, landing goods on bills of view, and the collection of the auction duties.—That the mode of stating the collectors accounts was very truly pointed out as defective, and that measures should be adopted for reforming it.—That in respect to the conduct of the inferior officers of the revenue, he should propose to grant an amnesty of all transgressions up to the period of the late regulations for increasing their salaries, nearly the whole of them having taken fees under the former system, in consequence of the smallness of their salaries and legal emoluments.—That, however, it was the fixed determination of the government to act without any regard to persons and services in punishing any officer who should hereafter take a fee. The right hon. member said that in regard to the distilleries, he had last year, in compliance with the wishes of many persons, admitted stills of 800 gallons to be used, but that it would answer no end to make any alteration in the existing laws till a complete reformation took place in the conduct of the inferior officers; that he was glad the hon. member had sought for the information he had de
sired, as it gave him an opportunity o
fully justifying the policy of the presen
bill.

Col. *Archdall* said, that it was absolutel
necessary that something should be don
to put down the illicit distillation, and pro
tect the people of his part of the countr
from the great rigor of the distilling law

Col. *Barry* said, it was with great reluct
ance he ever differed from his right hon
friend, but he must say that be though
the fining of counties for illicit stills dis
covered in them was a most unjust pro
ceeding.—That 15,600*l.* had been ordere
to be levied in his county, and that if pay
ment of it is enforced that it will ruin man
poor families.—He therefore thought tha
it was absolutely necessary that somethin
should be done immediately to relieve th
people from such enormous penalties.

Mr. O'Hara expressed the same opinion
—The bill was then read a second time.

[BANKRUPT LAWS BILL.] The hous
having resolved itself into a Committee o
the Bankrupt Laws Amendment bill,

Sir *S. Romilly*, in order to obviate a
objection, which he understood was to b
made to the clause for allowing bankrup
who may have obtained their certificat
to be witnesses, without any release
their allowances, in cases where their a
signees were claimants, proposed an amen
ment, to provide that bankrupts were n
to be allowed to be admitted as witness
under this act, but in such cases where
they may by law be competent wi
nesses before the passing of this act.—Th
effect of this amendment was to allo
bankrupts to be witnesses upon releasin
their interest in the particular matter
issue, without a general release of the
allowances upon the other property assig
ed under the commission.

A long discussion ensued both on th
clause and the amendment, in which th
Attorney and Solicitor General, and M
Davies Giddy, expressed strong doubts
the propriety of making any inroad up
the law and rules of evidence as they ex
at this moment; and sir Samuel Romill
Mr. Stephen, Mr. Jacob, Mr. Morris, an
sir Charles Price, argued, in substanc
that it was desirable to adopt the clau
thus amended, in order to do away t
practice of giving nominal releases, b
fictitious instruments which were afte
wards to be concealed, and to prevent,
the release were real, the bankrupt fro
being obliged to give all he would in th

ase possess in the world, for the purpose f becoming a competent witness. The mendment was, however, in the end greed to, and the clause so amended re- ined as a part of the bill.—On the clause r requiring creditors to release all right action, on proving their debt under a ommission of bankruptcy, the Attorney eneral stated that he had some objections this clause, but should wave them, as e understood that his hon. and learned iend intended to obviate them by a clause, hich would provide against a creditor's leasing his right of action against a hird party, where he had such right, as ell as such bankrupt, and to prevent e creditor from releasing his right of tion against the future effects of a bank- upt, whose dividends under a second ommission of bankruptcy should not mount to fifteen shillings in the pound. —On the clause for authorizing the Lord hancellor, or the Lord Keeper of the reat Seal, for the time being, to direct otices, other than personal notices, to be rved upon creditors in England and Ire- nd reciprocally, upon appeals by peti- on on the part of a bankrupt, to whom is creditors should after two years con- nue to refuse his certificate, a member ok some trifling objections, which, after few observations from sir Samuel Ro- illy and the Solicitor General, were ver-ruled, sir Samuel Romilly having reviously stated his intention to bring in clause, after the bill should be gone hrough, providing that in all such cases uch other notice should under English ommissions be given in the Dublin Ga- ette to Irish creditors, and under Irish ommissions of bankruptcy to English reditors in the London Gazette.—On e clause giving to the Lord Chancellor r the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the ower to grant a certificate on such ap- eal by the bankrupt, if the certificate hould appear to have been withheld by e creditors from improper motives, ano- her long discussion took place, the Attor- ey General and Mr. Jacob contending hat it was more fit that the power of ranting or withholding the certificate hould be vested in the creditors or in me proportion of them, than in any other ribunal, because the creditors must be e best judges whether the bankruptcy as fraudulent, though it might not at all imes be in their power to prove the rounds upon which they were of this pinion, on an appeal by the bankrupt to the Chancellor. Whilst, on the other hand, it was most strenuously contended by Mr. Abercromby, that this was the most beneficial clause in the bill, because no certificate would be granted upon an appeal, unless it should appear to the Lord Chancellor that the creditors have no good ground for withholding it; and it appeared from an account on the table, that out of 16,000 persons, who had been bankrupt within the last twenty years, 6,597 were uncertificated, and could never acquire any property for themselves or their families, unless this clause should be enacted to place them within the reach of relief.

Mr. *Stephen* contended that the great proportion of uncertificated bankrupts being three-eighths of the whole number, proved that the interference of parliament was necessary. This proportion was much the greatest in years of unexampled misfortune; and this circumstance went strongly to prove, that it was not merely the dishonesty of debtors, but their misfortunes, which were punished by stopping their certificates.

The *Solicitor General* contended that it was better that, according to the law as it now stands, the bankrupt's certificate should depend on the judgment of the creditors than of the Lord Chancellor. He cited to this effect the opinions of lord Thurlow, lord Rosslyn, and lord Clare, who had been all of them chancellors. He thought that in this bill humanity appeared to be confined to the bankrupts, and that the sufferings of the creditors had not been sufficiently attended to. If, however, the clause should be rejected, he would move that instead of four-fifths of the creditors, three-fourths of the creditors, and of those only who had released the person of the bankrupt, should be sufficient for signing the certificate.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* said, that the hon. and learned gent. had mis-stated what lord Eldon had said about the opinions of lords Thurlow, Rosslyn, and Clare. What they had said was, that it would be dangerous to leave the determination of the certificate entirely to the Chancellor. The present clause, however, did no such thing: it only empowered the Chancellor to interfere if he thought proper, upon a petition presented by a bankrupt who had been two years without his certificate. Now, as to fraudulent bankrupts, all those who had any experience in the court of chancery knew that they obtained their certificate easier than the honest bankrupts. Fraudulent bankrupts always contrived to have false debts proved, in order to get themselves whitewashed, according to the common phrase. Their bankruptcies were for the purpose of gaining their certificates; whereas honest bankrupts had much oftener to endure the severity of the laws from the obstinacy or caprice of some one creditor. He allowed the people of England and the merchants of England were generally humane; but often great cruelties were practised, which the law should prevent. To say, that from the humanity of the English character these cruelties were not common, was in fact to say nothing. Neither were murders common, but that was no reason that there should not be laws against them. He could state one instance of cruelty to a bankrupt which came within his own knowledge. A bankrupt had been arrested at the suit of a house in the city, and one of the partners of that house was chosen the assignee. This assignee delayed for three years to make any sort of dividend, in order that the house might not be obliged to make its election about proving under the commission. At the end of three years, however he was obliged to make a dividend, but he then divided his debt, proving only one-half. This creditor had frequently been heard to declare, that the bankrupt should never go out of jail except to his grave, and his threat was accomplished. It having been stated to the Chancellor, that the bankrupt could not live more than two or three weeks longer in confinement, he appointed an early day to hear his petition; but though the decree was in favour of the bankrupt, the assignee contrived to have another detainer laid upon him, which gave rise to a more protracted litigation, and his debtor never did leave the jail but for his grave; and there was no doubt but the death of the bankrupt was owing to the obduracy of the creditor. He did not say that such cases were common, but that they should not be allowed to exist. The life of an honest man or his perpetual imprisonment, should not depend upon the caprice of partial judges, after the bankrupt had fairly surrendered his effects.

Mr. *Wilson* said he was rather anxious not to admit this clause than to dispute it; but till he could put the bankrupt law on a footing which should protect the fair trader, he could not agree to adopt it.

The clause was then agreed to. Several new clauses were afterwards brought up by sir Samuel Romilly and the Solicitor General, and agreed to. The house resumed; the report was received, and ordered to be taken into further consideration this day se'nnight.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 20.

[Breach of Privilege.] Sir Charles Hamilton presented a Petition from Daniel Butler, the Sheriff's officer, by whom he had been arrested, and who had been confined in Newgate, in consequence of such a breach of the privileges of Parliament. The Petition stated, Tha the petitioner with all humility and contrition, most humbly begs pardon of the house, and particularly of sir Charles Hamilton, bart., the hon. member whom he so grossly and personally insulted on Wednesday the 12th day of this instan April, as appears by the Votes of the house as follows; "That, on Wednesday last about half an hour after three of the clock in the afternoon, he was arrested in hi own house by the said Daniel Butler (an officer of the Sheriff of Middlesex), and that he was insulted by him for endeavouring to convince him that he was not the person specified in the writ, in breach o the privileges of this house;" upon which Complaint the petitioner was by the hous committed to Newgate; and that the petitioner has been an officer to the Sheriff o Middlesex ten years, in which situatio he trusts he has conducted himself with th strictest propriety; and intentionally t give any offence, or to attempt to arres any hon. member of this house, is the las thing he could think of, well knowing how they are privileged; but this unfortunat mistake arose from the instruction he received from a brother-officer, who requested the petitioner to execute the sai writ for him, it being a practice for one officer to oblige another in that way; an the petitioner had a paper to that effect i his hand when at the bar of the house o Friday last; and that the petitioner, afte he was so committed, in the lobby of th house expressed his sorrow and contritio to the said sir Charles Hamilton for th great offence he had committed on his person in so arresting him for another barone of the said name, the writ being for a s John Charles Hamilton; and the petitione begs to state that he has a wife and seve hildren that depend upon his exertion for heir support, and they as well as the petiioner lament this unfortunate transaction, nd humbly implore the house, that, in heir mercy, they will pardon the petiioner's great crime, and order him to be rought up to the bar of the house to be ischarged, the petitioner being fully coninced of his crime.

Sir *C. Hamilton* moved, that he be rought to the bar of the house to-morrow, or the purpose of being discharged.—greed to.

[Papers relative to the Armistice n Portugal.] Mr. *Yorke* rose for the urpose of making his promised motion, elative to the Convention and Armistice n Portugal. He wished particularly to all the attention of the house to some olitical circumstances, by which it would ppear, that some opinions of gen. Bernarine Freire, with respect to the Armistice oncluded in Portugal, coming to this ountry before the dispatches of sir Hew Dalrymple, had tended to prejudice the ublic mind against that officer. A plain tatement of the circumstances would tend o shew things in, perhaps, their proper olours. Sir Hew Dalrymple, it appears, anded in Portugal the day after the battle f Vimiera, and had proceeded, not from ngland, where he might obtain exact nformation in every point of view, but rom Gibraltar, where he must necessarily ave been uninformed. He had not been n the country above an hour and a half, hen general Kellerman arrived with a ag of truce; in this situation, he of ourse was under the necessity of being ompletely guided and governed by the fficers whom he found on the spot; he hen, under their guidance, concluded an rmistice, with a view to negociate a Conention, and a copy of this Armistice he ommunicated to gen. Freire, for the purose of ascertaining his sentiments upon it. What was the consequence of this highly olitical step? Why, gen. Freire, to whom ir Hew Dalrymple had sent the Armisice, in order to profit by his judgment on t, immediately wrote off to ministers ere, the most unfounded comments oncerning it! This was made public ere, and tended very much to inflame he public mind against sir Hew Dalymple. He therefore thought it now material that his own letter on the subject o lord Castlereagh should be laid before he house. Sir Hew Dalrymple had not hought proper to avail himself of these papers before the Court of Inquiry, because they were of a political nature, and the court had been instituted for purposes merely military. In justice, then, to the character of that officer, he hoped these documents would be now produced, from whence he was likely to acquire some advantage. The only representation which had been made to our generals in Portugal, by the Portuguese generals upon the subject, was a letter from the bishop of Oporto to sir Arthur Wellesley; and this communication was made some days after even the Convention had been signed. He should be one of the last men in the house to move for any papers by the production of which government might be in the least degree embarrassed; he trusted there would be no objection on their part to comply with his present motion. He was of opinion, that the conduct of sir Hew Dalrymple had been much misunderstood, and he would ask whether it would be candid in the house to refuse him a justification. He had met a most severe censure; a censure, too, which perhaps those who gave it did not justly estimate. The heroic spirit of our army was almost proverbial, and those who condemned our officers on slight grounds, condemnations eagerly echoed by a venal press, ought to be severely reprehended. He would appeal to the case of sir Robert Calder, who, after much service and splendid victories, had been very hardly treated. He then moved, "That an humble Address be presented his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this house, copies or extracts of a Letter from lieut.-general sir Hew Dalrymple to lord viscount Castlereagh, dated 23d Dec. 1808; together with such of the Enclosures therein contained as relate to any representations stated to have been made by any of the Portuguese authorities at Oporto to the Portuguese minister in London, or to lieut. general sir Arthur Wellesley, upon the subject of the late Armistice in Portugal, signed at Vimiera on the 22d of August 1808, in so far as the production of the same may not be prejudicial to his majesty's service; and also, copy of a Letter from lord viscount Castlereagh to lieut.-general sir Hew Dalrymple, in answer thereto, dated 10th Jan. 1809."

Lord *Castlereagh* opposed the motion, on the ground that he had left it to the discretion of sir Hew Dalrymple, whether or not he would have those papers produced at the Board of Inquiry, which he declined. He was not aware that any impression had been made on the public mind adverse to the officer in question, or that it would be of such importance to his character, as the right hon. gent. seemed to think, to have these papers made public. Of this he was certain, that every representation which could be favourable to sir Hew Dalrymple, had been laid before his majesty before the final decision.

General *Tarleton* said, although he would not object to the motion, yet he could not help thinking it would not have any beneficial effect in justifying that disgraceful Convention, nor any of those connected with it. This general succeeded to the command of an army, equal if not superior to the French, in cavalry, in infantry, and in spirit. These were opposed to an army composed of bad materials, for the army of Junot, it must be recollected, were not like the army of Spain; in short, it was such an army as might very likely have triumphed over the Portuguese, but not over the British forces. He should be sorry to hear any officer expressing himself as that right hon. gent. had done, for although he (Mr. Yorke) had been Secretary at War, he appeared to have a very different tinge of mind from any military person as to military transactions. Many officers had told him that a great and pernicious effect had been produced in Spain, in consequence of the previous Convention of Cintra; and this he believed, as it could not be deemed honourable for any officer to go with the placard of Cintra about his neck. Never were there 28,000 men of a finer description than those employed under sir Hew Dalrymple, and yet we had nothing like the Convention of Cintra that stood in the annals of the British history. God forbid that we should ever look upon it in any other view than as most disgraceful; for he would rather place his hand in the fire, than put it to such a Convention as that was. The letter called for had not been transmitted till eleven days after the Convention of Cintra, and he thought that the generals ought to be condemned for their delay in sending dispatches.

Lord *Ossulston* generally differed from the hon. mover on the subject of the Convention of Cintra, which he did not consider as at all honourable or advantageous to the country. He often found it the case that where men very strenuously upon all occasions stood up for the royal prerogative, they were very little interested in the honour of the country. (This we understood to be the substance of the noble lord's speech, but as he spoke in so low a tone we may not be completely correct.)

Mr. *Yorke* rose in some warmth to repel the insinuations of the noble lord; he had held a seat in that house much longer than the noble lord, and was as warmly interested both for the country and constitution. He had been educated in the principles of the Old Whig School, and was as zealously attached to the interests of the people as the noble lord, or any of his ancestors.

The motion was then put, and negatived. Mr. Yorke then moved, That the copy of a Letter, dated Sept. 8, 1808, containing an account of the number of transports employed in carrying French and Spanish troops from Lisbon, should be laid before the house.—Agreed to.

[Spanish Treaty.] Mr. *Ponsonby* rose to put a question to a right hon. gent. opposite, as to the interpretation of the Treaty entered into with Spain, that part of it, he meant, which went to bind his majesty to an alliance with the Spanish Government. He would read to the house from a paper he held in his hand, the passage of which he now sought the explanation, it ran thus, "His Britannic Majesty engages to continue to assist to the utmost of his power the Spanish Nation in their struggle, against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and promises not to acknowledge any other king of Spain, and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than his catholic majesty Ferdinand the Seventh, his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge." Now in his judgment, this might admit of either of two interpretations, and yet he was not at all prepared to say, whether either of those two interpretations was such a one as the treaty itself was meant to bear: one, that it admitted of, was that the king was bound to acknowledge Ferdinand, and no other in any event, as king of Spain; the other, of which it might equally admit, was, that the king was bound to admit as the successor of Ferdinand a king *de facto*, being so acknowledged as king by the Spanish nation, and considered by them as the lawful successor of Ferdinand.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* replied, that the Treaty in question was not meant to bear either of the two interpretations mention-l by the right hon. gentleman. The Trea-y was not in either of those senses. It rtainly did go to bind his majesty in rict alliance with the Spanish nation, d, of course, to the exclusive acknow-dgment of Ferdinand as their lawful so-ereign; but this was only so long as e Spanish nation thought proper to hold ood to their part of the contract. Ferdi-nd, and the immediate successors to e Spanish throne, were then in the wer of France: and it had been under-ood, that in the event of the removal of eir claims by demise, it would become a atter of grave question amongst the anish jurists, upon whom the superior ght of succession to the crown would evolve; it was therefore but provident to ord that part of the Treaty so as it might ear a prospective relation to such an ent; for it would not be denied, that in question of that nature, this country ould have no right to interfere with the xclusive privilege of the Spanish people. hat part of the Treaty had that bearing d the most desirable object in the case of ch an event they had in view was, the gitimacy of the successor, qualified by e acknowledgment of the nation. As to y question arising out of the success-l issue of French usurpation, when that urpation was acknowledged and acceded by the Spanish nation, Spain and Eng-nd would be no longer acting in concert gainst France, and therefore the avowed bject of the present Treaty would be ven up, and the contract between the two ountries dissolved. Whenever the Spanish ation should cease to consider France as er enemy, while France was ours, from at moment the Treaty would be *ipso facto* nnulled.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said, that as far as related the divided claim to the crown of Spain ventually, and the doubts upon that sub-ct among the Spanish jurists, he knew othing of either till the right hon. gent. nd then informed him. With respect to e nature of the contract entered into be-ween the two countries, he was ready to dmit the explanation of the right hon. ent. to be perfectly satisfactory; but, in iving this opinion, he did not thereby ledge himself to an approbation of the reaty itself, or the grounds upon which had been entered into. The next ques-on he had to ask was in reference to a etter from Mr. Frere to sir John Moore, ated Talavera de la Reyna, Dec. 3, 1808, nd beginning, "Sir; In the event which I did not wish to pre-suppose of your continuing in the determination of retiring with the army, &c." This letter he (Mr. Ponsonby) understood to conclude with a request that the bearer of that letter might be previously examined before a council of war. Now, considering the respective situations of that gentleman and sir John Moore, he could not help saying, that this request appeared to him to be one of the most extraordinary, that ever was made (Hear! hear!). Was it to be believed that a person——

Mr. Secretary *Canning* rose to order; though the right hon. gent. had said full enough to tempt him to enter into some justification of the conduct of his right hon. friend, as well as from a sense of public duty as the motives of private friendship, he should, however, forbear, provided the right hon. gent. would stop there, and confine himself to the putting of any question he might think proper to propose.

Mr. *Ponsonby* admitted that the right hon. gent. was right, and that he was wrong. The questions he had to put were—He wished to know the name of the bearer of this letter from Mr. Frere to sir John Moore; who this messenger was, and what the nature of his message?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* replied, that he could give no answer to the latter part of the right hon. gent.'s question, as he himself was not aware of the nature of the message. As to the name of the messenger, he must be excused if he declined answering that; but he believed his right hon. friend, in requesting that the messenger might be examined before a council of war, did so, not with any view of questioning the military authority or judgment of sir John Moore, but that the council might have every advantage of any extraordinary information possessed by a person so lately coming from Madrid, and an eye-witness of the scenes passing at such a distance.

Mr. *Whitbread* asked, what were the powers and instructions given to Mr. Frere, and whether the messenger alluded to already was a Frenchman or an Englishman?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said that the instructions could be best learned from the papers that might be laid before the house referring to this subject. As to the nativity of the messenger, he believed, as was more probably the case, that he was a native of the country where he acted.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he had asked the last question because he had it in contemplation to offer a motion to the house for the removal of Mr. Frere.

Colonel *Wood*, supposing that the letter from Mr. Frere to sir John Moore was in answer to one from that general, wished to know whether there would be any objection to the production of that letter.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* replied, that all the correspondence between sir John Moore and Mr. Frere, that had reached his office, was either in copies or extracts before the house. He took that opportunity of moving, That there be laid before the house copies of all the notes which had been exchanged between the Spanish minister and the Secretary of State relative to certain Articles of the Spanish Treaty.—Ordered.

[Chelsea Hospital—Colonel Gordon.] Mr. *Huskisson* took occasion to call the attention of the house to a subject which, in consequence of the motion of an hon. baronet (sir F. Burdett), had on a former evening produced so much discussion. That motion had been submitted upon Friday; and, as from the statement preceding it there was some reason to apprehend that the building about to be erected by colonel Gordon, would interfere with the comfort and convenience of the hospital, he had thought it his duty to survey the place. This duty he felt due to the house and to the hon. baronet, and accordingly he visited the grounds alluded to. The result of this visit was that colonel Gordon's house being about to be erected upon a scite very inconvenient for the infirmary, he felt dissatisfied; and so far he agreed with the hon. baronet. But yet he wished it to be understood, that this discovery involved no contradiction of the statement he had on a former evening submitted to the house with regard to the conduct of the Treasury. In consequence, however, of this discovery, he thought proper to take a lord of the Treasury to view the premisses, and the effect of that visit was that upon a consultation with, and a recommendation from the governors of the Hospital and the medical gentleman attending it, supported by the opinion of the Surveyor General, the scite of col. Gordon's house was removed. But still he wished it to be understood, that this removal did not take place on account of any change of opinion on the part of the Treasury, with regard to the grounds originally laid before them. To the grounds upon which the Surveyor-General originally reported, that officer still adhered; while the physician and surgeon fully approved of the place chosen for the building of colonel Gordon's house, conceiving it in no degree inconsistent with the comfort and accommodation of the Hospital. The hon. gent. concluded with motions for the production of Letters addressed to the Treasury from the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands and the medical gentleman of Chelsea Hospital, with regard to the grounds to which his observations referred.

Mr. *Maxwell* said, that in order fully to satisfy his mind with regard to the premisses in question, he sought to see them on Monday last; but was informed by a person who had the care of the gate, and also by the workmen who were employed about the place, that it was as much as their employments were worth to admit any one. He was, therefore, refused admission, although he stated that he was a member of that house, and also the object of his visit. The refusal surprised him the more, as he understood from other quarters, what had been confirmed by the hon. gent. who had just sat down, that any or all persons connected with government promptly obtained admission.

Mr. *Long* professed to be unaware of any orders prohibiting the admittance of the hon. gent., or any other member, from viewing the premisses alluded to. He had seen those premisses, and he thought the projected erection exceptionable; at the same time, he begged it to be understood, that no person connected with the Hospital either in a civil, military, or medical department, had communicated any objection with regard to this building, up to the very day upon which the hon. baronet had made his motion. The consideration of the lease granted to colonel Gordon, was, that he should not raise any building, or even plant any tree likely to create any inconvenience to the Hospital. When the papers explanatory of the whole proceeding were laid before the house, he had no doubt that the conduct of the Treasury would meet with its approbation.

Sir *Oswald Moseley* rather wished to suppose that the gentlemen on the other side were unaware of the very exceptionable character of the whole of this transaction. The hon. baronet to whom the merit was due of bringing it before the house, was unfortunately unable, from indisposition, to attend since its original troduction. But he could say for him, at he was not inattentive to the investiga-n of every thing connected with the bject. As to the prohibition of persons m seeing the premisses alluded to, the n. baronet stated that he heard such an der of prohibition had proceeded from e present Commander in Chief, adding, at he believed his information was cor-ct. The motive for such an order was spicious, and that motive must be glaring every man who considered the subject. was stated on the part of ministers, that e scite upon which colonel Gordon's use was to be erected had been altered. t that was not enough; the whole of e ground ought to be appropriated to e accommodation of the Hospital. For at purpose it was avowedly purchased m lord Yarborough. Indeed he was formed that, upon such an understanding, rd Yarborough was induced the more sily to dispose of his interest in the ase. If this were true, he must observe at an additional degree of blame attach- to the whole transaction. It would be, wever, for the gentlemen on the other le to explain this point.

Mr. *Huskisson* declared, that he had read e whole of the correspondence with lord arborough upon this purchase, and that such consideration as that alluded to the hon. baronet had the slightest in-ence. The only object being, on the rt of the noble lord, to obtain the high-t price for the ground. Before, indeed, was proposed to dispose of it to govern-ent, a proposition was made to sell it for e purposes of a wharf, but according to e opinion of Mr. Copland, such a dis-sition of it could not be made. That oposition therefore was abandoned. But th regard to the manner in which the ound was now to be disposed of he was abled to say, that no person whatever nnected with the Hospital objected to e place in which it was proposed to build lonel Gordon's house; no one pretend-g to say that this ground was necessary be appropriated in any manner to the commodation of the Hospital; that the ee circulation of air to the Infirmary, or e proper ornament of the Hospital, was kely to be interfered with by the pro-sed structure. The propriety, indeed, guarding against any such interference, d, in consequence of some intimation om another quarter, occupied the con-deration of the Treasury before the hon. ronet had made his motion upon the subject. It was in consequence of that intimation, and his having viewed the premisses on Saturday, that he had thought it necessary to have the references made, the reports upon which he now proposed to have laid before the house.

Sir *O. Moseley* wished to know why these premisses were not applied altogether to the accommodation of Chelsea Hospital, and to the Infirmary in particular; and also, why the gentlemen of that house, who were to judge of the propriety of their application, were prevented from seeing them?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that the premisses had been purchased in order that what was necessary might be appropriated to the use of the Hospital. The hon. baronet, when he stated, that the order for excluding persons from the ground proceeded from the Commander in Chief, appeared to him to proceed upon supposition, having heard the order disclaimed on the part of the Treasury and the Pay Office. If he could venture, without having any information upon the subject, to make a conjecture, the order had been given by the person having a right to the possession of the ground. If any order had been given to exclude members of parliament, it would have been both improper and foolish. But when it was considered how pointedly public attention had been lately drawn to this piece of land, within a mile and a half of this metropolis, it would be obvious how desirable it must be to keep out the great number of persons who might wish to visit the place. He did not think it expedient that a case of this description should day after day continue to occupy the attention of the house, when the most that could be said in the worst view that could be taken of the case was, that there might have been some irregularity in the inferior agent employed in the progress of the transaction.

General *Tarleton* observed, that this was only the second time this subject had been under discussion. The effect of the first discussion had been that the scite of the house had been changed; and the advantage that would result from the second would be, that the bar placed against the admission of members, by some invisible hand, would now be removed. He had heard from the nearest relation of the noble lord, that he wished to get a renewal of his lease, but that ministers refused, and stated, that they wanted the whole for the use of Chelsea Hospital; and a pretty application they had made of the land, in appropriating one quarter of an acre to the hospital, and giving the whole of the remainder to an officer not at all connected with it. As our military establishment could not be expected to be diminished, the means of extending the hospital should be kept undiminished: The hon. baronet, who had brought forward this subject, therefore had done well for the public interest.

Mr. *Ponsonby* justified his hon. friend (Sir Oswald Moseley) in having stated the report, which he had heard, that the order of exclusion had been given by the Commander in Chief, which he had done only to give the right hon. gentlemen opposite an opportunity of contradicting the rumour if they could. He had risen, however, to ask whether the grant of colonel Gordon had been perfected, so as that by law it could not be avoided; because if so, colonel Gordon having the right to the land, might still erect his house in the very situation, which, it was allowed on all hands, would be inconvenient for the hospital. [It was here stated across the table, that the agreement and grant were conditional that no house should be erected in a situation inconvenient to the hospital.] Well, then, the attempt to erect a building in such a situation was a violation of the condition, and no inquiry had taken place respecting it, until the subject had been brought under the consideration of the house by the hon. baronet, not then in his place. The secretary to the treasury, too, had stated on a former night, that the whole of the ground was such, that a house could not be built upon any part of it, except the spot which had been chosen for the intended house; and yet it now appeared that another situation fit for building upon could be found upon the land.

Mr. *Huskisson* had only stated, that a great part of the ground could not be built upon; he had not, nor could he have said, that it was such that the proposed building might not be removed a little to the right or to the left of the situation first marked out.

Mr. *Calcraft* felt himself bound in justice to his hon. friend to state that he went on Tuesday to inspect the ground, and had been refused admittance, and, as he was informed, by order of col. Gordon. He rang the bell, when a boy came out and informed him, that he had positive orders from col. Gordon, not to admit any person. He then went on to the hospital, in order to get a written order for admission, from some of his friends there. He was not fortunate enough to meet with any of them, but left a note for one, requesting of him to send an order. The answer he received was, that it was not in his power; but, that upon application to sir David Dundas, he might get an order. It was now said, that in the opinion of the physician and surgeon of the hospital, the former situation was not a proper one; but this was the first time the house had heard of that fact. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Long) had said, that on the day of the debate upon the subject in that house, a complaint had been made to the Chelsea board against the projected situation of the building; but the right hon. gent. must remember that a notice had been given of the motion, [It was on that day, observed Mr. Long, that the complaint was made.] and a notice given in that house the day before the discussion took place, might easily travel to Chelsea, and give rise to the complaint. [It was on the day of the notice, again said Mr. Long, with some earnestness, across the table, that the complaint was made, as will appear from the minutes of the board.] There certainly could be no ground for the warmth shewn by the right hon. gent.; his own object having been calmly to state his view of the case.

Mr. *C. Wynn* did not doubt the statement made by the right hon. gent.; but he was surprised, if that had been the case, that the circumstance had never been mentioned until this day. If he remembered what passed on the former occasion, not a word of this had been stated, and he even was persuaded that it had been said that the physician and surgeon of the hospital approved of the scite of the house.

Mr. *Long* contended that he had stated the circumstance, and added that it was the scite of the Infirmary that was said to have been approved of by the physician and surgeon of the hospital.

Mr. *Barham* thought, that as many members had been prevented from inspecting this ground, it would be desirable that the house should, on some future day, be made acquainted with the person who had given the order for exclusion: it required explanation, why, when a suspicion had been excited respecting the grant of this land, members had been refused the power of specting it; and he trusted that the ght hon. gent. (Mr. Long) would enquire to the matter, and communicate it to e house on some future day.

The Papers were then ordered, and Mr. uskisson presented them from the bar.

[General Clavering.] Sir *T. Turton*, rising to make the motion of which he d given notice, was aware of the diffi- lty in which he was placed by the late oceeding in that house respecting gen. avering. If he were not convinced of e importance of the question not only the justice of that house, but to the erty of the subject, he should be the st man to appeal to the magnanimity parliament, or claim its indulgence for proposition for altering a former de- sion. In doing this, however, he was sole- actuated by a regard to justice, and for e character of that house, as he was wholly acquainted with the connections of the ficer to whose case he was to refer. The n. baronet then proceeded to state, that he had been present at the discussion, should have employed his humble forts, though he durst not flatter himself should have been successful, to dissuade e house from the decision it had come . He then contended that prevarica- n could not apply to the evidence given that officer, and was proceeding to an amination of the evidence in the printed inutes, in order to establish that point, hen

Mr. *Whitbread* called the hon. baronet order, as he understood his object to be induce the house to reverse a solemn cision it had come to in this session, hich was contrary to the usage of parlia- ent.

The *Speaker* decided, that if the motion the hon. baronet was to call upon the use to rejudge what it had already ad- lged this session, it was inconsistent th the practice of the house to enter- n it. It would be for the hon. baronet state whether such was his object.

Sir *T. Turton*, after several ineffectual tempts to establish the regularity of the urse he proposed, and upon being stinctly informed from the chair that it as highly irregular, was at length in- uced to wave his motion altogether.

[Sale of Offices Prevention Bill.] n the motion for the second reading of is Bill,

Lord *Folkestone* said, the present bill ofessed to check abuses in the Sale of ffices in every department of the country. He felt it difficult to follow the bill in its different parts, referring, as it did, to the act of Edward the sixth on the same subject. He was satisfied that the object of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been to make the bill as comprehensive as possible, for which he gave him full credit. He was, however, of opinion, that little good would attend the bill, as indeed, little good in general attended Bills of Prevention. The house knew well what bills had been passed to prevent bribery and corruption in the elections of members of parliament, yet that the evils sought to be provided against still existed, because the only effect of these acts was to render the persons concerned more circumspect, and the practices more difficult of detection. If the Inquiry, for which he had moved the other night, had been allowed, it would have been in the power of the house to see whether the bill proposed would be likely to do any good. That Inquiry, however, had been refused, and he was therefore bound to say, that however an act like the present might increase the difficulty of continuing the practices sought to be checked, the evils themselves would still exist. He did not quarrel with the right hon. gent., however, on this account. He had no doubt the right hon. gent. had done what he thought best; but he would ask, why any exceptions had been made? Why had offices in the Courts of Law been exempted, they being the most objectionable of any? Was it fitting that offices connected with the administration of justice should be made the subject of sale? It surely was not so, and the present was a fit opportunity of eradicating the practice. There was, however, another exception in the present bill more important than that to which he had just alluded; more important, on this account, because the attention of the house and of the country had been more particularly called to it in consequence of the Report of the East India Patronage Committee, that Seats in Parliament were trafficked for. When he considered that this practice had been of such long standing, he thought it impossible that the house should not take some notice of it. He threw it out, therefore, for consideration, if it would not be proper that a provision to prevent this disgraceful practice in future should not be introduced? Or if it would not be the better plan to institute an inquiry in the first instance, and then to pass such a provision? He was satisfied the right hon. gent. would not object to the introduction of such a provision. The Treasury was said to have a great trade in this traffic. The Secretaries of the Treasury were understood to be the great persons concerned in carrying it on. If the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or his friends, chose to deny the charge, he should be glad to propose the appointment of a Committee to inquire into it. He was not, nor ever had been, connected with any traffic of the kind. He could not therefore say that it consisted with his own knowledge that the charge was true; but this he could say, that he understood and believed that it was. (Hear, hear! from the Ministerial bench, particularly from Mr. Rose). He was happy to hear himself cheered by the right hon. gent. What he stated was matter of public notoriety; and it was even understood that previous to every election an Office was opened in the Treasury, for the purchase of seats in parliament, which again were sold to others, of more or less interest and ability, who again in proportion to their possession of those qualities, paid a higher or lower price for their seats. There had even lately been a vacancy in that house, *because the person holding the seat had not been willing to comply with the stipulation on which he received it.* His lordship believed the right hon. gent. would not deny what he had stated. If he did, his lordship was anxious for a Committee to inquire into the fact. He should not propose the appointment of one at present, but only threw out the observation, that the attention of the right hon. gent. should be directed to it. According to what should fall from him, he should regulate his conduct. He could not, however, forbear from expressing his surprize, when the right hon. gent. assisted by the Attorney and Solicitor General, saw occasion to bring forward a Bill of this kind, that they should have kept out of view that offence which was more important than any other species of trafficing whatever.

Mr. *Bankes* said, the East India Patronage Committee had not expressed any opinion, that sales of offices in the service of that Company should be exempted from the operation of the present Bill, but only that there was no necessity for any separate and specific legislative measure applicable to that Company. They had done so the more particularly on this account, because the East India Company were already armed with greater powers than those which the country possessed; the former being permanent, while the latter was subject to change, and dismissal from office always following the commission of the offence in the one, while it was by no means so necessary a consequence in the other. He did not know whether the noble lord objected to this bill or opposed it. For his own part, he did not see how any man could expect from a legislative measure, that it should operate to the extinction of crime. If it rendered it more difficult, he conceived it did all that could be expected from it. He was desirous to entertain the Bill, and if any thing could be added to it in the committee, so much the better. The great object was to make the hazard and risk greater than the temptation. He believed it would be a long time before any abuses were again heard of in the patronage of the East India Company; and if the instance of the dismissal from the Stamp Office was acted up to, the evil would be greatly done away.

Mr. *Creevey* said, that the noble lord was perfectly correct in stating, that Seats in Parliament had been *notoriously, bought and sold by the Treasury*. He would say, that this was not only his belief, but that it was within his knowledge. The Treasury not only openly bought and sold those seats, but they kept, in a great degree, the monopoly of that market. If this was attempted to be denied by ministers, he should be glad to have the opportunity of proving it, and he could easily prove it from the lips of any one who had ever been Secretary of the Treasury. It was absolute nonsense and delusion on the public, for the house to spend their time in considering abuses in the Commissioners of the Lottery, and every other minor department, when they knew, and when the public knew, that the greatest of all abuses was constantly practised by every Secretary of the Treasury, in buying and selling Seats in Parliament. To talk of a dissolution of parliament as an "appeal to the people" was mere mockery and imposition. It was perfectly well known that a dissolution of parliament was not an appeal to the people, but to the Treasury (Hear! hear!). Although he had great respect for the last government, and owed some personal favours to them, yet he must say, that their dissolution of parliament, at the end of four years, like the dissolution by the present ministers, at the end of about four months, was not an appeal to the people but to the Treasury (loud cries of Hear! hear!). Until the ouse was disposed to suppress this odious hd unconstitutional traffic, the legislating those minor abuses was mere mockery d delusion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said he uld not help congratulating himself little on the declaration of the noble rd (Folkestone), that he was satisfied at any obscurity which was to be found the bill proceeded from a wish on his rt to make the act comprehensive. If ere was any obscurity, he hoped it would removed, and this might in some meare be effected by introducing and incororating into the present Bill the Enactents of the act of Edward the 6th, rather an by referring to that act. The obction that the Bill only went to increase e difficulty in committing the crime ught to be prevented, he suspected, ould apply to every bill. He had even tempted to do away the temptation to mmit the crime, by annexing forfeiture office to the detection of it. As to the nission of offices in our courts of law, he spected the noble lord had not calcuted the disadvantages which would arise counterbalance any good arising from eir being comprehended under the pregnt bill. Never was the administration justice more pure in this or any other untry than at the present moment. owever much we might be surprised, therere, that the sale of offices in our courts law should ever have formed any part the emoluments of our judges, yet havng done so for ages, and it following as necessary consequence, if the sale of nese offices were now to be abolished, nat some remuneration must be granted nstead of them, the question was, if the nconveniences arising from a fresh call on ie country on this account, and other isadvantages with which the alteration ould be attended, would not greatly outeigh the advantages to be expected from ? There were also a certain description f patent offices granted for life, with the rivilege of disposing of other offices conected therewith. These he had also mitted out of the bill, as for them too, if he sale was to be prevented, an equivaent must also be given. He did not beieve the advantages to be derived from ntroducing these into the bill would at all qual the disadvantages attending it.—There was only one other point in the oble lord's speech to which he felt it neessary for him to advert, namely, that no rovision had been introduced into the bill to prevent the trafficing for Seats in that house. This question, he presumed to think, would come more properly to be considered in another stage of the bill, and if the noble lord would bring forward his proposition in that stage, he (Mr. Perceval) would consider if the provision was capable of being applied effectually to prevent the abuse of which the noble lord complained. The hon. gent. who spoke last had borne testimony, not only to his belief, but also to his knowledge, of the abuses alluded to by the noble lord, declaring that the practice of these abuses was common to all administrations. As that hon. gent. had particularly referred to an administration with which he himself was connected, it was natural to suppose that he had special knowledge and information on this head, particularly so far as that administration was concerned. He (Mr. Perceval) however, did not recollect that the hon. gent., when a particular charge was brought forward on this subject against that administration, had told the house all that he had the means and knowledge of observing on this subject, because, if he had, that would have been something confirmatory of the charge, and would have tended to elucidate the truth or falsity of the statement of the then Secretary of the Treasury, that what he had done, and the influence he had exerted, had been used by him, not in his official situation of Secretary to the Treasury, but in his private character of a freeholder of Hampshire. If the hon. gent. was then in possession of all this information, belief, and knowledge on the subject, why did he not appeal to the house then, as well as on any other occasion? Why did not his patriotism then actuate him, as it did on the present moment, to divulge every thing which he knew? To the general inquiry he should oppose himself as decidedly as he did on the former day. But let the hon. gent. only bring forward those circumstances to which he alluded, as consisting with his own knowledge; let him do so impartially, not forgetting the practices of the administration with which he himself was connected, and with which, of course, he must be most intimately acquainted, and the house would know how to deal with them. He again declared that he was ready to receive and to attend to all the suggestions of the noble lord, as well connected with trafficing for seats in that house, as for offices.

Mr. *Creevey*, in explanation, said, that what he had stated was not as a charge against any particular administration, but a mere matter of fact. The knowledge which he spoke of by no means proceeded from any confidence which had been reposed in him by his friends.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he was so well pleased with part of what had fallen from a right hon. gent. (Mr. Perceval,) that he should say the less on that part to which he objected. He was happy to observe, that the right hon. gent. agreed with the noble lord, that the practice of trafficing for money in seats in that house was a scandalous abuse; one which should not be allowed; and that the right hon. gent. would meet the inquiry and expose the practice wherever it should be seen to exist. He hoped, however, as the right hon. gent. called on others to expose the practices of other administrations, that he would not be backward in stating all that he knew of his own administration. It was impossible that the right hon. gent. could be ignorant of the abuses which existed. Every person knew that abuses did exist, and there were few who did not know, more or less, of the nature and quality of them. The public knew well, many members of the house knew well, that there were in that house persons who represented nothing but their own money; that there were some, who were not even then free agents, but that there was occasionally such a thing as conscience in the transaction, which sometimes forced them to abandon both their seat and their money too. Why, then, he asked, should the right hon. gent. use these tauntings, when the practice was well known, even to himself, to exist? The right hon. gent. talked of Hampshire. It was the right hon. gent.'s fortune on that occasion, which it had been during only a very small period of his life, to be in a minority. He seemed on that occasion to be impressed with a belief, which he (Mr. W.) had felt a great deal more frequently, that minorities were not always in the wrong. But to reconcile himself to this one misfortune, he could only recommend to the right hon. gent. to look to all the rest of his political life, and from thence he would be convinced that majorities were not always in the right. There, too, (in the case of Hampshire) he would find that the Secretary of the Treasury was a freeholder of the county. But that in general Secretaries of the Treasury for the time being were not only in the habit, but even reduced to the necessity of carrying on such a traffic as that described, and that a public market was opened for it. If smaller evils required being corrected, why should not this flagrant and shameful abuse be guarded against? Why not strike at the roots of the evil, and cut up a traffic of magnitude? If the rt. hon. gent. really entertained any doubt on the subject of the purchase and sale of Seats in parliament, let him turn to his near neighbour (lord Castlereagh) and learn what they had done in Ireland, where one million and a half of money had been taken out of the pockets of the people, to pay for the purchase of boroughs.—It was impossible, he conceived, for the right hon. gent., to consider these circumstances without feeling that, in one way or other, an end must be put to this system, or it would put an end to them. An hon. gent. (Mr. Bankes) talked of the benefits likely to result from the removal which had taken place from the Stamp Office of an inferior person there, detected in improper practices. He hoped that persons of every description would be obliged to relinquish them, and that superior officers, if detected, would not be spared. He agreed that the administration of justice in this country was as pure as it could be, and that the practice of the sale of offices in courts of law had no effect on the administration of justice; but still he did not think it proper that even the very idea of the sale of any thing connected with justice should be allowed to exist. Whatever expence migh thence arise he was of opinion might be made up by throwing the fees of these different offices together. At all events he thought the practice of selling such office should be abolished, that no ground of objection on this head might remain even to the most captious caviller. He could no help differing from his hon. friend (Mr. Creevey) as to a general election being a all times an appeal to the Treasury. He believed the Treasury did possess a mos preponderating influence; but at the same time he knew that the people had a voice which would be used. The infringemen therefore on the elective right of the people was not so great if they were no first driven mad and then appealed to; i they were not first driven into a state of phrenzy and then desired to make use of their senses. Parliaments were not so difficult to be won that dissolutions were at all times necessary. The last parliament but one had furnished majorities to thre ferent ministers, and each found itself ong enough to carry every question it quired. He felt infinitely obliged to the ble lord (Folkestone) and to the right n. gent. (Mr. Perceval) for the hopes ich from their joint efforts were now ld out to the country. With the exctation he entertained on the subject, he t inclined to hail the present Bill as e of the happiest restoratives of the ntry and constitution. He hoped the ht hon. gent. would not, in the course the bill, draw back from those expectans which he had this night held out.

Mr. *C. Wynn* said, that though this was t the time to argue the clauses of the ll, yet he could not but observe that the ovision against the sale of Offices in the w departments should not be included in present bill, as the adjustment of the muneration, which undoubtedly must be de on the abolition, was a subject of eat importance, and fitting for a subntive measure in itself, whereas introcing it now, would, in his opinion, her tend to check the progress of a asure they had all so much at heart. ith respect to the clause in the bill, dissing from their situations, such as obned them through the medium of corpt practices, however innocent of the stence of the means, he could by no ans approve of it, as a principle equally ntrary to justice and humanity.

Mr. *Bankes* explained, that such a meare did not come recommended from the mmittee upon East India Affairs, but was ositive rule laid down in their regulans.

Mr. *H. Thornton* agreed in the proety of including the purchaser of seats that house among the offences of the l, as it would be unfair to inflict a puhment upon minor offences, and at the me time to pass over those of greater pitude and mischief. The nature and ent of the remedy itself would be best nsidered when the clause for that purse was brought in.

The Bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 21.

[Campaign in Spain and Portugal.]

e order of the day being read,

Earl *Grey* rose and addressed their lordips as follows:—My Lords; In underking to bring under the consideration of ur lordships, the various military operations of the last summer in Portugal and Spain, I feel, that I have taken upon me a task, to which I am afraid my abilities will prove inadequate. To detail, my lords, the history of those transactions, the true character and bearings of which are to be sought for and explored in a large series of official documents, so voluminous and perplexed, that they seem rather to confound than to assist inquiry; to produce these before your lordships in such a manner as to enable you to pronounce that judgment, which the importance of the case requires, and the country expects, would be for me, I fear, almost impossible. I feel, therefore, the necessity, at the outset of what I am about to state, to solicit a more than usual portion of your lordship's patience and indulgence, while I endeavour to execute a task that I should rather have seen committed to abler hands. But, as no other peer has expressed an intention of standing forward, I feel that I owe it to my country, in this most perilous crisis of her fate, not to suffer the consideration of such a subject to be any longer deferred. It cannot be necessary to recal to the recollection of the house the universal sentiment that prevailed on the first news of the people of Spain to an usurpation which, whether on account of the violence and injustice of the act itself, or the fraud and perfidy with which it was accompanied, it is impossible adequately to describe. The sensation was universal; one universal spirit broke forth, without distinction of rank or party; and, what was far more calculated to insure the advantage of our assistance, was, that all the generous sympathies of the nation, that love of liberty, hatred of oppression, a sense of the blessings we enjoyed, and a forecast of the struggles we might have to preserve them, all conspired to excite in the breasts of Englishmen, those feelings, which I trust we never shall want when the contest is between justice, freedom, and public independence on the one side, and the highest degree of atrocity and oppression on the other. Accordingly, the feelings of the country in favour of Spain, were universal, and the voice of opposition ceased. A liberal indulgence was given to ministers of what they pleased to demand. All was given that they asked for, under that responsibility which attached to them for the truth of the statement they held forth to the public, and for the solidity of the grounds on which they acted. Under that responsibility every thing was granted for the support of that righteous cause in which the country had so enthusiastically embarked. The day is now come when we are bound to ask, in justice to ourselves and the country, what fruits have been derived from those advantages with which ministers set out in the cause of Spain. It is now to be shewn that what was granted liberally has been employed wisely and with a vigour proportionate to the magnitude of the trust. We have a right to expect from ministers this; first, to shew us that they had sufficient and satisfactory information to justify them in the hopes they held out to us, to aid the resistance of the Spanish nation; secondly, that, having that information, and being able to shew the grounds on which they acted were solid, their measures were proportioned to the end, and that they acted with energy, firmness, promptitude, and caution — that they have been looking to the affairs of Spain with the eyes of statesmen — that their means were well proportioned to the attainment of the object—and that they acted with that happy union of energy and caution, so indispensibly necessary to ensure success. I was not one of those, who, however inviting the prospect held out to us in the month of May, last year, with respect to Spain, thought that the situation of his majesty's ministers was not surrounded with difficulties—I could not say, at that time, as had been said upon another occasion in another place, that his majesty's ministers were placed upon a bed of roses. I think their situation was a situation of great difficulty and danger; requiring the utmost vigour, caution, and wisdom in preparing the means by which this country was to afford its effectual assistance to Spain. I hope I shall not be charged with having a disposition to undervalue the resources of the country. Even after all our losses—after the losses of the last campaign, great as they were in blood and treasure, in character, and honour—Even after those losses, I am persuaded, and I use no vain boast when I say it, that, under an administration of prudence and wisdom, the country is possessed of ample means to bring the contest in which it is engaged to an honourable termination. I trust I shall not be thought to talk the language of despondency, when I say, that, in order to maintain the ultimate contest which is to decide for ever the power and independence of the country, the true policy of those who govern it must be to pay a strict attention to œconomy, to be actuated by a determination to concentrate your means, not to endanger them in any enterprize or speculation in which the event is doubtful, but pursuing the economical system of husbanding your resources, by which alone you will enable yourselves to continue the contest, the cessation of which does not depend on you, but upon the injustice of your enemy. I remember this policy, so well expressed in this sentiment of a celebrated poet,

"Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis..

was much derided on a former occasion but, notwithstanding the ridicule which was thrown on it, I think the country will one day know how to appreciate that system which was steadily pursued and acted upon by the last administration. I am not prepared to say that that policy should be extended, so far as to prevent our availing ourselves of a good opportunity of applying our resources upon occasions which hold out a reasonable prospect of success. On the contrary, I think that the advantage of that system of policy is, that while it enables you to maintain a protracted contest, it also enables you to fight with effect the last battle which is to decide the fate of the country. It is the concentration of your means, and the improvement of your resources, by which alone you can have every thing ready to avail yourselves of such an opportunity. I will not conceal from your lordships that I am one of those who thought such an opportunity was given to this country by the events which took place in Spain last year. I certainly without having too favourable an opinion of ministers, did give them credit for the exertions in a situation in which it behoved them to guard against popular delusion, as well as not to excite popular enthusiasm. In such a situation I gave them credit for this; that they would not o themselves willingly do any thing to excite those passions which were necessary t be restrained, and, least of all, to hold ou hopes which were not justified by facts.— And this leads me to the consideration o the first point on which his majesty's ministers are bound this day to give an account; Whether they took means to obtain information with regard to Spain and whether the information they r received was such as justified the hop they held out to the public? We cann forget the magnificent accounts whic

re circulated at the time, of the re-
rces of Spain; of the enthusiasm and
rit of the people; of the vast armies
y had collected, and with which it was
pected they would drive the French be-
hd the Pyrenees. I remember that it was
erted that every thing but official docu-
nts justified the statement of the amount
he Spanish armies as consisting of up-
rds of four hundred thousand men, ex-
sive of a body of reserve, consisting of
illion; and both these exclusive of the
unteers. We heard then of nothing
the spirit and enthusiasm of the Spa-
rds. I have looked for proof of this in
n to the documents presented by his
jesty's ministers; I find nothing of the
d. I find, on the contrary, in the let-
s of every officer, of the greatest cha-
ter, and whose credit stands highest
h this house, statements of a very differ-
description. I find lord William
ntinck, soon after his arrival at Madrid,
ding accounts of the state of the army
hly unfavourable; that the greatest
ger was to be apprehended from their
bility to contend with the French, that
ir armies were in a state of total disor-
nization, that he found it impossible to
vail on the Supreme Junta to confer the
e command on some one distinguished
cer, and that they were not prepared for
reverses they had met with.—After the
feat of general Blake, I find the accounts
eived were still more unfavourable. If
ok to the letters of general Broderick, I
l them no less discouraging with respect
the people of Spain. In the letters of
tember 10, and November 5, you have
ounts of the French army, and of the
nish army opposed to them, which
re calculated to encourage his majesty's
nisters in any thing rather than in san-
ne hopes of success. In some of the
ers there are accounts of the total want
confidence in those who ought to have
the first example of heroism and devo-
n to their country. By the letters of
neral Baird and general Moore, we find
t spirit which was so supposed to be
versal, and which to be successful must
persevering, had wholly subsided. Sir
n Moore states, that he had heard of
busiasm, but he had met with it no
ere—that the first reverses checked it,
d that he had not been able to collect
y grounds to justify the sanguine hopes
ich had been formed.—I have found it
y duty on some former occasions, to
te my feelings of the disadvantage arising from the want of a political correspondent as well as a military one, and I have heard no satisfactory reason for withholding that information I required. If the enthusiasm of the people of Spain, excited by their hatred towards the French, was what it has been described, nothing could be so necessary as that the government established there should give a direction to that spirit. Surely, it was of importance that political agents should have been sent to that country, to co-operate with its government; but it has been remarked by my noble friend, (lord Auckland) that there seems to have been a disunion in the government upon this occasion, and while we have ample documents laid before us by the Secretary of State, the political correspondence of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs has been withheld, except some documents which it was impossible to withhold. We have Mr. Frere's letter of Nov. 30, in which he tells sir John Moore, that the parts of Spain through which the latter had passed were the least military, and represents the population of the plains of Leon and the two Castiles as neither capable nor disposed to resist the enemy.—I have called your lordship's attention to this letter, because it shews by the admission of Mr. Frere that there was a deficiency in those means which were necessary to enable the people of Spain to defend themselves against the attacks of the armies of France. But I fear this passage in Mr. Frere's letter is applicable to a much larger description of country, than gen. Moore could have passed. Gen. Moore could have seen nothing of Spain but what was to be seen on his march from Portugal to Salamanca. But Mr. Frere describes a much larger portion of country; and I suspect that there is an omission in this letter, in order that it may appear as if Mr. Frere was writing as to the small district between Leon and Salamanca, and not as to the whole Leonese. If Mr. Frere should have expressed himself with regard to such an extensive portion of country, stating, that throughout the whole of it there was a want of energy and exertion, then I ask what credit can be given to his majesty's ministers, for deliberately holding out to the people of England, such sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the exertion of the people of Spain? I know not upon what authority his majesty's ministers could have considered themselves as justified in the statements they made at the time; conscious as they must

have been of the contents of the official documents which we have before us. But their information was not confined to the statements of British officers and agents; all the information they received was of the same description. I would refer your lordships to the proclamations of the Governments of the two Castiles and Leon, and the proclamations of general Romana after the defeat of general Blake, complaining of the want of every thing necessary to enable him to resist the enemy. I would refer you also to the statement of general Castanos, who gives the same accounts after the defeat of Tudela, and states the frequency of desertion in his army. How strongly is this confirmed?—We find that the whole united force of the principal armies of Spain, the army of general Blake, the army in Estremadura, and the army of Arragon, instead of amounting to 400,000 men, was not equal to the army with which the French began their attack in August: and I have authority for stating that the army of general Blake never exceeded 30,000; that the army in Estremadura was not more than 12,000; that the army of Castanos, which was said to amount to 80,000, never exceeded 26,000; ill cloathed, and ill provided with every necessary to enable them to keep the field; that his army, including the army of Arragon, did not exceed forty thousand, and was composed of men of all descriptions, deficient of supplies, arms, and accoutrements, and labouring under all the disadvantages of new-raised levies.—When we have these things before us, are we not called on to exact a severe account from ministers, and to oblige them to shew that they had some better means by which they could expect to oppose a successful resistance to the ambitious views of France, than any of those of which we have hitherto heard? I know I shall be told that it was by these new levies general Dupont was defeated, that Saragossa was defended, that the French were repulsed from Gallicia, and Joseph Buonaparté driven from Madrid. That an ebullition of enthusiasm and spontaneous resistance on the part of the people of Spain, broke out at once, is not to be disputed; but, it was stated in a letter from the Secretary for the War Department, that it was not a sudden ebullition of rage that was to be looked to, upon the continuance of which we could not depend with certainty, but that it was a persevering spirited feeling of patriotism, which, as stated in this letter from lord Castlereagh, was not to be intimidated by threats or seduced by compromise; a spirit which was calculated to carry the people through a long and difficult contest. Certainly, it was the existence of such a spirit alone that could warrant his majesty's ministers in risking in Spain, so large a proportion of the disposable forces of this country.—But let it be considered, what was the situation of affairs at the beginning of the contest. Early in July, you have gen. Dupont defeated; towards the latter end of July, Joseph Buonaparté retired, and it was not till November following, that the French armies received any reinforcements. At the time the French were concentrated behind the Ebro, their force did not amount to more than 45,000 men. If we have these facts as existing at the first insurrection, we have also the proof that the whole of the period during which the French force was there, there was a fatal inaction on the part of his majesty's ministers, as well as of those who had the conduct of the affairs of Spain, which suffered the French to remain there unmolested until they had received the reinforcements they expected. Now, this must have arisen from one of two causes; either that there was not that persevering spirit in existence in Spain, or that these being the elements of that spirit, there was not a government capable of giving a proper direction to it; and, whichever of these two views you take, in neither case is the conduct of his majesty's ministers exempt from blame. Either they had information or they had not. If they had not, they stand charged with culpable negligence; and if they had information and held out hopes which that information did not justify, they stand, in a much higher degree, responsible to the public for their conduct. I have already said, it was not a sudden ebullition that should have led us to depart from those principles of œconomy I have so often recommended. His majesty's ministers should have been satisfied, not only of the existence of a proper spirit in the people, but that there was a government in that country which had acquired sufficient authority to give it the necessary energy. If neither of these things existed, or if the one existed without the other, it was the very acme of madness in his majesty's ministers, under such circumstances, to lavish as they have done the resources of this country. If there was a spirit in the people, though acting under the disadvantage of not having a proper spirit in the government, I do not say that assistance should have been wholly withheld; but we certainly should not have sent an army where we had not the necessary means to afford supplies to that army, or effectual assistance to those it was intended to protect: we ought rather to have given our assistance by money, and by the well-applied exertions of our naval force on the coast of Spain. Unless both these circumstances were united; unless, according to the best information, there were good grounds for believing there was a persevering spirit in the Spanish nation, and a spirit in the government to give it a proper direction, the government of this country should not have hazarded a British army there.—Now let us consider what his majesty's ministers have done. It may be said, that, though there was not in the first instance a Central government to direct the energies of the people of Spain; yet, every body must be convinced of the necessity of giving effect by our means to their exertions. It may be said there were proofs of the existence of a considerable spirit of enthusiasm, and with those proofs it may be asked, would you wait till that spirit had subsided, without taking any measures for its support? I say I would not; I would have made preparations; but before I allowed myself to send an English army into Spain, I would have seen that there were reasonable grounds of success.—Then, let us consider under these circumstances, what we have done. Supposing the spirit of the people to have been as we wished it; and I confess I was among the most sanguine upon that head; let us consider what measures have been taken with a view to bring the powers of this country to give the most effectual aid to the cause of Spain.—In considering this subject, I shall first state the different modes of action, and then it will not be necessary to do any thing more than state my objections to the plan upon which his majesty's ministers resolved to act. I state that there were four different ways by which this country might have assisted Spain. We might have assisted Spain by sending an army to the north into Asturias and Biscay; to Catalonia in the east; by the attack of the French army in Portugal, or by assembling an army on the frontiers of that kingdom, with a view to operations in the south of Spain. As to assembling an army in the north, it has been stated by one minister, that it was a most chimerical project, but that was not always his sentiment; for in one of his documents, we find Gijon and St. Andero pointed out as the best places to act in. Undoubtedly, with respect to the co-operation of an army as applicable to that point, much depended on the time. Unless it acted in the month of August, it could not act at all; the difficulties with respect to supplying the army with provisions would have been very great, in consequence of its having been found necessary to supply general Blake's army. When I look to the difficulty of finding provisions, the disadvantages of the debarkation and the insecurity of a retreat, I am not inclined to say that that would have been an advisable point. As to Catalonia in the east I should say, that the time which would elapse before you could assemble an army there, would be an objection to that point. The remaining quarters to which an army might have been directed, are Portugal and the south of Spain, the preference to the one over the other depending upon the time; that which is of the greatest value in all military operations. If you could have been ready in August or September, it might have been advantageous to have collected an army in the south of Spain. But, sure I am, if you could have sent an army before the end of September, there could be no question (for reasons which I will not enter at large into,) that the preference ought to have been given to the south, and that the disembarkation should have been at Cadiz instead of Corunna.—With respect to the advantage of the last mode of employing a British army, I am inclined to agree with his majesty's ministers that it was striking an important blow by the destruction of the French force in Portugal, and by its effects in giving encouragement to the people in Portugal, and enabling you to avail yourselves of the whole population of that country in addition to that of Spain. I have therefore no difficulty in stating, that to commence an attack on the army in Portugal, provided that attack had been properly conducted as a part of a general plan, and not as a separate movement, which ended, as all such measures must end, that would unquestionably have been the best mode.—Let us consider how his majesty's ministers found themselves called upon to act. I have said, that of the four plans they might have chosen any one; but then it was absolutely necessary that they should have had some plan. Buonaparté, in one of his publications, states, that success in military operations depends on having a regular plan. Whether the plan they might adopt would have been the best one, is quite another question; yet, whatever they did, considering the interests of Spain, and the character of the enemy against whom they were to act, a regular plan was necessary before a single movement was made.—I have stated that the true policy of the country was to husband its resources, and concentrate its means, for a favourable opportunity. Now, let us see in what situation his majesty's ministers found themselves at the commencement of the transactions in Spain. One expedition had been sent to Sweden, under that gallant and ever-to-be-lamented officer sir John Moore, with 11,000 men. If it was not for pressing circumstances, I would stop to speak of that expedition, in which 11,000 men were sent to assist the king of Sweden, attacked from Norway, by Russia, by France, and by Denmark. To support this monarch 11,000 men were sent, without any knowledge of any point on which they were to act, or without any thing having been previously concerted on the subject. Hence arose those extraordinary circumstances which have never yet been fully explained; the return of the expedition without having effected or attempted any one object, in consequence of the manner of sending it out, whilst in these extraordinary times we had the extraordinary spectacle of the commander of a force sent out to assist an ally, compelled to escape from the capital of that ally in disguise. It is impossible to advert to what has happened to Sweden, without referring to a great deal of what has passed in this case. We have had under our consideration the unfortunate success of that expedition, in which the Danish navy was destroyed. It was said that the safety of Sweden was the object of that expedition. We now pay the penalty of that expedition by the state of ruin to which the king of Sweden by our means has been reduced. His majesty's ministers think they did their duty by sending 11,000 men under an officer who does not know the object for which he is sent. When it arrived there, it seemed to be unexpected; the king of Sweden is disappointed as to its employment, and we have the unfortunate circumstance of a British officer being forced to escape in disguise. Sir John Moore had been sent to Sweden with 11,000 men, from whence he returned in the manner I described.—Another expedition, consisting of 5,000 men, under general Spencer, was destined for Ceuta; which, having reconnoitred the place, found that nothing was to be done there: and a third under sir Arthur Wellesley, consisting of 9,000 men, as is now generally understood, was destined for South America. I am much afraid, that, even after the commencement of the ferment in Spain, ministers were looking out for some separate object for this country; and that they thought it a good opportunity for plunder and conquest in South America. So late as the 14th of June, when sir Arthur Wellesley set out to take the command of the expedition, I do believe it was with the intention of going to South America. The noble earl (Liverpool) shakes his head, and says "No;" but it is remarkable, that when the expedition sailed, it sailed with a great deficiency of horses. Now, it is well known that horses to draw the artillery and for the cavalry, would not have been necessary to be sent to South America, and were absolutely necessary to be sent to Portugal. But, ministers having had such a force at their disposal, the first thing to be considered was the plan of operations on which it was to be employed; they acted on the same system of thoughtlessness they had done before. With all these means in their hands, they embarked on a sea of difficulties without chart or compass. Instead of appointing one commander to direct the whole expedition, they send sir Arthur Wellesley under a roving commission, to act where and how he can. They send an order to general Spencer to co-operate with him; sir Arthur Wellesley being instructed to depend on general Spencer, and, at the same time, they gave general Spencer a discretion by which he was enabled either to co-operate with sir Arthur Wellesley, or to go through the Straits of Gibraltar, if he should think he could thus advantageously employ the force under his command.—I contend, that when there was a general resistance on the part of the people of Spain to the power of France, the first thing his majesty's ministers ought to have done should have been to have collected means adequate to the object, before they undertook to act at all.—I have said that the proper opportunity was afforded in Portugal: but I have also said that there should have been a preliminary plan. How did his majesty's ministers act? I think after the first accounts in May, an expedi on was sent off for the purpose of taking dvantage of the disturbances in Spain. r Arthur Wellesley left London after the th of June, with orders for Portugal, ith a probability, that something might ccur to lead him to Spain. The noble rd opposite shakes his head again and ys, No. I shall be glad to hear how Arthur Wellesley's expedition was ted out. I know it was sent out under e greatest disadvantages, deficient in rses and cavalry, and those equip-ents, which are most wanted for such service as that on which he was em-oyed.—I have stated that there was an vantage arising from the expeditions hich his majesty's ministers had planned ot having been acted upon; but there ere also some disadvantages. General oore's force required time to recruit, nd sir Arthur Wellesley's being intended r a different service was deficient in hat was most required. When it was at ministers first undertook to employ e army in Spain, I cannot say, but it was bsequent to the 21st of June. Lord astlereagh writes to sir A. Wellesley that e accounts from Cadiz were bad; but it pears that he had an expedition in view, r on that day col. Brown is ordered to llect information with respect to the ate of the country in Portugal. On the 0th of June they send their final instruc-ons, and there are two separate Instruc-ons of the same date. In the first, he is rected to proceed to the coast of Spain, collect information with regard to any oint on which it may be possible to act; d by another letter, of the same date, a cond positive instruction is sent desiring m to proceed off the Tagus. In the in-rval between the first and second letter, appears, that intelligence came from sir harles Cotton, representing the French rce at 4,000 men: without waiting to ear from colonel Brown, but acting upon e intelligence of a naval officer certainly ntitled to every attention, for his gallant rvices, though perhaps, not the fittest erson to be relied on in this instance, his ajesty's ministers changed their object, nd directed sir Arthur Wellesley to pro-eed immediately, without loss of time, to e Tagus. He was hardly clear of the hannel before ministers received from eneral Spencer more accurate accounts. eneral Spencer stated the amount of the rench force to be 20,000 men; then all as alarm and confusion, and ministers ontemplated sending out an expedition upon a more extensive scale, and thought 25,000 men hardly sufficient. When the force was augmented by so large a number, it appeared to his majesty's ministers to be too large to be entrusted to the command of sir Arthur Wellesley. It is supposed, that considerable difficulties existed with respect to the appointment of a commander in chief of that army. First, it was said, that the command was to be given to an Illustrious Duke (the Duke of York); then it was confidently stated that a noble earl now in my eye, (the earl of Chatham) was to have the command. It seems most extraordinary, that the gallant officer who had so recently returned from Sweden, whose military talents were of the first order, and who had seen a variety of service, should never have been thought of; or that there should have been any hesitation in placing the command in hands so worthy to receive it, as those of sir John Moore. It appears, however, that it was not thought fit to appoint sir John Moore to that important trust, and the chief command was given to sir Hew Dalrymple. I do not mean to say, that this was an improper selection. I have the honour of a slight personal acquaintance with sir Hew Dalrymple; but from the little conversation I have had with him, I conceived him to possess ability, and to be well informed upon military subjects; and whilst at Gibraltar, he evinced, in the assistance he rendered to the Spaniards, both discretion and judgment. But, it has happened to him, as it has happened to many, that he has risen in the service without having been much employed. It does appear, however, as if ministers acted from some direct personal feeling towards sir John Moore, for it seems as if they were determined to prevent sir John Moore from having the command under any probable circumstances, by appointing sir Harry Burrard, his senior officer, second in command to sir Hew Dalrymple; and singularly enough, sir Harry Burrard was sent out, I believe, in the same vessel with sir John Moore.—(Here the noble Earl entered into a detailed view of all the circumstances, attending the different expeditions sent out to Portugal, their landing in that country, and until the battles of Roleia and Vimiera.)—I have already, continued his lordship, stated what justice obliged me to say with regard to sir Hew Dalrymple. I am not less willing to pay to sir Arthur Wellesley the tribute which his high services and talents deserve. I believe him, from all I have heard of him, to be a deserving officer, of great merit and abilities; in short, such an officer, as, in these times of difficulty, the country may look to with the hope of the most advantageous services. But sir Arthur Wellesley was placed in a situation in which no officer ought to be placed. It was impossible that sir Arthur Wellesley should not have felt a considerable irritation at the command being taken away from him; and if he fell into an error on this occasion, it was an error, into which every man of ardent zeal and honourable ambition was likely to fall, when he saw an opportunity of acting with honour and advantage for his country against the enemy.—On the 17th of August he came into contest with an advanced corps of the French army, and then the Battle of Vimiera took place on the 21st. I do not wish to cast any blame upon him; but I think the situation in which he was placed did induce him to incur a hazard which he ought not to have done. He advanced with an army little more than superior to Junot's, and he hazarded this certain consequence, that, though his success could not be decisive, a defeat would have been fatal, as, had the fortune of the day been different, the whole of the expedition must have failed. On the 21st sir Harry Burrard landed. Sir Harry Burrard shewed his high mind on this occasion, when he declined to take the command, and gave to sir Arthur Wellesley all the merit. The Battle of Vimiera was gained with honour to the troops engaged in it. I have no doubt that with the impressions of success further advantages might have been obtained by an immediate pursuit, but I think the reasons given by sir H. Burrard, are very substantial and satisfactory. Whatever prejudice may have arisen to the country from that event, is to be ascribed to his majesty's ministers, in having so arranged their system of action, that an officer should take the command of an army in the midst of an action, and before he could have any opportunity of examining the scene. It was not to be expected, that an officer, with so heavy a responsibility, should have acted otherwise than he did.—By the next day sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, and thus there were three commanders succeeding each other, within the four and twenty hours.—Then followed that which has been the subject of so much debate; the Convention of Cintra. A subject upon which the public are unanimous in their opinion. His majesty's ministers have themselves stated that it has disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. Its effects may be summed up by stating, that the French general obtained the transport of his army to France with his artillery, six rounds of ammunition, and 800 horses equipped and ready for action, and obtained those advantages which would have been well purchased with the loss of half his army. We may appreciate its advantage, by recollecting what happened at Corunna after the disastrous defeat of the French troops, in the battle which we are told was fought without hope of advantage. We find, that before our army could embark, it lost 7,000 men, all the horses, stores, ammunition, provisions, and baggage; and that that it was in such a state of complete disorganization, that at this moment it is not those 7,000 men only that are lost, but the whole army is lost to the service of the country, and must be so for months to come. If such has been the effect of the retreat from Corunna, what has not the enemy to boast of, for the retreat from Cintra?—The noble Earl, after stating many other circumstances connected with the Convention of Cintra, expressed his opinion that it was an act which, in every point of view, was unadvisable; but the principal blame he imputed to his majesty's ministers, for that extraordinary arrangement, by which they had appointed a succession of officers, equally ignorant of local circumstances, and equally jealous of each other; but, above all, he blamed them for not having instructed them with regard to their ulterior views.—I am, said his lordship, no friend to fettering the discretion of a general officer; to whom, after having formed a plan, and concerted his operations, I think as large a power as possible ought to be given; but surely it was not difficult to foresee, that with such a force as was employed against the French, and with the co-operation which might be expected from the courage of the Spanish armies, some terms were likely to be entered into with the enemy. His majesty's ministers ought, therefore, to have given such general views of their sentiments and wishes, as would have enabled the officer commanding the Expedition to have acted on those principles, which if they had acted upon, they would not have had to have said of the Convention that it had disappointed the hopes and expectations the country. Here, then, is a strong ound for the condemnation of his maty's ministers, to whom, for this, as well for every other part of the transaction, chief blame is to be imputed.—The ble Earl argued at considerable length on the general impolicy of the conct of his majesty's ministers with pect to the people and government Portugal. The result of that conduct d been, that instead of having an army the frontiers of Portugal, protecting the erior, we had been obliged to retain a nsiderable portion of the army to keep subjection the people for whose deliverce they were sent. Besides, the Portuese force was actually less in November an in August last. These grounds, ded his lordship, I think sufficient to ll on the house to arraign the conduct his majesty's ministers. What a const does the conduct of his majesty's nisters afford to that of the consummate neral whose plans they had to oppose! you ever hear, said his lordship, of onaparté appointing marshal Ney to mmand an army, and, in the midst of action, sending general Soult to superle him, and then, in the midst of a bat, sending Massena or some other gene- to supersede him? No.—You have en how differently he acts. You have en how the moment affairs took an unfaurable turn, he kept his army behind Ebro, where it might defy attack, and it for reinforcements. You find him, as on as his preparations are ready, carryg on one great and simultaneous operan. Whoever speaks of him, it is not ssible he should speak of him without miring him for his great abilities, whater may be thought of his character in ner respects. In rapidity of execution is only equalled by his patience in prering the means; he has all the opposite alities of Fabius and Marcellus, whether u consider the country in which he ts, the people with whom he has to ntend; or the means by which he is to bdue them. He rivals Hannibal in the plication of the means, and is exempt m his only fault, that of not improving past experience.—Are we to be surised then, that such arrangements have en followed by such calamities in Spain, make men shudder and the blood run ld? I come next to examine the means, hich his majesty's ministers adopted to tain information of the disposition and sources of the Spanish nation. Thirty or forty officers, it appears, were sent in various directions into Spain, to obtain that information which should have been obtained some months before. Whilst Buonaparté was engaged in the most active endeavours, to collect a force from all quarters to pour into Spain, no orders, it appears, were issued to our army in Portugal to move towards that country, till the 26th of September, when the first instructions to sir John Moore to that effect were dated. On the 28th of September, sir David Baird received orders to proceed to Spain. And here I cannot avoid calling your lordships' attention to another instance of neglect upon the part of ministers. It was not until three days before these orders were given to sir David Baird, that instructions were transmitted to general Broderick, directing him to concert with the Junta of Gallicia, measures for the debarkation of the army, and for enabling it to advance immediately. It has been said, that the correspondence of captain Kennedy represented that the Junta would oppose no difficulty to the landing of the troops; but that correspondence is on the table, and your lordships will perceive by looking into it, that it relates altogether to the refusal of the Junta of Gallicia to suffer the army to land. In point of fact, though sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, it was not till the 30th that permission was given for the disembarkation of his army. Now when we consider the whole of this case; that the troops had been put in motion at so late a period; that no means had been taken to insure their reception when they arrived; when we consider besides the particular point at which his majesty's ministers had chosen to act, I am persuaded that your lordships will perceive throughout the whole of their measures, a system of improvidence, imbecility, and impotence, which would be a disgrace to the government of any country, still more to that of a great empire. Situated as he was, it was impossible for sir John Moore to begin his march before the beginning or middle of the month of October; and if the Secretary for the War Department had exercised those talents which I know him to possess, and had given himself the trouble to calculate dates or distances, he must have known, that it would not be possible for the army to form a junction on the frontiers of Leon and Gallicia before the middle of December. Did ministers suppose that Buonaparté, taking example from their own inactivity and supineness, would not make any effort to retrieve those losses, which he had unexpectedly sustained in Spain? Did they suppose, that the encampment upon the Ebro had been maintained for no other purpose than to keep up a defensive position in Spain, without any intention to make an attempt to regain the ground that had been wrested from the enemy in that country? or did they imagine, that reinforcements would not be expedited, with all possible dispatch, to that post to which the French army had some months before been compelled to retreat? On the contrary, would not all the examples of Buonaparté's past conduct have shewn them, that no effort would be spared by him—that the utmost possible exertions would be made to retrieve his losses in Spain?—This, ministers might have calculated upon as a certainty, that, before the end of the month of October, even though he might be obliged to draw the reinforcements from the Danube or the Vistula, he would have collected an army in Spain adequate to the reduction of that country. Upon this head we had not been without information from the French accounts, which had been published in all the newspapers of this country. By these accounts it appeared, that, in a Message of Buonaparté to his Senate, on the 16th of September, he declared his determination to continue the war against Spain with vigour, and to destroy those armies which the English had landed on the Peninsula. Here there was a distinct declaration of Buonaparté's views upon Spain, previous to the orders sent out to sir John Moore to advance into Spain, or the instructions given to sir David Baird, to proceed from Falmouth to Corunna. Then followed a Report from the French minister of war, stating, "That it was of no small advantage, that in the ensuing campaign the French armies were to meet the English; that the English might themselves, at length, feel the effects of the war; that they would be destroyed or driven into the sea; or compelled to do as they had done at Toulon, the Helder, and in Sweden." Such language as this, proceeding from a minister of a foreign nation, could not but be most galling to every English feeling; and what rendered that language still more afflicting was, that the representation it contained, had unfortunately been realised by the event, and might have been prevented by ordinary prudence and foresight. Then, an addition of 200,000 men was called out in augmentation of the existing army, as appeared by the Paris papers of the 21st of October, received in this country on the 3d of November. By these channels of information we knew that between the middle of October and the 18th of November, reinforcements of infantry and cavalry, to the amount of 57,390 men, had actually joined the French army in Spain. The report of general Castanos states, that between the 1st of October and the 20th of November not less than 68,000 men had arrived in Spain; which, with the force of 45,000 already in that country, made an army of 113,000 men, (of which 18,000 were cavalry,) applicable to the reduction of that nation. In this state of information however, his majesty's ministers thought proper to send a British army to act against so superior a force in the open country, where their vast superiority in cavalry would give the enemy a decisive advantage, and where there was no adequate native force to support the British army. But even if the Spaniards had an army, which, instead of amounting in the whole to 85,000 men, as far exceeded its actual strength, as the exaggerated accounts received in this country stated, what should have been the first operations of the campaign? What was to have been expected in the first conflict, between new raised levies, and the best disciplined troops in Europe? What was to be looked to but losses in the first instance though by unabated spirit and persevering exertions the Spaniards might ultimately triumph? The course they should have adopted was to retreat to their fastnesses and at first to have abandoned a great part of the open country to the enemy, in which they might incessantly harrass him by desultory attacks, and learn in the school of adversity that experience and efficiency which would enable them finally to prevail over their enemies.—Under the actual circumstances of the country therefore, no one could have supposed that the point selected by ministers would be that, in which the British army must have been employed against so superior a force of the enemy without any prospect whatever of success. It was not, then, till the 12th of October, that sir John Moore began his march from Lisbon for Spain. On the 14th of November he arrived with the head column of his army at

lamanca, and on the 5th of December,
en the other columns had successively
ne up, sir John Moore wrote that gene-
Hope was at Avila, sir David Baird at
torga, and that he expected within a
rt time to be able to assemble the whole
my. It has been said, in another place,
t if any responsibility were to attach
where for this line of march, which
army had taken, that responsibility
ted with sir John Moore. Nothing, I
tend, can be more unfounded than
h an assertion. Sir John Moore had
choice, and the course he actually took
s perfectly right, and it will, I am con-
ced, meet the concurrence of every mi-
ry authority in the country, that his de-
ion in favour of a march by land was
nd upon military principles. It would
tainly not have been desirable for him
venture on an uncertain passage by sea
that season, nor would it have been pru-
nt in him to land his army in a country
ich had not the means of affording him
necessary supplies. On the 15th of
vember, sir David Baird began his
rch from Corunna, and on the 14th
that month the head of sir John Moore's
my arrived at Salamanca.—Having
s stated what was the situation of the
tish army in the middle of November,
eg now to call the attention of your
dships to the situation of the French
my at that period. On the 4th of No-
mber the French reinforcements had ar-
ed in great strength in Spain, so as to
ble their army to commence active
erations. In point of fact, the French
d begun to act on the 26th of October,
appears by their having surrounded
taken a column of 1,200 men. On
30th of October the French began to
against the army of general Blake,
between that and the 11th of Novem-
totally destroyed or dispersed that
my. On the 4th of November Buona-
rté arrived at Vittoria ; on the 10th the
my of Estremadura was destroyed ; and
the 13th Buonaparté actually estab-
hed his head-quarters at Burgos, the
ry point where our army was to unite,
e day before the head of sir John
ore's army arrived at Salamanca ; two
ys before sir David Baird began his
rch from Corunna.—All these were
cumstances that might have been fore-
n by any ordinary capacity ; and with
certainty that such circumstances
st have taken place, it was the height
madness to send a British army to act in the North of Spain. It was the opinion also of sir John Moore, that the whole of the British army under his command should have been assembled on the Portuguese frontier, and directed its march to Seville, and not to Salamanca. If that plan of operations had been adopted, he might, if pressed, retire behind the Tagus, and thence into the province of Andalusia, where there was an important iron foundery at Seville ; where the spirit of the people was most enthusiastic ; and where there was a secure and impregnable port, Cadiz, to which in any emergency the British army could securely retreat. The port of Cadiz was capable of affording shelter to the fleet, and security to the army if obliged to fall back upon it. But here I do not mean to go into the cause of that jealousy which existed with respect to admitting our troops into that port ; yet, if such a jealousy could have prevailed after we had sent a large army into that province to assist the cause of Spain, at all events our own impregnable fortress, Gibraltar, was a point, to which the army could securely retreat. That plan of operations would have been best for the security of the British army ; most effectual for the Spanish cause, because it would establish the British army as a reserve round which the native troops might rally ; and most harrassing to the French, because it would oblige them to act upon a more extended line.—But scarcely had sir David Baird begun his march, when at Lugo he heard of the destruction of general Blake's army : on his arrival at Astorga, he heard of the dispersion of the army of Estremadura : so that before he could have arrived at the scene of action, every army, from which he could have hoped for support, had been destroyed. And here I must beseech your lordships' attention to the Letter of sir D. Baird, dated the 22d of November, and to that of sir John Moore, dated the 24th of November, and to the representations of both as to the absence of all support from the native armies, and the want of the reported spirit or enthusiasm on the part of the people. In his letter, sir John Moore said, that if the real strength of the Spanish army, or the real state of the country had been known, Cadiz, not Corunna, would have been the point selected for the landing of sir David Baird's corps ; and Seville, not Salamanca, the place at which the army ought to have been assembled. These documents shewed how hopeless the situation of af-

fairs in Spain was, how low the disposition of the people was at that period.—The letter from sir David Baird had been received here on the 3d of December; that of sir John Moore on the 8th; and it is in the recollection of your lordships, that these documents were in the possession of his majesty's ministers, when, on the 16th of December, they thought proper to advise his majesty to issue that celebrated Proclamation which pledged his majesty to "the universal Spanish nation;" which bound this country to a cause, which, according to every information, was at the time actually hopeless. I am ready to admit, that it would be the interest of this country, as it must be in its disposition, to maintain the cause of the independence of Spain, as long as there could be any reasonable expectation of success. But I cannot but disapprove of this gratuitous pledge solemnly proclaimed to the world under such circumstances; a pledge, which could not be of any service to Spain, and might be of considerable inconvenience to this country. This declaration is a point, upon which I think ministers are bound to give some explanation to parliament, as to the grounds upon which they thought proper to issue it, whilst they had such documents in their possession. But whilst general Hope was at Avila and sir David Baird at Astorga, the army of Castanos was defeated and dispersed, a part having retreated into Arragon, and another part proceeding south towards Andalusia. So that in three short weeks after he had commenced operations, Buonaparté completely succeeded in destroying the three armies upon which the British army was to depend for support. This was the result of the combination of the activity, foresight, and prudence of the enemy, as contrasted with the supineness, rashness, and arrogance of the councils of his majesty's ministers. The means provided by Buonaparté for the accomplishment of his purposes are so well combined, and his objects so ably prosecuted, as generally to give him a moral certainty of success; and whatever may be thought of his total disregard of the justice of those objects, it is impossible not to admire the ability and wisdom with which he combines the means of accomplishing them. A person high in office has, in another place, in adverting to this subject with a view to shew that fortune may be controlled by wise combinations and persevering spirit, applied to it the celebrated quotation,

> "Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia, sed
> "Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque
> "camus."

Buonaparté might unquestionably wi
the greatest justice apply this quotation
himself. He is said to be superstitious,
rely on his fortune, and to place confiden
in his star; but whatever may be his d
position or his feelings in these respec
he never neglects to provide all the mea
that possibly can contribute to ensure su
cess. It is not with him as with his m
jesty's ministers; he never enters into
enterprise without any calculation of co
sequences; he never exposes his fortune
risk upon the desperate chance of a d
tant possibility of success. In this situ
tion, however, were the affairs in Spa
when sir John Moore, determined and pr
perly determined, to retreat; and in this
termination he continued till the 5th of
cember. It must now be obvious to y
lordships, that that course would have be
best for the safety of the British army, a
most advantageous for the interest of t
people whom it had been sent to assis
because, by retiring to the frontier of P
tugal, sir John Moore might take adv
tage of any favourable opportunity to
turn to the assistance of Spain. Up
these grounds, therefore, sir John Moo
persevered in his intention to retreat u
the middle of the day, on the 5th of Dece
ber, when his determination was chang
The noble Secretary of State has thro
down the gauntlet, and gallantly offered
justify this change. But I rather think
noble Secretary will find it extremely
ficult to shew, that it was not only right
necessary for sir J. Moore to advance fr
Salamanca upon that occasion. The wh
of the Spanish armies were dispersed a
flying before the French, who had p
session of the passes of Somosierra a
Guadarama, and also of the great road
Madrid. Was that a situation, I wo
ask, in which sir John Moore should h
advanced, and with an army, too, of o
26,000 men? I am aware that the no
Secretary of State, among other extrao
nary things, has alleged that sir J
Moore had 40,000 men at Salaman
That is, the noble Secretary opposes
report of the papers in his office nea
bound up with red tape, to the assertio
sir John Moore, who had the army be
his eyes. Yet with this army the no
Secretary would maintain that sir J
Moore should, without any Spanish arm
or even armed peasantry to sustain h

ave advanced into the centre of the country
priving himself of the means of retreat, at
00 miles distance from any place of em-
rkation. The proposition, in fact, need
ly to be stated, in order to demonstrate
e impossibility of defending the noble
cretary's opinion, not merely to military
en, but indeed to any description of per-
ns capable of combining two ideas. Under
the circumstances of the situation of
e British army it was highly imprudent
advance, and nothing was to be expect-
to result from such an operation, but a
sty and disastrous retreat. It is an af-
cting consideration to Englishmen that
e consequence has been precisely what
as to have been expected, and has re-
cted disgrace upon the counsels which
l to it; but certainly did not leave any
ain either upon the high character of the
neral, or the unparalleled spirit which
d been displayed by his brave army.
e prudent determination of sir John
oore, which he persisted in till the 5th
December, he was induced to alter on
at day by the communications which he
ceived from Mr. Frere, a gentleman,
o, whatever may be his talents in other
pects, and however painful and unplea-
nt it may be to me to make the observa-
n, appears to be wholly unqualified,
m his folly, ignorance and presumption,
that high and important station which
at present occupies. To prove the in-
mpetence of this gentleman, I need only
er to his letter of the 27th of November,
which, appearing to be ignorant of the
rival of reinforcements to the French
my which had augmented it to 113,000
n, he mentions to sir John Moore how
sirable it would be for him, and how
litic, to make an attack upon the French
my before it should be reinforced; and
t at the date of that letter, the French
my had been increased to 113,000 men.
nother reason assigned by that gentle-
an for the advance of sir John Moore was
at France was always weak after a great
ort. Was France weak after the battle
Marengo? Was she weak after the great
orts made at the battles of Jena, of Vien-
, of Ulm, of Austerlitz, or of Friedland?
hat could be such a proof of existing
ength and powerful resources as the
eans that had been sent forth by France
insure success, and for the achievement
these important victories? Sentiments
ch as those expressed by that gentleman
uld not fail to remind one of the case of
ose who from being in the constant habit
of telling stories, came at length to believe them themselves. Mr. Frere seems to me to be one of those, who in this country make a practice of decrying every effort of France, and predicting the failure of all her projects. Before the battle of Marengo the defeat of Buonaparté was anticipated; on the late coalition the downfall of his power was represented as certain in almost all the newspapers, not even excepting the Anti-Jacobin.—I come now to shew that the advance of the army from Salamanca was the work of this Mr. Frere. It will be in your lordships' recollection, that the instructions from lord Castlereagh to sir John Moore, directed him to be guided in every thing respecting the Junta of government by, and to take all his information on that, and all the subjects concerning the state of Spain from, Mr. Frere: not however, that he was to submit to his communications as to commands, but to pay every attention to them short of what should be paid to commands. I wish your lordships to bear these instructions in mind, in order that you may be able to judge of the weight which the letter of Mr. Frere must have had in determining the conduct of sir John Moore. In this letter Mr. Frere recommended to sir John Moore to suspend his retreat for the present: for the present he said, because such was the spirit of the people, that, if they should be abandoned by the British army, he was convinced they would still accomplish their object. When Mr. Frere stated the determined spirit of the Spaniards—nay, when he went the length of alledging, that if that people were even left to themselves, he had no doubt of their ultimate success, he still urged sir John Moore to advance to their aid, adding, that such a movement was at that time of so much importance to the interests of Spain, and he was so certain of its happy result, that he would be ready to take the whole responsibility of it upon himself. To this strong, and, as it afterwards proved, false statement, was owing the change which took place in sir John Moore's opinion on the 5th of December. This officer received another letter from the ambassador, stating that Castanos had an army of 40,000 men, which the Central Junta communicated their expectation of speedily augmenting to 75,000. Therefore sir John Moore was exhorted to advance to place himself in a situation either to join the army mentioned by the Junta, or to attack the flanks of the French. Accompanying

these communications of false intelligence was a most improper letter from Mr. Frere, which deserved the strongest terms of reprobation; which, by recommending the examination of the messenger who bore it before a council of war in the event of his not complying with the recommendation it contained, actually proposed to take out of the hands of sir John Moore the command of his army. But who was this bearer, to whose representations such respectful attention was to be paid? Why is his name withheld? Was he any great officer of experience? Was it Dumourier, or that great rival of Buonaparté, Moreau? No such thing;—but M. Charmilly, one of the most infamous characters existing. I am fully aware who he is; and I would appeal to my noble friend on the cross-bench (viscount Sidmouth), whether he was not, when in office, cautioned against this man? He is, in fact, one of those who commenced the sanguinary revolution at St. Domingo, where he was actually concerned in assassination. From St. Domingo he went to France, as one of the delegates from that island; and from France he came to take refuge here, where he attempted to impose upon the government, by assuming an authority and official character which he did not possess from the government of St. Domingo. Such was the man whom ministers thought fit to entrust. How, I would ask, could they be ignorant of his character? He who, for several years, has notoriously practised usury in this town, who can be traced through all the courts of law in actions for such practices; and whose name the noble lord on the woolsack may find among the list of fraudulent bankrupts. This then, my lords, is the sort of man whom Mr. Frere thought proper to select for the purpose of influencing the decision, if not of superseding the authority, of sir John Moore. In denouncing this man, whose name I have learned from private letters transmitted by sir John Moore to his relations, and in marking him as one of those emigrants, who took refuge in this country in consequence of the French revolution, I beg I may not be understood as casting any general reflection on that description of persons. God forbid that I should use any expression calculated in the slightest degree, to disturb the feelings of those high-minded persons, those generous spirits, who, from a chivalrous devotion to their sovereign and his family, fled from the French revolution. The conduct of such men not only entitles them to compassion but to admiration. But I mean not to confound such a person as I allude to with those whom I have just described. This person, who was the bearer of this extraordinary letter from Mr. Frere, it appears, left Madrid on the 2d, and of course could not be unaware of the state of that city at the time. In addition to the letter from Mr. Frere, he also brought a letter from Morla, who, on the very day he wrote the letter exhorting sir John Moore to advance towards Madrid, was actually negociating with Buonaparté for the surrender of that city. Thus, had sir John Moore been influenced by Mr. Frere's confidential messenger, whom there was great reason to consider as a traitor and a spy for the enemy, or by the exhortation of Morla, whose treachery to the Spanish cause had since become glaring, the probability was, that our whole army would have been destroyed or taken prisoners; certainly, if sir John Moore had advanced towards Madrid, such must have been the consequence, and it was not alone the loss of that ever-to-be-lamented officer, that the country would have had to deplore, but the destruction of his whole army. How are ministers to account for arrangements which exposed this gallant officer and his force to so much imminent danger? That danger was indeed so felt by sir John Moore himself, that it was impossible to read, without emotion, the letters he wrote to his friends upon the subject.—The conduct of this gallant officer was, indeed, throughout that unfortunate campaign, which terminated in his glorious death, calculated in an eminent degree to excite the interest of every generous and just mind. His arrangements at Corunna, both as to the contrivance and the execution, were honourable to his character and worthy of the highest eulogiums of fame.—There are other points connected with this question, which I must leave to be discussed by others; having, I fear, trespassed too far upon the attention of the house, and feeling much exhausted myself. I could dwell upon the want of information and foresight which ministers betrayed, upon the inadequacy of their supplies to the army in every respect, and particularly in cavalry, of which they sent but 2,000 altogether, to a country, too, where that description of force was peculiarly necessary. This deficiency could not proceed from the limited number o ir cavalry. For we had now no less than 7,000 of that body, and it would be re-embered that in the years 1793 and 4, hen we had only 14,000, we had 7 or 000 then upon the continent. I could so animadvert upon the circumstance of aving both sir David Baird and sir John oore in want of money; upon the inattntion of the admiralty in sending no in-uctions to admiral Cotton from April to e date of the Cónvention; the improvi-nce manifested with respect to the se-rity of the fleet at Ferrol; but, above , I could call the particular attention of ur lordships to the consequence of this fortunate campaign; to the loss of 7 8,000 men, without any advantage to ain or to this country; to the loss of rses, stores, and money sent to Spain, c. &c., to the amount of no less than ght millions. With this review of the nduct of ministers; of those who pro-ced such a calamitous result, how is it ssible to attend to the cant of modern triotism, that it is of no consequence whom the administration of our govern-ent and resources is conducted? As ll might it be maintained, that it would swer as well to have an army directed a commander whose folly and inex-riences was proverbial, as by a Marlbo-ugh. How can it seriously be urged, at it is the same thing whether the go-rnment be entrusted to incapable per-ns or to able statesmen? I am really asto-shed at the absurd extravagance of the ctrine, into which men of general good nse and good intention have been re-ntly betrayed upon this subject. To e principles of reform; to a temperate, elligible, and definite reform; I have en always, and still continue, a friend promote that desirable object was, I ntend, the study of the last administra-n; and, I can answer for it, that no an is more friendly to such an object an my noble friend near me (lord Gren-lle). It was, in our endeavours to attain at end, we incurred the reproaches of ose who covered their censure under the ecious phrases of a "sordid economy d want of vigour."—The noble lord ncluded with an animated appeal to e house, exhorting their lordships by ir regard for themselves and their pos-rity, by their consideration for the wasted ood of their countrymen, for the dilapi-ted resources of their country, for their tional character, for the interests of the anish cause, and for the ruined prospects of Europe, to acquiesce in a motion, which had for its objects, to call to an account the men, to whose mal-administration such numerous and severe calamities were attributable.—The noble lord then read the following Address, which he proffered for adoption:—

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty that we have considered with attention the various documents, incomplete as they are, which have been laid before us respecting the efforts made by his Majesty during the last campaign, in support of the resistance of the people of Spain and Portugal to the unjust aggression and usurpation of the French government.—That we feel ourselves bound to represent to his Majesty, that on the result of this examination, we have seen with mortification and grief the disgrace brought on his Majesty's councils, and the injury sustained by the British empire from the want of information and foresight which have been evinced in every part of the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers. That no rational plan of operations has at any time been formed by them either for the direction of our own exertions, or for combining them with those of the Spanish and Portuguese nations; no just view taken of the political situation of either country, nor any due attention paid to the supply of those means which alone could have enabled the British armies to act with a reasonable hope of success.—That with such proofs before us, it would not be consistent with our duty to withhold from his Majesty a declaration of our full conviction that, owing to the rashness and mismanagement of his Majesty's Ministers, the hopes which the nation had been led to entertain have been disappointed, a large and useless expenditure of the means and resources of the country has been incurred, a great and dangerous accession of political naval and military strength has already been obtained by the enemy, and above 7,000 of his Majesty's brave troops, together with their gallant commander, have been sacrificed without advantage in enterprize without plan, combination, or foresight, and equally ill-timed and misdirected."

The Earl of *Liverpool* rose in reply. His lordship began by agreeing with the noble earl, that the feeling of fair confidence in the executive department of the state which had been expressed by almost every man in the country, when the first prospect appeared in Spain of resistance to the aggressions of France, laid on his majesty's ministers as heavy a responsibility as any, to which a government was perhaps ever subjected. On the part of his majesty's ministers he was anxious to declare, that the furthest wish from their minds was to avoid inquiry into their conduct; their only desire was, that that conduct should be fairly investigated, and that no misrepresentation of the facts should be substituted for the facts themselves. The first of these misrepresentations which he should notice was, the insinuation that his majesty's ministers had used every means in their power to stir up the popular feeling on this subject. It must be evident to every unprejudiced mind that this was not the case, but that the popular feeling had been expressed spontaneously and consentaneously. The noble earl had censured his majesty's government for precipitation; he had declared it to be his opinion that they ought to have waited to ascertain the probability of the success of the cause of patriotism in Spain, before they offered the Spaniards assistance. This was a most extraordinary opinion. What! when the feeling of resistance against oppression was so strong and so general in Spain, would it have been honourable to the British character, had his majesty's ministers told the gallant Spaniards; "We will not give you aid while you are most in want of it; while your efforts at emancipation are in infancy; but we will defer our assistance until you are in full strength, and need it not?" Had such been the language held by his majesty's ministers, they would, indeed, have deserved the reprobation of every man in the country.—It was a singular circumstance in the hostility shewn to his majesty's ministers, with respect to their conduct in the affairs of Spain, that each individual who censured their plan had a plan of his own, but that unfortunately none of these plans had a single principle of agreement with each other. This at least shewed the difficulty under which his majesty's ministers had laboured in the formation of their own measures, although it afforded a facility in defending them. He was convinced, that he should be able satisfactorily to prove to their lordships two things; the first, that the plan adopted by his majesty's ministers with respect to Spain, was the most wise and expedient, that could have been adopted in the view in which circumstances at first presented themselves; and that it was pursued with the utmost steadiness and firmness; the second, that, had any other plan been adopted after more full information had been obtained, it would probably not have been more successful than the plan adopted by them. The noble earl had contended that his majesty's ministers had been remiss in not having made a great effort in Spain itself in the first instance. Now, before any opinion could be formed on the propriety of such a step, it must be considered, that prior to any extensive operation of the nature alluded to, it must have been necessary to look for some safe port, where the troops might be disembarked without danger; into which the victuallers could be received with ease, and near which the men of war might have remained for the purpose of co-operation. As a general principle, he might safely contend that it was impracticable, and that if practicable, it was not wise to send a large British army into the interior of any continental country, without the previous attainment of the means by which that army would be rendered secure. These means were wholly wanting on the North West Coast of Spain, recommended by the noble earl. No security could there be found for re-embarkation of troops; no facility existed there for extensive operations. There was considerable danger even to single ships off that coast, and the provinces there were worse supplied with provisions than any other in Spain. If any confirmation of these assertions were wanting, it would be found in the opinion of the marquis de Romana, who, being to be sent with his limited force to St. Andero, where he had every inducement to wish for the neighbourhood of a British army, distinctly declared, that we might have an *entrepot* at Corunna, at Vigo, at Ferrol, at Lisbon; but at no port on the North West of Spain. Thus far it was proved that such a measure would be militarily impracticable. It remained to shew that had it not been militarily impracticable, it would have been politically inexpedient at that time to have sent a large British army into Spain. Spain rose by separate provinces; these separate provinces had separate Juntas, separate armies, and separate generals. There was no common center of union, and although he did not state this as an objection to sending a definite force for a definite object; yet he contended, that considering the unavoidable jealousies which must have existed among so many authorities of equal rank and power, it would

ve been highly imprudent to have trust-
a British army in the heart of Spain,
til some one of those authorities obtain-
a predominating influence. He knew
t it had been urged as matter of com-
int, that demands had been made for
istance by some of the provinces in
ain, which demands had been uncom-
ed with. Ten thousand men had been
ked for by the province of Asturias. This
s for local defence. It became a mat-
of consideration to his majesty's minis-
s, whether or not it would be wise to
ant this request; and that certainly form-
one of the principal reasons for their re-
al. The point for which the assistance
s sought, was one of the least vulnerable
the enemy. Another complaint made
s, that the province of Gallicia had call-
for the assistance of cavalry, which had
ver been sent there. He believed, how-
er, that no minister who knew his duty
uld have advised his majesty to send ca-
lry to Gallicia without accompanying it
th a due proportion of infantry. Be-
es, in his opinion, it would have been
st fatal to the cause of Spain, and the
anish army, to have sent them this aid
cavalry, for it would have drawn the
anish infantry from the mountains down
the plains where alone the British caval-
could have acted, but where the French
antry were in irresistible superiority of
mbers. In June, when the Asturian
puties, and afterwards the Gallician De-
ties, arrived in this country, a British
litary force was preparing for embark-
on under the command of sir Arthur
ellesley. The noble earl was, however,
staken in supposing, whatever might
ve been the original destination of that
ce, that there existed in the breasts of
majesty's ministers the least intention
persevere in carrying that original ob-
t into execution, after they were inform-
of the appearance, however partial, of
istance in Spain to French tyranny.—
is force was sent out with directions to
oceed either to the coast of Spain or to
e Tagus; and it was judged expedient
entrust sir Arthur Wellesley with a dis-
tionary power on this subject. The
ble earl had stated, that his majesty's
nisters had sent this force to sea without
y definite object. But what would he
any other man have thought of his ma-
ty's government if they had delayed
eir operations, and risked the loss of an
portant object, by waiting for precise
tails, possessed as they were of general information respecting the occurrences in Spain? They knew that they could safely trust the gallant officer at the head of that expedition with the discretion vested in him; they knew that even as a diversion alone, the expedition would answer a most important object. Were their lordships aware of the advantages which might have been derived from that force, even had it not proceeded to the place of its destination, by diversions upon the coast? In the state of Spain and Portugal such diversions would have been most serviceable. It was to the diversion of general Spencer at Ayamonte that the speedy defeat of Dupont was attributable, because it prevented a division sent by Junot to his assistance, from passing the frontiers into Spain, in order to co-operate with Dupont. In his opinion, it was the duty of government, as it was their invariable effort, to equip the best force they could, and to direct it against the object which it seemed to them most material to attain, but without such a final determination as should preclude all discretion on the part of the commander. This force, under sir Arthur Wellesley, called at Corunna at a very critical moment. The Gallician Junta declared, that the first object of the British ought to be the expulsion of the French from Portugal. At that time such an operation was obviously the most advantageous, both for Spain and Portugal. General Dupont was in a state of resistance. The contest in the south was undecided. But even after the surrender of Dupont, there could be little doubt of the policy of expelling the French from Portugal, and thus enabling the Spaniards to direct all their attention to the Pyrenees. In compliance with the wish of the Gallician Junta, sir Arthur Wellesley proceeded to the Tagus, and determined to attack the French there. He could say with truth of that gallant officer, that in coming to this determination he was influenced by his public duty alone; for amidst all his brilliant qualities, no one was more eminent than the complete absence of envy and of any feeling of humiliation or degradation at being employed under any other officer. He would not repeat any eulogy on the victories obtained in Portugal; he would only observe, that in thirteen days sir Arthur Wellesley beat the French army in one general and two partial engagements, and compelled them to an armistice, and to an ultimate evacuation of Portugal. With respect to the supercession of sir Arthur Wellesley, it was

impossible that any member of parliament should say who ought, or who ought not to command an army. Sir Hew Dalrymple was at Gibraltar when the first communications of the emotions in Spain arrived, and had conducted himself with distinguished ability. Having thereby gained the confidence of the Spanish nation, he was selected as a proper person to take the command of the British army destined to act in aid of the Spanish cause.—But to proceed with the accusations of the noble earl. The next was the alledged want of cavalry in Portugal, and the assumption, that to that supposed deficiency the Armistice and Convention were to be ascribed. He wished to enter at some length on the subject of the British cavalry which had been sent to the continent. The public mind had been very much misled on this topic, and it was material, with reference both to this and other expeditions, that the house and the country should not run away with false ideas. Had the noble earl ever inquired what the proportion of tonnage for cavalry bore to that of tonnage for infantry? For infantry (and for a short distance) a ton per man was considered as sufficient; for every horse transported, not less than nine or ten tons were allowed. Thus it would appear, that it would take as much tonnage to carry 5,000 cavalry, as 40,000 infantry. But the amount of tonnage was a small part of the question. The quality of the transports was a more material consideration. A horse transport must be a vessel of a certain description, having a certain height between the decks, &c. The quantity that government could at any time procure of such vessels was very limited; besides, it was to be recollected that cavalry horses were not the only horses sent with an army; there must be horses for the artillery, for the staff, &c. This was one point to be kept in view, when the neglect to send cavalry was attributed to government. The next consideration was the nature of the country to which the cavalry was to be sent. The central provinces of Spain were cavalry countries; but this was not the case with the frontier provinces; it was not the case with Gallicia, with Asturias, with Portugal. When sir John Moore was retreating, he was forced to separate the cavalry from the infantry, because the nearest rout for the infantry was not calculated for affording supplies to the cavalry, and the infantry under sir David Baird was delayed, owing to the necessity of bringing forward the cavalry in small detachments. Along with this he desired their lordships again to look at the difficulty of sending cavalry He requested them to consider, that to Egypt, where they might have been of great use, not more than 150 were sent and the men themselves had been obliged to move the artillery. Cavalry could only be sent to the peninsula by degrees, on account of the difficulty of procuring the supplies for that species of force there But notwithstanding this, when it was known that from 8 to 9,000 horses had been sent, and that no less than 12,000 would have been sent in all, had it not been for the information that sir David Baird was retreating, he trusted that their lordships would allow that this was the greatest effort of the kind that had ever been made by this country.—In applying these observations, the noble secretary said that it was neither wise nor practicable to send in the first instance, more cavalry with sir Arthur Wellesley than had actually been sent. On the 22nd of August the cavalry of the British army was superior to the number which the enemy had at the beginning It was owing to the rapidity with which sir Arthur Wellesley had advanced, that they were not present on the day of the battle of Vimiera, although he was very far indeed from conceiving that this rapidity was improper under all the circumstances. Whatever might be thought of the Armistice and Convention, the want of cavalry had no effect upon the consideration of these subjects. Whether the French ought or ought not to have been permitted to quit Portugal except as prisoners of war, was a question which he would leave to military men to determine If more favourable terms could have been obtained, they ought, of course, to have been insisted upon. But what he wished to press upon their lordships, was, that if the operations in Portugal had been delayed for six weeks longer, the army owing to the rainy season, would probably have been deprived of 5,000 men more than it had actually lost. The noble Secretary, before he left the question of Portugal, observed, that the only object for the government to pursue, with respect to the internal affairs of that country, was to support the power left there by the Prince Regent. The British army had entered Portugal as allies, not as conquerors. With respect to the operations in Spain, he observed that before the government had intelligence that the campaign in Portugal

s likely to be so soon finished, instruc-
ns had been sent out to sir Hew Dalrym-
to prepare the army for their march to
in as soon as possible.—There was one
erial omission in the speech of the
le earl, which he thought it necessary
ecal to their lordships attention. Whilst
noble earl had indulged in so wide
titude of censure upon the line of con-
t pursued by his majesty's ministers in
planning of their operations in Spain,
was not a little remarkable, that that
le lord should have entirely forgotten
the line of operations marked out and
secuted by the British government had
eived the sanction and approbation of
two first generals in the Spanish ar-
s. The noble earl seemed also to have
gotten that the course of proceedings
gested by us was at the very same
e concerting in Spain, and preparing
be carried into effect. This did not
ear to him to be a proof of the absur-
or folly of the course of proceeeding
, under such circumstances, had to mi-
ers appeared eligible. After sir John
ore had come to a determination of
hing into Spain through Portugal, he
ld ask the noble earl how, in his wis-
a, he would have disposed of the forces
he country then upon the peninsula?
ing driven the French out of Portu-
an object which the Gallician Junta
pronounced to be of the last import-
to the cause of Spain; after having
cted that object, he would ask, would
ave been advisable to have let the
y remain in inactivity, or to have sent
m where nothing could have been
e? Or was it not rather the imperious
y of those to whom the power and the
hes of this country in that cause were
hat time entrusted, to have made an
rt in Spain for the cause in which the
feelings of Englishmen were so deep-
nterested? Would it, he asked, have
n an adequate and suitable evidence
the zeal and ardour, that prevailed
ughout the empire, to have suffered so
an army to have remained patient
ctators, while their ally was bleeding
he cause it had been sent out to assist?
that he meant that ministers, at such
eriod, were to yield implicitly to the
of popular enthusiasm; he was aware
such an enthusiasm called for a pro-
tionate exercise of the coolest delibe-
on, and the most dispassionate judg-
nt. And here he could not help ani-
lverting on that part of the speech of the
noble lord, in which he insinuated that that enthusiasm had been industriously stimulated by the government. He, for his part, knew of no stimulus greater than the common sympathy of freemen in the cause of freedom. He was aware, too, of the indignation such a sympathy was calculated to excite in contemplating an usurpation as tyrannical in its design, as it was perfidious in its execution; but he denied, that those feelings to any criminal excess were allowed to bias the cooler judgment of the government of the country, in deciding on the best and most efficacious manner of disposing of our military means in support of the Spanish cause. His majesty's ministers in embarking in that cause, were not so weak, so improvident, so foolish, as to expect, that the first efforts of the Spanish people, contending with such an enemy, would be crowned with unqualified success; that no discomfitures, no checks, no disasters, no reverses, would retard and embarrass the early and crude operations of undisciplined bravery, when brought down into open plains to contend with the superior discipline, the superior strength, and the superior generalship of such a power as France. No; weak as the noble lord might suppose ministers, they were not yet guilty of calculating with certainty upon impossibilities; they did not expect that such a cause as the cause of Spain, to be fought for with such an enemy as the ruler of France, could possibly be determined in one campaign. They, who had such an expectation, must have taken a narrow view, indeed, of the subject. Reverses they had certainly met, but they had not been owing to the cause to which the noble earl seemed so anxious to ascribe them. Those reverses had not been owing to the indifference or the apathy of the Spaniards. They were to be imputed to their want of discipline; to an ill-judged contempt of their enemy; a sentiment that was to be traced to any other feeling rather than that of apathy or indifference, and that in itself was a proof of their zeal and ardour; and this in the commencement was so much relied upon, that the marquis de la Romana did not think it would be eventually necessary for our reinforcements to act in the interior of the peninsula, such confidence was reposed in the native spirit of the country. With regard to the measures adopted subsequently to the arrival of sir John Moore at Salamanca, he would not detain their

lordships by going at large into detail upon the transactions; but he was willing to meet the noble earl upon the general ground of the consequences resulting to the cause of Spain from the measures subsequently adopted. When sir John Moore first arrived at Salamanca, he received intelligence of the defeat of Blake's army. He received intelligence of the defeat of the army of Estremadura, and of the signal defeat of general Castanos. Upon a due consideration of those disastrous events, and of the state of his army, not being furnished with a due portion either of cavalry or artillery, he finally determined on a retreat, and accordingly ordered sir David Baird to retire upon Corunna, while he would fall back upon Vigo. In this situation general Hope formed a junction with sir John Moore, who about the same time received the intelligence that Madrid resisted the progress of the enemy. By the junction of general Hope, the army of sir John Moore received its fair proportion of cavalry and its full proportion of artillery. Thus circumstanced, and apprised as he then was of the spirit manifesting itself in Madrid, was it, or was it not, he would ask the noble lord, an opportunity that called for some effort upon the part of the British forces, situated as they then were? or if it was not, he put it to their lordships, what would have been the general sentiment in Spain and in England, had the army retired without attempting any thing? If in that most interesting crisis, when after all their repeated disasters, the spirit of Spain was reviving, and her chief city bidding defiance to an immense army at her very gates, if in such a moment a British army, so marshalled and equipped, were, after a long march to the aid of their ally—if they were in the hour of trial coldly to turn their backs upon his danger, what would be thought of the sincerity of the effort of British co-operation. But the noble lord had animadverted in strong terms of disapprobation on the conduct of Mr. Frere. The noble lord had even gone so far as to question the propriety of the appointment of that gentleman. If the noble lord's objections were to the office itself he did not see upon what they could be grounded. Nothing had been more sanctioned by prescription than the custom of having a diplomatic agent to co-operate with the officer entrusted with the chief military command. But even if this had not been customary, still the peculiar circumstances of the case itself where the operations of the army were in a great measure to be influenced by the result of events on the Spanish councils such circumstances more than justified the appointment; and he could not agree with the noble lord, that the making out such an appointment was in any degree trenching upon the authority of sir John Moore —And here he was naturally brought to the correspondence, that had passed between those two persons, and which called forth so much commentary from the noble lord and in the first place it did appear upon the face of that correspondence that it had not originated in any intrusion on the part of Mr. Frere. Mr. Frere's first letter was an answer to one from sir John Moore, in which that officer called for the sentiments of the king's minister there. There was nothing unusual or extraordinary in persons so situated wishing that the common cause in which they were engaged should have every advantage resulting from the aid of their mutual advice and consultations; but there was one assertion of the noble lord, in commenting on that correspondence, which he believed would not be found to be correct, at least he hoped i would not, for the sake of sir John Moore himself; it was that sir John Moore had been influenced contrary to his own judgment, by that correspondence, to advanc from Salamanca; this did not appear on the face of the correspondence; but it did appear that sir John Moore had refused to suffer Mr. Frere's judgment to influenc his military movements; and in so doin there could be no doubt of the propriety of his conduct. As to Mr. Frere's letter requiring the Messenger to be examine before a council of war, he did not mean t vindicate it; at the same time that he believed too much justice could not be don Mr. Frere, as far as respected his zeal fo the country's interests and the purity o his motives; but to prove to their lordships that sir John Moore did not suffe himself to be influenced so far as had bee insinuated by the noble lord, he would with their lordships leave, read to them a extract from the letter he alluded to from sir John Moore to Mr. Frere. The nobl lord then read as follows:—"With respect to the determination which I made o the evening of the 28th, upon receivin from Mr. Stewart the account of Castanos' defeat, I should, had you been with me have communicated it to you, but shoul never have thought of asking your advic opinion, as that determination was found- on circumstances with which you could t be acquainted, and was, besides, a estion merely military, of which I should ve thought myself the better judge." re then, it was evident, not only that sir n Moore's judgment had not been in- enced by the advice of Mr. Frere, but t he himself was averse to that advice, at least did not approve of it. Besides, h respect to the advance into Spain yond Salamanca, not being a measure ginally of sir John Moore's, it appeared that correspondence that before he had ard of the defeat of Castanos, he had ermined to march to Madrid, and even withstanding that, he would, perhaps, ve done so subsequently, had it not been at the great passes of Somosierra and Gua- rama had been previously occupied by e French. He contended, that the ad- nce of sir John Moore was the spontane- s result of his own free judgment. He s retiring, when he is joined by gene- Hope; his army is supplied with artille- and cavalry, and Madrid firmly resolved hold out; and in consequence he altered previous determination. And now t he had said so much as to this advance ing the determination of sir John Moore self, he would say one word on the sequences resulting from that advance. atever might be the sentiments of other sons on this subject, he, for his part, ieved in his conscience, that that for- rd movement of sir John Moore had ed Spain. There perhaps were some, o were startled at this assertion; it was fixed and decided opinion, and as such would avow it. After the defeat of stanos, after the dispersion of the army Estremadura, after the destruction of the ny of Gallicia, after the capitulation of drid, that promised to emulate the glory Saragossa, and would have done so, had t treachery interposed?—After such a ies of success on the part of the French er, what was his next object?—evident- to over-run the South of Spain as he had North. What would have been the re- t, if he had at that crisis pursued his quests by pushing to the Southern ovinces? why, the troops of Spain uld never have had time to rally in the uth; but they have had time to rally d to revive with encreased vigour; and at, he asked, gave them that time and at opportunity, but the diversion created the advance of sir John Moore at that itical period in their favour. Never was there a more effectual diversion. The French ruler had been obliged to abandon his preconcerted project on the South; and to that diversion were to be ascribed all the successes that had since it taken place in Spain. Nor was the moral effect of thus reanimating the spirits of the nation to be wholly laid out of consideration. But if the noble lord wanted further testimony of the result of this forward movement, sir John Moore himself said, that the movement as a diversion had completely and effectually succeeded. Nor, in considering the means of taking advantage of a diversion of this kind, was the nature of the country itself to be overlooked. Its mountains were well adapted for breaking and dispersing the movements of immense armies over the surface of the country, while they were at the same time secure retreats for nursing to maturity that inferiority of force and discipline which must expose the natives in any pitched action on a plain with a French army, to say nothing of the superiority of the enemy both in cavalry and artillery. After the retreat had been finally determined on by sir John Moore, government having been informed that Vigo was the most conveniently circumstanced port for embarking the army, had ordered the transports and victuallers there; but in the course of the retreat sir John Moore had met with sufficient and good reasons to induce him to alter his line of march, and fall back on Corunna instead of Vigo. For this proceeding there was not the slightest blame imputable to that officer, but neither did it follow in this instance, that because he was blameless his majesty's ministers were culpable. The transports were countermanded from Vigo to Corunna as speedily as it was possible. With respect to the termination of that retreat in the splendid action at Corunna, he should now say nothing, but the signal display of British valour upon that occasion would not speedily be forgotten by the enemy. Much had been said by the noble lord as to the squandering of British blood, and the waste of British valour. He was prepared to say, that, taking the extent of the exertion (to say nothing of the success), and comparing the loss upon that occasion with the losses sustained at the Helder, at Egypt—comparing here to the extent of the exertions, that it would be found, that the loss in this instance had been comparatively small; the casualties of the army were included in his view of the loss, and they amounted to three or four thousand men, besides the unavoidable loss in two general actions; and they were not to forget their comparative deficiency in the commissariat, considering the superior means of the enemy in this department, from their superior experience, arising out of eighteen years continued warfare.—The noble earl concluded his speech in the following terms: "Having gone through the several points adverted to by the noble lord, I wish now to consider what has been the event of the campaign.—By it we have gained the possession of the Russian fleet, while our own has been relieved from the tediousness and difficulties of a blockade; we have materially assisted the cause we undertook to support; and I maintain, whatever may be the final result of the contest we are engaged in, France has not yet succeeded in subduing Spain. I admit Buonaparté has 200,000 men in that country, that his troops are of the bravest, and his generals among the most skilful in the world; and, above all, that he has been himself at their head; and yet, with all this, he has not got possession of more territory than he had last year; on the contrary, he only holds such parts as in every war fell to the lot of whichever brought the largest army into the field. Even by the last accounts, he had gained no fresh advantages. I well remember what was said a year ago, that either Buonaparté must wholly succeed, or wholly fail, for that partial successes would never answer his purpose. What, then, is the fact? He has had partial success; and, notwithstanding, he has not yet got into his possession more than half of Spain, and the people have evinced a spirit that may be truly called persevering. I am far from saying, regard being had to the man and the circumstances of the case, that the Spaniards must ultimately succeed; but, at the same time, looking at the spirit they have evinced, and the actions that have happened, particularly the defence of Saragossa, so gloriously persevered in, I cannot feel lukewarm in my hope that their efforts will be crowned with ultimate success. When your lordships consider the great popular revolutions that have occurred, do they ultimately succeed without great changes? Switzerland and Holland are instances of this; but above all, America. In that fatal contest with America we had gained every battle; we had assailed and taken every town we besieged, until the capture of general Burgoyne; and yet the Americans had ultimately succeeded by perseverance in the arduous contest. In the present important struggle, do not the extent and nature of the country afford a hope of success; does not its population forbid despair? The noble earl concluded his speech with a censure upon the conduct of his majesty's ministers. The noble earl may not approve of our measures, so neither do I approve of his counsels; I do not approve of those sublime operations in Egypt, at Buenos Ayres, at Constantinople, and other places, that emanated from the wisdom of those with whom the noble earl has been used to act. Upon the whole I have the satisfaction, in common with the rest of his majesty's government, to reflect, that whatever may be the consequences of the struggle we are embarked in, we have not lost the confidence of the Spanish people: we know that every true Spanish hear beats high for this country; we know that whatever shall happen, they do no accuse us. Submission may be the lot they are fated to endure in the end, bu they do not impute to us the cause o their misfortunes; they are sensible tha neither the thirst after commerce, nor territory, nor security, is to be imputed to us, in the assistance we have afforded to them upon this important occasion Whatever may be the result, we have done our duty, we have not despaired, we have persevered, and will do so to the last, while there is any thing left to contend for with a prospect of success.

Earl *Moira* supported the motion of the noble mover. He condemned the king's ministers as well for what they did, as for what they did not do. Let the house bu remember the situation of Spain, and o the French armies in that country at th period of the simultaneous rising of it people. That occurrence was unexpected by the French government, and his majesty's ministers here were in full possession of the plan of operations which th French armies in Spain had adopted o that event. Nay, the precautions of th enemy apprised them of the very course o operations which was necessary to defea those very precautions. The position whic the enemy took invited Great Britain t the very theatre to which it should hav directed the progress of its armies. Tha position plainly proved that it was the object of France to consolidate its force o e banks of the Ebro, with the view of eeping open its means of supply and reforcement by the passes of the Pyrenees. hat, then, should have been the natural rsuit of a British army destined for an icient co-operation with the Spanish triots? It certainly was to lose no time effecting its disembarkation in the rthern provinces of the Peninsula, and en to proceed to cut off the means of pply from France to its armies on the ro. Perhaps there was one grand obtion to this plan existing in the minds of e king's ministers; namely, that to men such extensive views it was a system th too simple and obvious. There was, leed, some plea or excuse in the argument the noble secretary, that St. Andero did t admit of the disembarkation of a large my. Allowing this objection its fullest rce, still there was the port of Santona ose to the position of the enemy, and fully pable of affording space for the largest dy of troops, and offering every connience for supplying that army on its arch to the passes of the Pyrenees. If e object was to co-operate with the triots in the north of Spain, this was the e of operations which it was incumbent this country to pursue. On the other nd, the south of Spain was open for our ertions, with the opportunity of having braltar for a depot. In such case there s the advantage of being fully acquaint- with the subsequent proceedings of the emy. Neither of these objects, which emed to press themselves upon the view those who looked for a successful Brih co-operation, were attended to by the ble secretary and his colleagues. That ght it was contended that Portugal was eir first and fixed object. In arriving that conclusion the light of conviction ached ministers very tardily, for from e papers before the house, it would be en that not many days before the distches were sent to sir Arthur Wellesley siring him to disembark in Portugal, he as by the noble secretary of state (lord stlereagh) strenuously directed to proed to the coast of Spain. This dispatch dering him to Portugal was dated the th of June, and the change in the destinan may be attributed to very loose information which his majesty's ministers received the next day from admiral Cotton, ating to them that there were only 4,000 rench troops in Lisbon. This it was that ve a new direction to the hopes and a w object to the policy of the British government. It was upon this loose expectation of a light but speedy triumph, that all our sympathies for Spanish success were in a moment deadened, and the armaments destined for their support were diverted from their original destination; and to this change, and to it alone, were all the subsequent evils to be attributed. It was this change that prevented sir John Moore from advancing to Madrid, and supporting with his gallant army the determined spirit and enthusiastic patriotism of its inhabitants. It was this change that led to the division of that army into two columns, which impeded the one from advancing in an opportune moment, lest it should not be able to secure its junction with the other. The noble secretary had adverted to the circumstances which closed the campaign in Portugal, and attempted to release himself and colleagues from being considered as advocates for all the specific provisions of the Convention of Cintra. Although such were his professions, he seemed to justify a different conclusion from the manner in which he extenuated these transactions. Indeed, he went the length of contending, that 'a great deal had been done for the public cause by that event.' It was for their lordships to consider where or when this great benefit was effected? Was it effected either in diminishing the number of the French troops then pouring into Spain; or in co-operating with any of the Spanish armies then in the field to oppose them; or in defending any of those strong positions capable of affording so much advantage, either as points of attack or of retreat. No such good consequence followed; there was no French reinforcement retarded, no Spanish army assisted, and ultimately almost the whole of the peninsula was over-run by the enemy. But the evil effects did not even terminate here; they affected most vitally the best interests of the country. They depreciated Great Britain in its character for sincerity, and zeal for the rescue of the continent.—The noble secretary does not now despair of a successful termination to the glorious struggles of the patriotic Spaniards; neither (said the noble earl) do I; but I still have the lamentable conviction, that if they fortunately shall succeed in erecting a proud trophy to their heroic efforts, Great Britain has, by the conduct of her public servants, incapacitated herself from sharing the credit of having supplied a single stone. This discouraging feeling is not a little embittered by the reflection of having shed, so ineffectually shed, our best blood; of being obliged to admit its truth at a moment when we lament in sorrow and regret over the tomb of a gallant soldier who, although snatched from his country, in the moment of victory, still perished with the consciousness that his victory could be of no avail (Hear! hear!). We have heard much of the lukewarmness of the Spanish people during the retreat of the British troops. Is it not possible to find a very natural source for such a change of disposition; for such an impediment to ultimate success? Was the course pursued by his majesty's government calculated to attract the feelings and to allay the jealousies of the Spanish people?

Viscount *Sidmouth* said, that whatever differences of opinion there might be as to the merits, there could be none as to the importance, of the motion under consideration; it was connected with the best interests of the country. He did not hesitate to pronounce, not only, that the preponderance of argument was in favour of the noble earl who brought forward the motion, but there was no answer whatsoever given to the points he had urged. He would not go into the detail of this subject at that hour. He never heard of an intention to employ the British forces on the continent without entertaining much apprehension; he would not say that there could be no occasion to justify it; but the experience of the last 15 years had taught him a lesson of caution. If an army was to be sent into the interior of Spain, it should not have been sent until necessary provisions were made to secure its retreat in case of disaster; it was necessary that there should be a supreme executive authority in the country; it was necessary that there should be a commander in chief, and though he thought it perfectly right in his majesty's ministers not to stipulate for any advantage as the price of succour, it was yet necessary to stipulate for such protections as might be wanting to their more complete security. If it had been known that Dupont was defeated, it would have been right to send troops to Portugal. Sir A. Wellesley should not have quitted the country without an adequate force. The object of the expedition to Portugal was stated to be the expulsion of the French; but the armistice in which it concluded formed a just ground of complaint; never was there a better description of it given, than what his majesty's ministers had themselves stated; that it had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. Among other causes which contributed to the armistice so unfortunate for the public service, was, the rapid succession of officers appointed to the command.—The noble viscount then adverted to the conduct of Mr. Frere, whose influence on sir John Moore alone induced that gallant general to make the fatal movement he did. Mr. Frere appeared to possess ardour without judgment, and his majesty's ministers seemed to approve his measures; measures which compelled sir John Moore to retire with haste, when he had no secure place of retreat, and to seal a life of honour with a death of glory. He agreed with the noble lord who spoke last but one, as to the propriety of supporting the cause of Spain, while there was the least chance of success, and would on all occasions mark his abhorrence of the atrocious conduct of Buonaparté. He concluded by observing, that, while he gave his majesty's ministers credit for zeal and sincerity in the Spanish cause, it had been deplorably mismanaged, and yet he confidently trusted was not to be despaired of.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, that the opinions given by noble lords, upon the proper mode of conducting the operations in Spain and Portugal, were so various, that had they been in power, they must have found a difficulty in laying down a plan of operations. One noble lord approved of the troops going to Portugal; another would have had them at the Pyrenees; while another recommended the co-operation of flying squadrons. A noble lord would have had them placed between the Pyrenees and the French army! But he was at a loss to know, how they were to maintain themselves against the force of Buonaparté? O! they were to form a chain of 20,000 men across the Pyrenees, and completely shut them up. This reminded him of a story of a Chemist who had discovered the means to destroy Rattle-snakes, but it unfortunately happened, that the first article to make his recipe was a Rattle-snake, and the difficulty was how to procure one for the purpose; so with the Pyrenees, it was no doubt desirable to shut them up, but the difficulty was in doing it.—They must first be taken possession of, before the French could be prevented from passing through. The Spaniards desired artillery, arms,

munition, and money; they did not want
n. Sir Arthur Wellesley was to call at
nin; he did so; when he was desired
expel the French from Portugal, which
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unt, that Spain should be the last place in
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ain. With respect to what had been
d of the conduct of Mr. Frere, he did
think a general like the late sir John
ore would regulate his movements by
instructions he might receive from a
n in the situation of Mr. Frere. The
liant general's letters afforded ample
oof of the contrary. The blood that
been spilt, and the lives which had
n lost, were not to be charged to
nisters, as they resulted from opera-
ns which were not of their contri-
ce, and which, had they been of their
trivance, would not have disgraced
m. He hoped he had shewn that his
esty's ministers were not so reprehen-
e as they had been represented; he
tended that they had shewn no want
sound discretion, or political wisdom,
trusted that they would not lose the
fidence of their lordships or of the
ntry.

ord *Erskine* rose, and said, God forbid
t he should wish to pass censure on
set of men, if they had not justly
erved it! If his majesty's ministers
ns had been overpowered by any unfor-
n circumstances, he would have come
ward as their advocate; but they acted
hout system, and ran head foremost
o every thing that was wrong; by which
ans every thing they undertook was
eated, and at the end they would be lost
mselves; that loss would be but trifling,
npared with the lives of 35,000 men
they had endangered. He was of opinion that it would have been better for the service of the country, had the men who lost their lives in the late campaign been shot in St. James's Park. The men who were sent to Spain were sent there to be massacred, without any prospect of their being able to do any good. Mr. Frere said in one of his letters, that if they had been sent out to injure the Spanish cause in every respect, with the single exception of not firing on the Spanish troops, they could not more effectually accomplish it, than by their retreat. He was of opinion Mr. Frere alluded to the miseries entailed on that unhappy country by our sending an army thither only to retreat before a superior army, pillaging the helpless inhabitants on the way. Either general Moore must have been culpable, or those, who placed him in such a situation that he could do nothing but afflict the inhabitants, must be so. They had sent no troops when they might have been of service; but when the opportunity of assisting the Spaniards was lost, they had devoted a body of men, than which a finer never left this country, to be immolated in the heart of Spain. Had an efficient force been sent in time to co-operate with the Patriots, their armies would not have been dispersed, (as they were,) like chaff before the wind; it would probably have given them discipline and stability, and perhaps have enabled them to defeat their invaders. Though requisitions for cavalry had been made by the Spanish government, no adequate supply had been afforded them; no forces had been sent to their assistance, while there was an opportunity of their coping with the enemy to advantage. But when the French were reinforced, and were 113,000 strong; when the ardour of the Spaniards, damped by misfortune, had wholly subsided; British soldiers had been sent to fly and to fall before the common enemy. As men he respected those in the administration, but as ministers he accused them of an improvident waste of the resources of the country; and thought them guilty of the death of every British soldier who had fallen in Spain.—There was one circumstance which had escaped his noble friend, namely, that the greater part of the communications from sir D. Baird had been suppressed; he knew it, he could prove it at the bar of the house, that sir D. Baird wrote to his majesty's ministers an account of the apathy and want of spirit amongst

the Spaniards, and they had received the communication when they were pressing sir John Moore to advance. He concluded by observing, that he considered the Battle of Corunna a victory: as for the great, the brave, the valiant, and heroic Moore, who died, to use the words of a great English author—

> "In joys of conquest, he resign'd his breath,
> "And fill'd with England's glory, smil'd in death!"

The Earl of *Westmoreland* thought the noble lord who brought forward the motion and those who had followed him, had been pretty liberal in their censures on government. According to them, ministers were wholly unfit to hold their places; he did not doubt but they knew of persons who, in their opinion, might be substituted with great advantage. He thought at that late hour it was unnecessary for him to consider what precise line of conduct England ought to have pursued; but this he would say, that honour, justice, and, above all, policy, called upon her to support the Spanish cause by every means in her power. The noble lord opposite, he said, shaped his conduct like most prophets, in order to fulfil his ends. Was it, he would ask of the noble lord, a measure of disgrace to free ourselves from a troublesome and dangerous blockade, and to restore to the people of Portugal the possession of their native land? Upon the whole, he received the noble lord's animadversions on this head as a compliment which merited his thanks. He would beg leave, however, to say, that the brilliant expedition to Alexandria or Constantinople, was never considered by the noble lords opposite as matter of disgrace. In fact, they gave themselves always that liberal latitude which they withheld from others. The noble earl concluded by giving his negative to the motion.

Lord *Grenville,* in a very eloquent and able speech, animadverted upon the impropriety of the noble lord who had preceded, having made use of sarcasms upon such a serious occasion. He then entered into a critical examination of the two expeditions to Portugal and Spain, and enlarged considerably upon the inconsiderateness of ministers sending out troops so badly equipped and so ill provided with cavalry. He also threw out many reflections upon ministers for having allowed Mr. Frere to interfere with the military operations of sir J. Moore, owing to whose superior judgment our army had been prevented from falling into the hands of the enemy. Above all, he thought that ministers were reprehensible for endeavouring to throw the blame off themselves, and transferring it upon sir John Moore, who could not now appear to speak in his own justification. He hoped that such conduct would not lessen the ardour and zeal of the army, on which the salvation of the country so greatly depended. Upon these grounds he should vote for a motion that attributed to ministers the loss of seven thousand men, the loss of sir John Moore, eight millions of money, and created the addition of half a million of money to the burdens of the country, and above all disgrace to our councils and our national character.

Earl *Grosvenor* spoke a few words in favour of the motion.

Their lordships then divided.

Contents	50	
Proxies	42	
		—92
Non-Contents	83	
Proxies	62	
		—145
Majority against the Motion	53	

Adjourned at half past seven o'clock on Saturday morning.

List of the Minority.

Dukes.
Gloucester
Norfolk
Somerset
Devonshire
Grafton
St. Alban's
Bedford
Argyll
Marquisses.
Buckingham
Stafford
Headfort
Blandford
Bute
Douglas
Townshend
Earls.
Spencer
Essex
Donoughmore
Rosslyn
Derby
Fitzwilliam
Moira
St. Vincent
Carnarvon
Tankerville
Stanhope
Buckinghamshire
Selkirk
Grey
Charlemont
Cassilis
Guilford
Eglington
Thanet
Carlisle
Besborough
Darnley
Suffolk
Fortescue
Darlington
Cowper
Jersey
Albemarle
Lucan
Bristol
Hardwicke
Upper Ossory
Breadalbane
Cholmondeley
Shaftesbury
Grosvenor
Lauderdale
Carysfort
Viscounts.
Sidmouth
Hereford
Clifden
Duncan
Anson
Bulkeley
Bolingbroke
Lords.
Erskine

nborough
and Sele
Clifford
John
g
ybrooke
burton
vell
kland
stonbury
y
hampton
chinson
Dunstanville
nville
das

Yarborough
Lilford
Cawdor
Somers
Crewe
Ponsonby
Carrington
Monson
Montford
Hawke
Grantley
Bishops.
Oxford
Lincoln
St. Asaph
Gloucester

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 24.

[Mr. Frere.] Earl *Darnley* wished to w from the noble Secretary of State, ether it was the intention of ministers ecal Mr. Frere. He had heard that e was such an intention, and if so he ld be satisfied; but if not, he con- red the conduct of Mr. Frere to have n so improper towards sir John Moore, he should feel it his duty to call the ntion of their lordships to the subject. could not, however, at present name day, nor could he state the precise ns of his motion.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, he was ready ouch for the zeal and ability of Mr. re, and was convinced his intentions e good, but he had said on a former asion, and was now of opinion, as were his colleagues, that Mr. Frere had, ar as related to the circumstance men- ed respecting sir John Moore, adopted mproper mode of carrying his inten- s into effect. Whilst upon his legs, wished to set himself right with respect a misrepresentation that had gone oad, of what he had said on Friday re- cting the amount of British cavalry in tugal, on the 22d of August, during the ociation of the Armistice. He was ed to have said, that the number of our alry on that day in Portugal exceeded of the French, whereas what he meant state was, that it was known to sir ry Burrard, that a considerable rein- ement of cavalry was on its passage. ad in point of fact arrived at that time Mondego Bay, but that could not be wn at the period of the negociation, knowledge, however, of its being on way thither ought to have had great uence in the negociation.

The Earl of *Suffolk* called the attention of their lordships to the circumstance of several horses being killed during the retreat in Spain, in consequence of there being no shoes for them.

Earl *Grosvenor* stated, that a misrepresentation had gone abroad of what he had said respecting general Anstruther, who, he was stated to have said, had died for want of nourishment. On the contrary, that officer experienced every possible attention from his staff, and from those around him. Whilst upon this subject, however, he wished to throw out for their lordships' consideration the propriety of relaxing a little the strictness of their orders, as the best way of preventing misrepresentation.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 24.

[Breach of Privilege.] Sir *Charles Hamilton* moved, that Daniel Butler, who had been committed to Newgate for a Breach of Privilege, in arresting him (sir C. Hamilton), should be brought to the bar to be discharged.—Daniel Butler was then called in, and the Speaker addressed him as follows:—

"Daniel Butler; You, an Officer of the Sheriff of Middlesex, having presumed to arrest a Member of this House, have been adjudged to be guilty of a high breach of the Privileges of this House, and for that offence have been committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate.—Persons of your description, armed with the process of the law to restrain the civil liberty of the subject, are specially called upon to use the utmost lenity which may be consistent with the necessary and faithful discharge of their duty.—Warned however, in the present instance, of the mistake under which you were acting, you nevertheless, in defiance of that warning, persisted, and added insult to outrage. Such conduct might well have warranted a longer duration of your imprisonment. But this House, perceiving by your Petition that you are now brought to a just sense of your past misbehaviour, is content to accept this proof of your submission and repentance, and sends you forth an example at once of its justice and mercy. —It has ordered, therefore, that you be now discharged; and you are discharged accordingly; paying your fees."

Daniel Butler was immediately discharged; and the address of the Speaker was ordered to be entered on the Journals.

[Petition of Mr. Henry White.] Mr. *Whitbread* presented a Petition from Mr. Henry White, Proprietor of a Sunday Newspaper, called "The Independent Whig," a Prisoner in Dorchester gaol, for a libel. The Petition, he observed, complained of grievances sustained in the course of the trial and afterwards in the gaol. The Petition was brought up and read by the clerk as follows:

"The Petition of Henry White, citizen and stationer; Sheweth, That your Petitioner is the sole proprietor of the Independent Whig newspaper, which, from its first commencement, has been, and still is, printed at No. 23, in Warwick-square, within the said city of London: and that your Petitioner is now a prisoner in the county gaol of the county of Dorset, in pursuance of the Sentence of the Court of Pleas, held before the king himself at Westminster, (usually called the court of King's Bench) which sentence was pronounced at Westminster, a place not within the said city of London, contrary to the rights and privileges of the citizens of the said city.

"Your Petitioner published in his said newspaper in Warwick-square, within the said city, in the months of December, 1807, and January, 1808, certain Letters, signed "T. C." "Humanitas," "A Seaman," and "Junius," for which publications criminal informations were filed, *ex officio*, against your Petitioner by the king's attorney-general, in Hilary term, 1808, at Westminster, a place without the said city of London, although a Grand Jury of the citizens of the said city was sitting at the very time within the said city; in which informations, it was alledged that the above named publications were scandalous and malicious libels, though the said publications were not alledged to be in any particular false or untrue. Now it is not only the privilege of the citizens of the said city, but the acknowledged right of every subject of the British empire who is accused of crimes and misdemeanors, to have an indictment preferred before the best men of his county, who are to determine whether there be sufficient cause to put him on his trial; but, as a Grand Jury is not always sitting, and as danger might arise to the state in some cases from the delay of assembling a Grand Jury, the practice of filing a criminal information before the king at Westminster has been tacitly conceded to the Attorney-General of the crown, at such times as no Grand Jury shall be assembled; but it has never been contended that the subject should be deprived of the privilege of having his case submitted to a Grand Jury of his county, before he be put upon his trial, except where pernicious consequences to the state would arise from the delay of calling together such Jury; but this could not obtain in the case of your Petitioner, because a Grand Jury of his county, namely, of the city of London were actually sitting at the very time the criminal informations were filed against him at Westminster.

"Your Petitioner humbly craves leave to remind your honourable house that i was not even alledged in the said crimina informations that the matter which gave rise to them was false or untrue, though the matter was alledged to be scandalou and malicious, and that it was the usage of the court of King's Bench, till within the last forty years, not to permit any information to be filed for libellous matter which was not alledged to be false as wel as malicious, and indeed the most recen determination on the subject coincide with the opinions uniformly maintained by our ancestors; for, in the case of sir Joh Carr, and Hood and Sharpe, the plaintif did not recover in action for a publicatio which was true, though admitted to be malicious and injurious.

"Your Petitioner having had a crimina information filed against him, of the nature, and under the circumstances abov stated, the Solicitor for the crown move for a Special Jury, to which motion th judges of the court of King's Bench acceded, and a Special Jury was awarded o such freeholders who were entered in th freeholders' Book belonging to the Sherif with the addition of Freeholder and Merchant, which Special Jury was struck, no by the Sheriff, but by the Master of th Crown-Office, who is a servant of th crown,—the prosecutor in this instance —and the names were not taken as name by the said Master, but several were passe over after he had named them, because h stated them to be not likely to atten thereby subverting one of the principl of British justice, which directs that Jury shall be impartially selected, and attendance enforced by fines of the court and, indeed, the Master of the Crown-Office might prevent all impartial person from being summoned on a Jury destine to try between the crown and the subjec if every name be passed over which h

termines to be a person not likely to at-
nd. And this conduct of the Returning
ficer is conceived to be strong presump-
e evidence that he knows the charac-
rs of the persons to be summoned, and
s the power of acting with partiality,
ich power is contrary to the constitu-
n of these realms, and is strongly
arded against by the laws, in cases
ere no attempts are made to take the
al out of the common course of justice;
, the Under-Sheriff (who summons Ju-
s) cannot continue in office longer than
e year, nor be re-chosen till after an
erval of two years, lest, from his fami-
rity with office, he may be enabled to
ect a partial Jury.

" Your Petitioner also reminds this ho-
urable house, that, by a statute of the
and 8th year of king William 3, (ch.
), it is enacted, that "every summons
any person qualified to any of the
resaid services, (namely, serving on
ries), shall be made by the sheriff, his
icer, or lawful deputy, six days before,
the least;" but in the case of your Pe-
oner, the summonses to the Jury were
delivered six days before the day of
al, nor five days before, nor four days
fore; from which cause your Petitioner
s not able to avail himself of a trial be-
e a Special Jury, contrary to the rights
the subject and the law of the land;
l this circumstance of not summoning
Jury six days before the trial, contrary
the positive and explicit enactments of
law of the land, has prevented your
titioner from being tried by a Jury of
ch men as had been assigned him as his
ers.

" Your Petitioner was not tried by a
ry of his peers; for, as the court of
ng's Bench had ruled that a Jury of
eholders and merchants were his peers,
necessarily follows that those who were
ther freeholders nor merchants could
be his peers; and yet those who were
led to the Special Jury were neither
eholders nor merchants, and therefore
re not his peers:—and of a Jury com-
sed of men who were all of them neither
ers of your Petitioner, nor peers among
mselves, a verdict was given.

" Your Petitioner also craves the atten-
n of this honourable house, to the
rds used by sir Nash Grose on the trial,
his charge to the Jury, which your Pe-
ioner humbly presumes to have been a
viation from the spirit of the constitu-
n, which enjoins lenity and impartiality
to form the basis of the conduct of every British Judge, to have been also inimical to the letter and fair interpretation of the Act of Parliament entitled, " An Act to remove doubts respecting the functions of Juries in cases of Libel," which Act directs, that " on every such trial, the Court or judge before whom such indictment or information shall be tried, shall, according to his or their discretion, give their or his opinion and directions to the Jury in the matter in issue between the king and the defendant or defendants, in like manner as in all other criminal cases."—Your Petitioner therefore prays to submit, for the decision of this honourable house, the propriety or impropriety of the following words, as used by sir Nash Grose on this occasion, and which instead of delivering an opinion or direction, " as in all other criminal cases," are conceived by your Petitioner to be unprecedented in the annals of modern British jurisprudence. The words that your Petitioner complains of, and which were taken down at the time by Mr. Farquharson, the short-hand writer, are as follows:—" In order to shew that they are most wicked, gross, and abominable Libels, it is only necessary to read, not all, but one or two of them. But, gentlemen, under this Act of Parliament, I am to give you my opinion upon these publications, and I have no hesitation in saying that any thing more libellous I never heard read: in my opinion they are gross, scandalous, and abominable Libels!"

" Your Petitioner humbly submits to the benignity of this honourable house, whether these words ought not to have been considered, in strict impartiality, as sufficiently strong, in giving the opinion and direction of the Judge as warranted by the Act of Parliament above alluded to, without the addition of the following unprecedented expression:—" But, really, gentlemen, I think it will be throwing dust in your eyes if I say I entertain the least doubt on the subject."—Your Petitioner humbly submits, whether an opinion and direction of the Judge thus given, and that without having read a tittle of the Libels in question, or the defence that had been urged to the Jury, comes within the meaning either of the letter of the law, or the spirit of the British constitution. And the necessity of a Jury being peers among themselves as well as peers to the defendant, has been ever recognized and insisted upon by the British constitution, because, otherwise, the master and the servant, the creditor and the debtor, the employer and employed, might be inclosed in the same Jury box, in which case it would imply an absurdity to assert that such Jury were peers among themselves; for, the same individuals could not at the same time be both dependants and equals; and, if a Jury be not peers among themselves, they cannot all be peers to the defendant, and their verdict may not be a free and unbiassed verdict.

"And forasmuch as it is enacted by the Bill of Rights that "Jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned;" and as no Juror can be duly returned who is not summoned six days at least before the day of trial, the Jurors summoned not four days before the trial of your Petitioner, were not duly returned.

"And forasmuch as it is the privilege of the citizens of the city of London to be tried and adjudged within the said city, though your Petitioner has been tried (if the issue committed to a Jury not duly impannelled and returned can be called a trial), yet he has not been adjudged within the said city, contrary to the privileges of the citizens of the said city, and, therefore, such judgment being contrary to these privileges, is contrary to the law of the land, which has confirmed and established them.

"And forasmuch as your Petitioner, if adjudged within the said city, could only have been adjudged to confinement within the prisons of the Sheriffs of the said city and county of Middlesex, it follows that a judgment which implies banishment from the said city, as well as confinement, is contrary to the lawful privileges of the citizens of the city, and when pronounced on a citizen in a place without the said city, for an alleged offence committed within the said city, is believed to be a violation of the law of the land, which acknowledges and confirms these privileges.

"Your Petitioner also humbly craves leave to observe that the measure of punishment assigned to him for the publication of the said Letters is equal to the measure of punishment assigned in any case where the libel was proved to be false, though the truth of the publications of your Petitioner has never been called in question.

"Your Petitioner also humbly states, that, when he was removed from the prison of the court of King's-Bench to the county gaol of Dorchester, he was consigned to the magistrates' custody, as will appear from an Order of Sessions, made at the Midsummer quarter sessions for the county of Dorset, respecting his treatment in confinement, though by the law of the land, he could only be committed to the Sheriffs' custody, (allowing for the sake of argument, that he might be imprisoned in a different county from that in which the offence was committed, and it is allowed for the sake of argument only). Now, the magistrates of any county have no jurisdiction except what is given them by statute, and no jurisdiction is given to them by statute over a person convicted of misdemeanor, who is, during his confinement, emphatically, a sheriff's prisoner. Your Petitioner, therefore, is placed by his sentence in a situation which the law knows not, and therefore he prays the consideration of his case may receive the attention of this honourable house, not on his personal account, but as his treatment may be drawn into a precedent inimical to the freedom and liberties of the subjects of these realms.

"That your Petitioner further submits to your honourable house some peculiar privations and hardships to which he has been subjected since his confinement in Dorchester gaol, which commenced on the evening of the 6th of July, 1808, and when your Petitioner was labouring under a very severe and afflicting state of illness which had been proved to the Judges of the court of King's Bench by the affidavits of four most respectable medical gentlemen. That notwithstanding this infirm state of your Petitioner's health, he was denied, by the controlling magistrates of Dorchester prison, for the interval of more than three months, viz. from the 6th of July to the 15th of the ensuing October, all access to the open air, even to the taking ordinary exercise, unless your Petitioner would take the same in a small circular stone yard, which was allotted in common for prisoners who were sentenced for fines, such as smugglers and those who had evaded the excise laws, &c. &c. Your Petitioner's complaint being a long standing bilious disorder, attended with a complication of alarming symptoms, among which he was subject to an almost continued swimming in the head, and a partial stagnation of the circulation of the blood in his feet, he found, after trial, that the walking on the stones and the circular direction in which he was obliged to walk gravated his disorder to such an excess, t he was obliged to abandon the at- mpt; and, although he represented this quently, by letter and otherwise, to the iting magistrates, and intreated that he ght be permitted to walk in the garden, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, Mr. Redhead rke, and all other prisoners in similar uations, had been permitted to do before n, this was refused him, until he partially ained the indulgence, through the be- volent interposition of Mr. Calcraft, one the magistrates for the county, and the resentation being first made to him by medical gentleman attending the pri- , that he considered your Petitioner's ng permitted to walk in the garden es- tial to the preservation of his health. consequence of this interference and this resentation, your Petitioner has, since 15th of October last, been permitted to lk in the garden, in company of the oler of the prison, for the very limited ce of one half an hour every day, and ich limited indulgence your Petitioner's lth has been such as almost to preclude n from availing himself of. Your Peti- ner, therefore, humbly submits to this nourable house that such extreme coer- n and restriction is not necessary for the ure confinement of your Petitioner, and nconsistent with the benign spirit of the tish constitution. Your Petitioner, in dor and justice, begs leave to state that considers this restriction as being per- ally cruel towards him, because, since confinement in the gaol of Dorchester, unlimited indulgence in walking in the den has been extended to a felon, by partial courtesy of the magistrates, and ur Petitioner having given no cause of nplaint against the propriety of his con- t, to justify such restriction.

" In addition to this heavy grievance, ur Petitioner begs to state that his fa- y consists of a wife and two sons:— t, from the enjoyment of all personal rcourse with one of his sons, whose bu- ess confines him in London, he is wholly eaved, by the great distance which se- rates them:—that his wife and his other have taken lodgings at Dorchester, at immense increased expence to your Pe- oner, for the purpose of mitigating his amity as much as possible by the com- ts of their society; but hitherto they ve only been admitted, by the order of magistrates, alternately to visit him for ee days in a week, and each day limit- to eight hours, with the exception of your Petitioner's wife, for some weeks past, having been permitted to be with him on a Sunday, and during the night, in consequence of the medical gentleman attending him having given it as his opinion that it was indispensibly necessary, on account of the alarming state of your Petitioner's health.

" Your Petitioner trusts that this honourable house will liberally consider what a cruel aggravation this must be, merely arising from the local rules of the magistrates, and neither expressed in the sentence, nor warranted by the bill of rights; for, surely every father and husband must deem that imprisonment cruel which confines a man for three years, and allows him only twenty-four hours in each week to have intercourse with his wife and child. That your Petitioner has confined himself, in these instances, to a simple statement of facts, and commits the whole to the benignity, discretion, and wisdom, of your honourable house.

" Your Petitioner submits to the consideration of this honourable house, the extreme severity of the sentence passed upon him, as being contrary to the rights and liberties of every British subject in these realms, guaranteed to them by the Bill of Rights, which expressly says, " that excessive fines ought not to be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted," your Petitioner having already suffered, under a state of severe and dangerous illness, upwards of nine months imprisonment and banishment in Dorchester-Gaol, from his home, his business, and the County where he was tried, and which has already subjected him to a pecuniary expense of upwards of 500*l.*, and which, unless migitated by the interference of this honourable house, it is more than probable will prove fatal to the life of your Petitioner, and ruinous to his circumstances, and future welfare of his family.

" And your Petitioner most humbly craves that he may be permitted to prove the truth of his allegation before a Select Committee, or at the bar of your honourable house, and he prays such relief as in your wisdom shall seem meet.

HENRY WHITE."

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that he meant to do nothing more at present, than to move that the Petition do lie on the table. He could not of course pledge himself for the accuracy of the allegations, either as to the circumstances at the trial, or as to those which had taken place during the confinement of the Petitioner. Yet as the Petition, though it contained some strong statements, was couched in terms respectful to the house, he thought it his duty as a member of parliament to present it. For what had been stated by his hon. friend (Mr. Calcraft) on a former occasion, when this subject was under consideration, he had the utmost respect. But at the same time, in justice to the feelings of the friends of that eminent scholar, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, who was beloved and esteemed by all who knew him, he must state what they had said as to the accusation against Mr. Wakefield of having abused the indulgence granted him, by exciting sedition in the gaol. He could not of course, pledge himself for the correctness of their assertions: but he was informed by them, that no complaint had ever been made by the magistrates on that head.—With regard to the method of striking the Special Juries and other practices said to prevail in the courts, he could say nothing of his own knowledge. But he did understand that improper practices had prevailed, and that there was some danger that the error might be fallen into of rendering punishment so severe as to convert the person punished into an object of compassion. On the subject of the sentence passed on the Petitioner, however, he would say nothing at present, because the subject had been carried before the house of lords by a writ of error. It would be proper to wait for the issue of that proceeding, unless some unreasonable delay took place. But, with regard to the mode in which Special Juries were struck, he must advert to that point, without meaning to assert positively what he did not know of his own knowledge, and was not ready with proof to substantiate. He was informed that the master of the Crown Office might pass over any name that he pleased by saying that such persons would not attend, a practice which placed it in his power to appoint any Jury he chose. If that practice did actually prevail, it was a most incorrect one, and ought to be prevented. Another practice which he was given to understand actually prevailed, or had only lately been abolished, was, that in cases between the crown and the subject, the Jury if they found a verdict for the crown had two guineas, whereas if they found a verdict for the subject they had only one guinea. This was a most indecent and improper practice, which ought to be abolished if it existed; if it did not, the public ought to be satisfied o that fact. Another practice of which he was also informed was, that Jurors if they gave verdicts for the crown were summoned over and over again; but if they found for the subject they were never again summoned. Another practice which he could only state from information, was, that the crown always pai double fees to the officers of the Court If this was not true, it would of course be contradicted. But as the circumstance was at any rate believed by some, it ough to be stated, if only in order to be contradicted. He stated them besides becaus they might possibly, at some future perio be the subject of a motion in reference t this business of Mr. White. If thes things should turn out to be well founded this would form the ground of a motion fo referring the Petition to a committee if there was really no grievance in th case, he should be content with allowing the Petition to lie on the table There was another circumstance which h ought to have noticed before, the confinement in a distant gaol. This was a grea aggravation of the sentence; and if i might be imposed at the discretion of th court formed a grievous hardship. Confinement for three years was at best a mos heavy punishment; but when it was aggravated by sending the prisoner to a distant gaol, the punishment, in his opinion became severe in the extreme; and it wa certainly a subject which deserved th most serious attention of the house.

Mr. *Calcraft* said that he would take hi full share in endeavouring to remedy an improper practices, whether confinemen in distant gaols or any others, whic should be proved to exist. But at present he only rose to do justice to himsel and the magistrates of Dorchester, by giving a fair and candid statement of the circumstance which he had formerly mentioned relative to Mr. Gilbert Wakefield He had been informed before, and ha stated in the house, on the authority o most respectable men, that Mr. Gilber Wakefield had made an improper use o the indulgence allowed, He had sinc inquired more particularly into the subject, and though he was as unwilling a any man to cast any imputation on th memory of that eminent scholar, or t hurt the feelings of his surviving relative and friends, yet he must say that he ha found that Mr. Wakefield made use o the indulgence shewn him to excite a spi

of discontent among the other prison-
The garden where he was permitted
walk was only separated from the space
tted to the other prisoners by a stock-
, which did not prevent communica-
, and of this Mr. Wakefield had avail-
himself for the purpose mentioned.
present Petition was nothing more
a modification of what had been
ed in the former petition. It now ap-
red that Mr. White was permitted to
his family for 48 hours in the week
ead of 24, as formerly stated, and that
wife slept with him every night, at
t was allowed to do so. He (Mr. C.)
the other magistrates, did all they
ld, compatible with their duty as ma-
rates, to give Mr. White all the com-
s that could be enjoyed by a person in
situation, and he must say, that they
a right to expect some appearance of
titude instead of complaints. There
not in the country a gaol more com-
able than that of Dorchester. The
m which Mr. White occupied was bet-
than those which were generally as-
ned to officers in barracks. Mr. Cal-
ft also stated, that the magistrates of
set considered it as a great grievance
ave persons sent to the gaol from dis-
quarters. The gaol was not built for
purpose, and they were put to a
at expence by this practice, and also
dered subjects of obloquy.

Mr. *Windham* knew nothing of this mat-
except from the allegations of the Pe-
oner himself. He agreed with his hon.
nd, that if there was an unnecessary
erity in the case, and if the practices
which he adverted did actually prevail,
t these were proper subjects for the
sideration of the house. But the alle-
ions in the Petition, as far as he could
ow them, (having however come into
house only when it was in the act of
ding), amounted to no more than this,
t a gaol was a gaol, and that punish-
nt was punishment. He really always
erstood that confinement was punish-
nt, and it appeared that this confine-
nt was not unduly severe with regard
him. Mr. White said that walking in
ircular space aggravated his disorder;
he saw no reason why Mr. White
uld not square the circle if he pleased.
t how came it that all Mr. White's
mplaints about this confinement related
ely to himself. Others were in as bad
ituation as he was, and if there was any
proper severity, the remedy ought to apply to the whole. Mr. White appeared to treat in the most contumelious stile, those who were confined in the same goal, for breaches of the revenue laws, for non-payment of fines, and perhaps for debt; thinking that he was very hardly dealt by in being put upon a level with such persons. Yet, while he indulged in these aristocratical feelings, it was to be recollected, that he was confined for a crime, of which he was at present to be presumed guilty; for a crime too, which might possibly be of a most atrocious nature, while some of the debtors confined in the same gaol might be not only innocent, but meritorious persons, who had been ruined by the failures of others. It was curious to observe this sort of feeling breaking out in an advocate for liberty and equality, and he confessed, that his democratical blood, of which he hoped he had a proper share, began to boil with indignation to hear Mr. White complain so much of his own case, while he appeared to regard with so much indifference the situation of those who, as far as the house knew at present, had so much more reason to complain, provided there was any ground of complaint at all. This was the state of the case, even on Mr. White's own shewing, when viewed comparatively. But what was it absolutely?—It appeared that he was permitted to walk half an hour a day in the garden, accompanied by the gaoler. Could the gaoler spare half an hour a day to give the same indulgence to the other prisoners? Mr. White, too, had the society of his wife and family during a considerable part of the week, and seemed, in every respect, to enjoy greater privileges than were enjoyed by his fellow-prisoners. Instead, however, of being grateful for this, he only indulged in complaints against his benefactors. If there were any ground of complaint at all, it was that he himself was treated with more indulgence than, in justice to others, he ought to be; and, if there was any reason to find fault with the magistrates, it was that they did for him what they could not do for others.

The *Attorney General* observed, that if the subject should be again brought forward, justice would be done to the officers of the courts. The hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) had stated certain practices, which, if they had existed, would unquestionably have deserved the severest censure. But on these points his hon. friend had been very much misinformed. He said, that he had been informed, that when a jury found a verdict for the crown they received two guineas; and only one guinea when they found a verdict for the subject. This, certainly, would have merited the severest reprehension. But the person who told him of the practice must have known that it did not now exist. It had prevailed once in the Exchequer; but it had been discontinued almost before his memory. This the person who gave him the information must have known, for the same means that brought its previous existence to his knowledge, must have shown him that it did not exist now. His hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread) must have asked the person who gave him the information, whether it now existed. His hon. friend must have said, that such things were not to be lightly stated before the house of commons; and that before he stated them he must be well assured of the facts. He was satisfied his hon. friend thought these practices did exist, otherwise he would not have stated them; but he must say, that he had been peculiarly ill informed. It was enough for him, however, to state, that the practice did not exist now; and his worthy friend who preceded him in his office, would, he believed, be ready to say, that it had not existed in his time. He made these observations because he should be sorry that such a statement as this should pass uncontradicted. His hon. friend also said, that when jurors gave verdicts against the crown, they were always struck out of the list, and never summoned again. He did not strike juries, and therefore could not speak on the subject of his own knowledge, but he firmly believed that the practice did not exist, and that no officer of the court dared do it without risking the loss of his place. He was anxious that the house should be convinced that his hon. friend had been imposed upon.

Mr. *Whitbread* said that the Attorney-General had misrepresented him. He had stated that the practice of giving two guineas to Jurors who gave a verdict for the crown, either existed at present or had only been lately discontinued. This was his information, and it appeared to be correct, for the practice had existed; and the learned gent. had admitted that it was a gross abuse. He did not say that Jurors who gave verdicts against the crown had been struck off the list; he had only said that it so happened that they were never summoned again; and the learned gent. upon inquiry might find that statement to be correct.

Mr. *Maryatt* said that he had give verdicts against the crown, but that he ha been constantly summoned.

Mr. *Ashley Cooper* was sorry to hurt th feelings of the relatives of Mr. Gilber Wakefield, but in justice to the magistrat of Dorset he must say, that he had abuse the indulgence which he had met wit in the manner stated. He then read letter from one of the magistrates con firming this statement, and also statin that Mr. White had been asked before th commencement of the session, whether h had any reason to complain? to which h had replied, "None whatever."

Sir *Francis Burdett* observed, that th was one of the most important cases whic had ever come before the house. Th Attorney General had admitted that th practice of giving two guineas to th Jurors when they found for the crown once existed, and had only lately bee left off; but he was sorry that he had no adverted to the other practices which th hon. gent. opposite had stated. He wa surprised that he had passed over the gre question as to the right of the executiv to transport its subjects to any part of i dominions at its own discretion. He shoul have expected that he would not hav passed over this. He thought, indee that this point had been settled at the R volution; and he regretted that he ha heard no opinion on the subject from him He had also passed over another most important point; the allegation that Speci Juries were struck at the discretion of th Crown Office. The *ex officio* informatio of the Attorney General he considered not more dangerous to the liberty of th subject, than the giving two guineas instead of one to those jurors who found f the crown. Here, in the case of libel, f instance, we found the crown appointi accuser, judge and jury! Into the gre constitutional point of sending subjects distant gaols, he would not now enter, it was to be discussed in another plac But he could not help adverting to th extreme hardship of this practice, whic totally altered the sentence of the la He agreed that an imprisonment of thr years was almost an unprecedented thin of late. The hon. baronet then remarke with regard to what had fallen from th right hon. gent. below (Mr. Windham that Mr. White had only been convicte of a misdemeanour, which, though ce tainly a crime, had always been disti guished from felony. Mr. White, ther e, might have reason to think that he ht to be less strictly confined than some ers.—There was another consideration ch had entirely escaped the right hon. t., and that was, that the other prison- belonged to the county, and in that pect were less hardly dealt by than White. The hon. baronet next ob- red, that it would be in the power of crown to ruin any particular county sending thither all the prisoners of the on. He would venture to say that this not law, and he was glad that the ject had been brought forward by a tleman who he was sure would do it ice.

he *Attorney General* in explanation said, Mr. White had not been sent to Dor- ster, merely by the discretionary power he executive government; but that this ned part of the sentence of the court. stated, that the reason for his not avert- to the other abuses mentioned by the gent. (Mr. Whitbread), was, that e were to come forward at some future od. He had only adverted at present he practices which had been stated n grounds not arising out of the Petition.

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* remarked, all arguments of the hon. baronet e founded on the misconception that prisoner White had been sent to Dor- ster by the executive government; reas, the fact was, as had been stated his learned friend, that this formed part he sentence of the court. When the gent. (Mr. Whitbread) made a state- nt, in justice, as he said, to the relatives friends of Mr. Wakefield, he ought to recollected that justice was also due he magistrate.—The right hon. gent. erved, that before the complaints in Petition were taken up by the house, ould be proper, if not necessary, to v that the individual had resorted to the nary means of procuring redress. If house encouraged this practice of pe- ning, without its being shewn that other ns of redress had been attempted in , it might be made a vehicle of slander. words of a Judge, giving his opinion the manner prescribed by an act of iament, had been complained of, be- se that opinion was, that the libel was grossest that had ever been publish- And supposing it was so—for so it ht to be taken at present—the house ht not readily to give way to these e accusations. He would, however, oppose the laying the Petition on the table; though he hoped it would form no ground for any subsequent proceeding.

Sir *Francis Burdett* in explanation, said, that he had not spoken under a misconception. He knew that the sending the individual to Dorchester constituted part of the sentence of the court; but the government having the power of appointing accuser, judge, and jury, any accused person was, in effect, placed at its discretion. These sentences were not, indeed, unprecedented, but they were new since the Revolution.

Sir *James Graham* affirmed, that the most respectable freeholders were always summoned for Juries.

The Petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Whitbread* said he had another Petition from John Harriot Hart, a person confined in Gloucester gaol for the same offence, and who was tried at the same time as Mr. White, as the Printer and Publisher of the Independent Whig. There were two circumstances mentioned in this Petition, which appeared to him to be very severe, and somewhat extraordinary. He complained, that he was prevented from using any fermented liquors. This he thought very hard, for, in many instances, such liquors were deemed absolutely necessary for the preservation of a man's health, and therefore the indiscriminate and total denial of them seemed very harsh. Another complaint was, that all letters and papers sent to him were subject to inspection. This was very different treatment, and much more severe than that of Mr. White, and he was surprised it was permitted, as justice seemed to say decidedly, that for the same offence there should be the same measure of punishment. He would not say whether he should bring forward any motion on the subject till the question in the house of lords was determined; but he hoped that in the mean time those who had it in their power would take care that justice should be fairly dispensed. In allusion to what had fallen from an hon. friend of his on the other side of the house, that he was surprised he would present a petition from persons who were of that description, viz. libellers, his answer to this was, he thought that a strong reason why he should bring it up; for obnoxious persons were generally those seized on by the executive government, and were the means by which such proceedings creep into practice, and which might afterwards become detrimental and injurious to the subjects in the general.—

The Petition was ordered to lie on the table.

[Offices in Reversion Bill.] Lord *Porchester* requested the attention of the house to the few observations he had to submit to their consideration, previous to his bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice. The Bill which it was his intention to move for leave to bring in, was, word for word, the same as that which had already twice passed that house, but which had as often been rejected by the house of lords, on the ground of its being desirable that the business should be further considered. This question had already received the most ample investigation and discussion. The measure, his lordship observed, which he recommended was no object originating in his own legislative views, it grew out of two Reports of that house, and was the first practical act recommended for adoption by two successive committees appointed by that house. In that house it had been on former occasions received without a dissentient voice; even the king's ministers did not feel it either justifiable or politic to interfere with it in its passage through that house. But an opposition formidable in its means and persevering in its hostility appeared in another branch of the legislature, and was for a time successful, not only against the unanimous feeling of that house, but also against the general and expressive voice of the country. The principle of the measure, after some modifications, had however at length passed that house, meeting in its progress considerable opposition in a quarter were one should suppose every duty to the country and every regard to personal dignity forbade intrusion. The opposition that was there exerted, was a question of no easy solution, but the protest which was subsequently affixed upon the Journals of that house, held no inconsiderable rank amongst the follies of princes either of past or present times. For that extraordinary record of human ingenuity he could not assign any rational motive, and for that best of all reasons that no rational cause was assignable. Every man who venerated the throne and loved the constitution, saw with pain the names affixed to that protest (alluding to the signatures of the Dukes of York, Cumberland and Cambridge to the protest against the present Reversion Act). That feeling, however painful, was considerabl alleviated by the consideration that th prince nearest to the throne, and first i the public estimation and hopes, had to great a knowledge of the interests, and to strong an affection for the constitution o his country, to commit his character an his principles by giving his august signature to such a record. The nature of th Bill he meant to propose was perfectly wel known to the house: for the value of it h would refer them to the third Report o the Committee of Finance. As to an objection that might be made to the bill there was only one which he could antic pate, viz. that this was not a convenien time to bring forward such a measure. H was of a different opinion; he thought th was just the most convenient time th could be hit upon for the purpose, and th the least procrastination would be injuriou to the interests of the public. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had just acknowledged there was no great pressure of bus ness; but if there was, it was their duty t make time convenient when they had important duties to discharge, and he truste they were now reassembled for the purpose of following up the most anxiou wishes of the house and of the countr Delays were always injurious, and in th stormy times in which we lived every to morrow brought its griefs and difficulti along with it; and if they suffered the to go on accumulating, they might gro too cumbrous to get rid of. He truste the noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh from the experience he had in the busine of reversionary grants, would afford th house some information; at least, the r sult of his frequent practice. He did n require from that noble lord to dive into th chronicles of Ireland. They were no o legends from which he wished his lordsh to draw his stores. All that was want was of his own memory, contemporaneo with his own time, nay with his own of cial existence. It was for him to give th catalogue of the reversionary grants whi beyond numbers he had given; grants offices, not in reversion, but what oug to be better termed, in resurrection, whi the noble lord had conferred upon succ sive generations to come, with the ho of atoning for the period during which th same offices lay dormant for generatio that were past. The fate of his propos Bill the noble lord (Porchester) said, w connected with the incipient progress that temperate Reform, which the count

ld the stormy period of this age demand-
. It was for ministers to consider
e course which they now intended to
rsue; and he trusted they would not,
least on the present occasion, indulge
mselves as heretofore, in the capacity
mutes. The house ought to feel its para-
unt duty; it should recollect that this
s the first practical measure of Reform
ich Committees appointed by itself had
st strenuously recommended. It should
ard against that ministry, which since
accession to office had endeavoured to
eze up that general current of temperate
form which their predecessors had set in
tion. Whenever they should send this
l to the lords (and he hoped the house
uld decidedly determine to do so, as
on as it could with convenience be passed)
supposed they would be told that there
s no necessity for it, as they had at this
ment a suspension Bill, that prevented
e disposal of places in reversion, till six
eks after the meeting of parliament in
next session. But this was a strong ar-
ment in favour of the bill being now
ought in and passed, for if it was not
rried in the course of the present session,
weeks would be too short a period, and
lords might take advantage of the cir-
mstance, till the house had driven their
dships into a corner, as they had done
fore in the case of the Non-residence
l, when they might urge that as a reason
rejecting the bill; in which case, the
pension Bill would expire, and many
fices might be granted in reversion,
hich could not be abolished till after the
ath of the grantee, who was frequently
infant at the time of the grant. Six
eks was therefore too short a time to
st to; the Suspension Bill took eighteen
eks in passing through both houses, and
consequently behoved the house to do
duty in the present instance and take
ne by the forelock. They must speak
inly the truth. Princes had frowned
their undertaking, and when princes
wned, subjects were apt to tremble.
as it to be supposed that the house would
delay put them in better humour?
as it in that manner that Magna Charta
d been obtained by our brave ances-
rs? Was it by waiting like needy sup-
icants at a minister's levee, that they
re to expect to carry their point? No
ey must be strenuous, active, and deter-
ined, otherwise they would continue to
l as they had hitherto done. He was
ad to see a full attendance of ministers; if they meant to oppose the bill, he hoped they would do it in a manly way. Let them not give sinister support and silent opposition. Let them not come with their amendments to instruct the house how to model their conduct and the bill, so as to render both agreeable to the lords. If advice they will give, let it be to princes to respect the proceedings of that house, and not to the house to study the means of pleasing princes. Let them seriously shew those princes, that the wealth and splendour with which they are invested, come from the liberality of the people, through the medium of that house; and that notwithstanding they are indeed the rich foliage of the Corinthian capital, yet the strength of it is in the shaft. When a prince took upon him to write to that house, there could remain but little doubt that he had met with those in that house who had been ready to aid him with advice on the occasion. Let them extend that advice where it was fully as much wanted, or they would not fulfil the duties of their station. If they faultered and wavered in so doing, they might shew they were ready "to ride on the whirlwind;" but totally incapable of "directing the storm." The times were severe and scrutinizing. On this occasion, the conduct and character of the house was more at stake than at most other times. The present was a period in which measures were not of much weight, unless supported by character. It might, perhaps, be objected to the bill that it was a bill of selection; it was well known reversions were given to children, and, therefore, the offices to be abolished must be selected. Feeling this a part of a system to which the house had pledged itself, he was anxious to know if they would follow up their measure. Delay could only increase the difficulties; and the house should feel that it was a measure called for by the country with universal acclaim. He was the enemy to innovation when he called upon parliament to effect temperate reform. In doing so, he by no means acceded to the opinion, that the period in which he lived was amongst the worst times of the constitution. He, on the contrary, believed, that liberty and constitutional blessings were better felt by the present generation than by our ancestors. Theirs was the keenness of pursuit, ours the calmness of enjoyment. And it was therefore nothing but infatuation, that could urge princes at this moment to raise the warhoop of pre-

rogative; to doubt the constitutional attachment of that house to the executive, and to create general distrust throughout the empire. They ought to have been better lessoned; but his apprehension was that they were not apt scholars. The house was now called upon to decide a most important point. Having carried a measure of great political magnitude, which had been rejected by the lords merely on the ground of obtaining time for inquiry, as the lords had now the Report which afforded them the fullest information on the subject, it became the duty of that house, by passing the present Bill, to shew that they were as much and as feelingly alive to the public interests as when they first brought forward the measure. He would not therefore trespass further on their time, but moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to prohibit the granting of Offices in Reversion, or for joint lives with benefit of survivorship."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was surprized at the way in which the noble lord had chosen to magnify the present subject, as if the endeavour to carry it, were similar to the struggles of our ancestors for Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights; and as if it comprised within itself every thing vital to the constitution. For his part, he had never disguised his opinion of the bill. He could never see in it that importance which was attached to it by many; he did not perceive that it contained any serious attack on the prerogatives of the crown: and much less did he conceive that it comprehended any valuable acquisition to the privileges of the people, or would lead to any considerable alleviation of the public burdens. As an œconomical measure it was nothing, or rather it would prove probably injurious; for there were instances in which at present services were rewarded with reversions, which services, if the proposed bill were to become a law, must receive some immediate reward of perhaps greater value.—Having stated what had always been his opinion on the present measure, he should now mention what were his grounds for opposing the introduction of the bill at present. He objected to it principally, because the bill was not at present necessary. They had at this moment an act which would not expire till six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament. They were thus guarded against the granting of further reversions in the mean time, and, in the course of the next week, they would, pursuant to the notice of the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Martin), have a Report under consideration, the effect of the discussion upon which would go to determine, whether any of these offices should be abolished Under these circumstances, to discuss the bill at present, appeared to him inexpedient and premature. The instance of the Residence Bill was not in point. Had that bill not been passed before the expiration of the temporary measure, considerable evils would have ensued; but should a bill for abolishing reversions be introduced in the next session of parliament and should it not reach the period of it passing into a law, before the expiration of the Suspension Act, could it for a moment be supposed that any minister would advise his majesty to grant a reversion under such circumstances, and thus to take advantage of the interval of a fortnight o three weeks, that might elapse, at a time when the attention of parliament would be so steadily directed towards the subject?—The noble lord had stated, that the constitution of this country was neve more entire, nor more perfect, than at thi moment. In this he concurred. Was i not fit, therefore, that we should look with jealousy to any plan by which it wa proposed to improve it; and that if ou constitution was now most perfect, we should beware of those specious arguments of reform, which might have the effect o causing us to lose what we at present so happily enjoyed? He only wished the house to pause. There would be sufficien time during the next session even to think of this bill, if it should be deemed necessary. Upon these grounds, therefore, he should feel himself in duty bound to oppose the motion of the noble lord.

Mr. *Bankes* said he had not entertained any intention of coming forward with this motion during the present session, because from the general view which he took of th question, and the most mature consideration of all the circumstances, he thought i most wise to defer any further consideratio of the subject, till the next session. However, though he had brought the existin bill into the house when it first originated yet, aware as he was that when once brought in, it became public property, he could not help saying he wished the noble lord who had taken it up every success If the noble lord entertained a differen opinion of it, and of the policy of bringin forward at this time, he had undoubtly done right in submitting his motion the house. He had himself, in the last ssion, brought in his second measure, the spension Bill, not from choice but nessity; prudential reasons operating on s mind to press no further at that riod the bill for restraining the prerogae. In this line of conduct he had been pported by the arguments of the Chanllor of the Exchequer; and in the Third eport, which had been since laid upon the ble, the question had been moderately, olly, and he hoped, constitutionally dissed. He had it not in his power to rry his wishes to their full extent, but was glad to do as much good as he uld, though he could not do all he wish. A temperate discussion of the bill, w that it was brought forward, was cerinly most adviseable; and he, entertaing his former sentiments with respect to would of course give it his support, ough he would much sooner it had not me at present under their consideration. must do the Chancellor of the Excheer the justice to say, that his opinions the bill were uniformly the same, and at he never had expressed any sanguine pe of an economical result from it. In is point, however, he undoubtedly difred from him, and could not help thinkg that much retrenchment with great blic advantage might take place in many fices, such for instance as in those of ellers of the Exchequer. He had been duced thus shortly to state his sentiments the bill, in order to set the house right to his views of it, and that they might he was not actuated by any spirit of difference on the occasion, nor could be duced to abandon a measure in which e good of the country was so deeply inrested. He thought there was time ough for a full consideration of the bill the six weeks which had been reserved it in the next session, and much wished discussion had been deferred to that riod; but since it had been brought rward he would support it to the utmost.

Lord *H. Petty* observed, that after the reat length at which the noble mover d gone into this question, it was not his tention to investigate its merits very rgely. He could not help, however, rearking shortly upon the arguments of the hancellor of the Exchequer, as they apeared to him to be very extraordinary. he right hon. gent. had began by rearking, that he did not think this bill likely to be attended with any economical effects. He would only ask him to appeal to the limited reforms of Mr. Pitt, of all the reformers in this country, and of all the ministers in Ireland, and he would see that the grand obstacle to all rational reform was this very Reversion system. Had it been in time abolished, they and the public would not now be pressed as they were by the multitude of places held in Reversion both here and in Ireland. The right hon. gent. had objected also in point of time to this bill. What was there then so very pressing between this session and the next to prevent its present discussion? He knew of nothing. The case would indeed have been altered, had it been a new measure unconsidered of, and never before the subject of discussion; but this, which had been repeatedly argued, and which had been even carried unanimously in that house, could surely now not need much time for deliberation. It could not need the reflection of a year to mature it. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had however even gone to his study for the purpose of objections, and had found out in his researches a notice of a motion on the Order Book. Now he could not anticipate what might be the matter or object of that motion, and so should not have made it the ground of an objection. For his part, he hoped, that motion would treat of many more subjects, and take a much more comprehensive scope, than that which the Reversion topic afforded. But even suppose it did treat of places in Reversion, how did that or could it militate against the present Bill?—Leaving these objections, if, indeed, they could be called objections, quite out of the way, there was one point which he should consider as conclusive on the subject, and that was the respect due to the house of lords; this was a Bill on which, although there existed but one opinion in the lower house, still in the upper one much difference was known to exist. Why not give them time, then, for full and mature deliberation? The importance of this Bill had even been attempted to be deprecated; and the right hon. gent. chose to denominate it a specious pretext of reform! When it was first brought forward, however, even he agreed to it, and of course if it was only a specious pretext of reform, he in supporting it aided its speciousness, and abandoned his duty.—He entertained a very different opinion of it, and therefore would give it his most hearty support; he would support it now, too, because he respected the house of lords, and did not see the necessity of delay in the commons, where the minds of all were unanimous on the measure.

Mr. *Tierney* remarked strongly upon the silence of ministers, whose speeches were withheld, but whose opinions might be guessed at. One right hon. gent. alone delivered his sentiments on the measure, who pretended not to be unfriendly to it, but to object to it only on the point of time, while others opposed it in silence. He was of opinion, not only that the measure was in time, but that it was in strict parliamentary time. He was of course reduced to the necessity of stating his own opinions generally on the bill; answer objections he could not, for none had been made. One point, indeed, and one only had been made, and that was, as he had just stated, with respect to time; the six weeks of next session would, it was said, be sufficient for the discussion of the bill, and were purposely allowed for it. The six weeks were allowed for no such purpose; but they were allowed to guard the house against a strained exertion of the prerogative in proroguing parliament during the session, before the house had come to a decision on the subject.—It was said that we need not be in such a violent hurry now to render this bill perpetual, because, while the Suspension Act continued, no place in reversion could be granted. What! was he to be told this, when he knew that on this very Suspension Act passing, a minister had been bold enough to say, that he would not hesitate to advise his majesty to grant a place in reversion immediately, and that for no other reason than because such a bill had passed! (Hear! hear!) The lords had before objected to the bill. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer know that the lords had changed their minds on the subject? If they had not, send the bill, then, to them in time, and let them deliberate fully upon it. Let the people see that Parliament was interested, as far as it could, to relieve their burthens. He was no advocate for giving way to popular clamour, but he would never advise any set of men to oppose right by way of showing that they would not succumb to public opinion. Would it not be a pretty thing to say to the people (by way of evincing spirit), "we have agreed on a measure for years; but now since we see you wish to have it carried, we will disagree to it, and there's your clamour for you!" He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer had he any measure to ground upon the Third Report? What! he has not; he would have it lie on the table a dead letter, and he would demand, as a consequence of such conduct, the confidence of the people.—He was glad this Third Report had been made the subject of a motion on a future day, though he confessed he would wish that such a motion should have come from those in power, because their official authority would have given it more weight. He agreed that little good as to the reduction of taxes could be occasioned by this measure; but, at the same time, ministers by concurring in it, would shew an inclination to reduce the influence of the crown and to produce economy where it could be produced. From the right hon. gentlemen opposite he expected nothing. One of them did not think the measure worth opposing, and the other two observed a strict silence. From the house, however he had better expectations. He hoped they would recollect that during the last sessions they were unanimous, and would by their vote of that night shew that they were still willing to do something to gratify the wishes of the country.—Those in power, indeed, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in particular, seemed to get bolder and bolder every day against Reform. Why? Because popular clamour was raised in its favour perhaps. He would advise that right hon. gentleman and his colleagues to abandon such a course; he would seriously advise them not to treat too lightly the heat of the people. Why was the Chancellor of the Exchequer so strenuous against reform Why did he not endeavour to retrench unnecessary expences, useless offices A noble relation of his (lord Arden) held a situation, or indeed two situations, whereof the proceeds were 35,000l. a year, of which, for the collection 23,000l. was expended, and in whose hands for the last seventeen years, an annual balance of 200,000l. remained. He would support the motion as tending to diminish the too great influence of the crown, and to reduce the unnecessary expenditure of the public money.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained as to the allusions which had been made to his noble relation's offices; the balance did not remain in his hands, it was lodged in the Bank.

Mr. *Whitbread* commented on the sur-

ing silence with which ministers were
cted all of a sudden ; it was one of
r periodical fits. He remembered, in-
l, one occasion on which a plain blunt
, telling a plain blunt story, produced
lendid tirade from the right hon. gent.
osite, (Mr. Canning), but now he
ned completely dumb; there was no
ng a word from him. The Chancellor
he Exchequer had, indeed, conde-
ded to give his opinion on the subject,
what had he said? Why, indeed, this
would produce very little saving. For
part, he always looked with a jealous
at such expressions. This bill might
uce a little saving, that bill might
uce a little, and the other bill pro-
a little, and all these little savings
to something considerable. He was
dvocate for a partial reform, but he
ld not go too far ; much, however,
to be done before that could be ob-
ed. Many Reports on the table were
to be considered, and those reports
ld, if properly attended to, prove a
of wealth. Much saving might yet
ffected by economy, "Magnum vec-
al parsimonia" was an old and true
ng. But this saving could not be
ted, because the people thought it ne-
ary ! The Lord Chancellor had, it
s, said he would advise the king to
t an office in reversion, merely be-
the Suspension Bill was passed.
aps he would wish to give that advice
der that his royal master might fix
him for the reversion (A laugh.)
noble lord was, it seems, a great re-
onist himself, and on that account
d not wish so good a thing should be
shed. The Chancellor of the Exche-
, too, deprecated the nomination of
mittees, "wide-wasting" committees,
ey had been called; they did waste a
indeed ; they wasted the Bank a
, and they wasted the East India Di-
rs a little, and they were even power-
nough to waste the Dutch-Commis-
rs (A laugh). Oh ! they were in-
"wide-wasting" Committees ! He
d ministers would be pleased to deli-
heir sentiments on the subject : their
ce, indeed, reminded him of an old
which he once heard of the monkeys.
monkeys, it was said, could speak if
would, but they were too cunning;
they knew if they spoke they would
ade to work ; and just so the minis-
chose to remain dumb, lest they
t be employed.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that he felt himself always at liberty to exercise his discretion as to the period of the debate in which he thought proper to rise. The vote he should now give was in exact conformity with that he had given before. With respect to the question of Reversions, he did not think it of such importance as the noble lord seemed to imagine ; there was no need of passion on the occasion. It might be said against Reversions, that they put it out of his majesty's power to reward services, because they anticipated grants ; but it might be urged on the other side, that they afforded a stimulant to the public man by the consideration that the reward of his labours would descend to his children ; either side might be embraced without subjecting the advocate to the imputation of any unfair principle. Upon the whole, he thought that the arguments in favour of Reversions were better than those against them. The public feeling, he was aware, lay on the other side, and in balanced and doubtful cases, that consideration ought to decide them. If there was a difference between the two houses of parliament, that was not the moment to renew the difference ; he would follow up his vote of the former night, by continuing to act on the suspension up to the time agreed to. With respect to the advice which the Lord Chancellor had been said to have stated, that he should feel no hesitation to give to his majesty, he could only say, that the whole story was new to him ; he had never heard it before, and did not believe it. He hoped he had exculpated himself from the charge of inconsistency, or any inclination to avoid the discussion of the question.

Mr. *Ponsonby* ridiculed the idea of the measure now proposed having the effect of interfering with or obstructing the act of last session. It was the strongest mode of obstructing an act, to give it perpetual operation. He could by no means agree with those who thought the present measure one from which little advantage would be derived. It would both diminish the public expence, and also diminish the patronage of the minister of the day, by preventing him from pressing the future into his service, and confining him to what he had now, instead of extending his power over what might not be disposable for 40 or 50 years. But, if he could conceive the measure of little importance in itself, it had become of the highest importance in consequence of the circumstances which had attended it, and which went to affect the consideration which the popular part of the constitution should always carry along with it.

The question being loudly called for,

Lord *Porchester* rose to reply. He observed that the whole weight of the right hon. gent.'s argument rested upon the circumstance, that some public inconvenience might arise from the adoption of the measure. For his own part, he could not perceive any inconvenience that could be the result of the adoption of the measure, though he was firmly persuaded that great practical injury must result from procrastination respecting it. Why should the members of that house throw themselves upon the mercy of his majesty's ministers, or why should they defer the consideration of the measure in compliance with their views? The right hon. Secretary (Mr. Canning) had stated how nicely balanced his own opinion was on the subject, and that he wished to leave it to public opinion to decide; but it was somewhat extraordinary that the vote of that right hon. gent. was to be in opposition to the opinion of the public. But the right hon. gent. contended, that the course he pursued was founded upon the impression, that the contrary would be productive of danger to the safety of the public. His majesty's ministers, however, did not appear to him to meet the question fairly: they opposed it on the ground of inconvenience, but they passed by the interest which the public had in passing the measure. Upon the integrity of the house of commons was placed the surest hope and firmest reliance of the country. It had been said that this measure was not comparable to Magna Charta; but the principle of the bill was more compatible with the spirit of that instrument than the spirit of those who opposed it was compatible with that of those who supported Magna Charta. On the whole, therefore, he should persevere in his motion, and leave to the house to determine whether or not leave should be given to bring in the Bill.

A division then took place,

For the Motion - - - - - -	106
Against it - - - - - - - - -	121
Majority against it - - - - -	—15

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 25.

[MOTION RESPECTING LORD CASTLEREAGH.] Lord *Archibald Hamilton* addressed the house as follows:—Sir, in rising for th purpose of making the motion of which gave notice for this day, I apprehend it i unnecessary to preface it with any observations as to its importance. I shall merel pursue that which I conceive to be th mode of conduct most conformable to th forms of the house. It is inconsistent, believe, with those forms for me to mak at first any motion of censure upon an member of this house; the most regula course, being to move previously that th Evidence, upon which a charge is grounded, should be read, so that upon that ev dence certain Resolutions may be grafted and the same argument that may be use to induce the house to hear that evidenc read, may also induce it to adopt the subsequent Resolutions. In the first plac then, I shall observe, that I have no personal hostility to the noble lord, nor an feeling against him in any other capacit than that of his official character and pul lic conduct. If, therefore, in the course what I shall submit to this house, I sha be unfortunate enough to use any expression which shall at all appear of a differe character than that which I ascribe to i I trust, I shall be as willing to retract it any other hon. member can be inclined t disapprove it.—There is one, and only on point which I have to offer with regar to myself, in taking upon me to bring th business before the house. It may be i the recollection of many, at least it is i the recollection of those who have take any notice of my public conduct, that have been in the habit of standing as forward as any other member in pursuing delinquency of this nature, and I should fee it not less inconsistent with the duty I ow to this house, than with the maintenanc of that character which I hope I posses if I were to overlook the facts disclosed i the Evidence taken before the East Ind Committee.* It will be remembered th some years ago, my utmost endeavou were not wanting to produce the detectio of that guilt with which Alexander Dav son was connected, and that two yea ago I was not less assiduous in a simil pursuit. In that, as in all other instance I hope it will be admitted, that I have fo lowed the same course of hostility to co ruption; that whatever was due to th honour of this house, and the support

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* The Report of the Committee will b found in the Appendix to the prese volume.

own character, has ever been the
ct of my study ; and that I have
r allowed my opinions to be biassed,
my judgment to be controuled by the
ence or conduct of any person or party
ever.—Coming, now, to the point im-
ately before you, nothing appears to
more necessary than that you should
ider it fully, and decide upon it inde-
ently, if you desire to perform the
duty that belongs to your office. If
desire to preserve the respect of the
ic ; how can you do so unless you
rve your own purity ? In this en-
ened country, no body of men will be
cted unless it prove itself respectable.
any other corporate assembly you
ot enjoy respect unless you deserve
you cannot maintain your authority
s your character is held in good esti-
on. Not long since you sent two in-
uals from your bar to prison. If you
ct that judgment to be regarded ; if
wish it to have the influence of ex-
e, you must take care of your indivi-
and collective respectability, and
can be more material for that pur-
than the enforcement of those laws
egulations which you have so repeat-
enacted to guard against any improper
ference in the election of your mem-
—Against the noble lord to whom
motion refers, I assure the house that
not mean to offer one word beyond
the Evidence contains ; that I do not
to make any charge against him,
hat he makes against himself, nor to
e any Evidence but that which the
mittee received, and from his own
and upon that Evidence I shall ground
all on you for a vote of disapproba-
Perhaps it may be possible to offer
remarks on the case, tending to ex-
ute the delinquency of this culprit, as
t consider the noble lord, although I
ot think such remarks easy to be pro-
d or imagined. I apprehend there is
tention to deprecate or to interrupt
air discussion of this question. Let
ope that the house, for its own honour,
repel such an attempt, if it be made.
st that even from considerations of
y it will be forward to mark with ap-
iate reprehension a transaction which,
erlooked, cannot fail to bring dis-
upon itself. It is in Evidence, that
e year 1805, the noble lord re-
d a letter from Mr. Reding, who
a perfect stranger to him ; and, yet
this stranger, he, in consequence, had
a meeting, in which a direct proposition was made to assist him in procuring a seat.—Upon such a proposition, from the station of the noble lord, from the habits of his life, and from the sense of his duty, one should have thought that he would have shewn some symptoms of displeasure ; that he would have taken means to ascertain the nature and extent of a conspiracy to pollute the purity of this house, to make a corrupt disposal of its seats, in order to bring the persons concerned to public exposure and infamy. Such was the course which the noble lord ought to have pursued. But, no ; the noble lord gave a very gracious reception to Mr. Reding, and told him, that he did not want a seat himself, but that a friend did, to which friend he sent him, as appears in the following Extracts from the noble lord's Evidence:—"The object of Mr. Reding's "letter was to say, that he thought he "had the means of assisting me in coming into parliament. I told Mr. Reding "that I did not want a seat in parliament "for myself, but that a friend of mine did. "I inclosed Mr. Reding's letter to lord "Clancarty (the friend alluded to). I "was induced to place a writership at "lord Clancarty's disposal, and certainly "the impression under which I did it was, "that lord Clancarty's coming into parliament might be thereby facilitated."—The noble lord was then asked, if any thing passed as to a negociation for a writership? To which he answered, "Nothing whatever. I told Mr. Reding I "did not want a seat for myself, but that "a friend of mine did. I asked him the "name of the gentleman who proposed "to vacate. This he declined till the "terms were settled, with which having "nothing to do, I inclosed his letter to "lord Clancarty." It is impossible, Sir, for any person exercising an impartial judgment to consider this treating any otherwise than a direct willingness to agree to what was proposed. He inclosed a letter to lord Clancarty, and never saw Mr. Reding afterwards. The negociation with lord Clancarty appears from a subsequent question, in answer to which he says, "I was induced to place a writership at lord Clancarty's disposal, in order that lord Clancarty's coming into "parliament might be facilitated." Now, Sir, I think were I to go no farther, but immediately to propose a Resolution of censure upon the noble lord opposite, founded upon that paragraph in

his own evidence, it would be impossible for the house not to agree to it. In answer to the next question, he says, that he conceived lord Clancarty entitled to call upon him for a writership. With these facts in the view of the house, upon the noble lord's own confession, I would ask, is it possible to devise any just means of rescuing his conduct from reprobation? Upon the first part of the evidence alone, namely, that of countenancing the proposition of Reding, I should have thought the noble lord deserving of disapprobation; but when combined with the case of the Writership, I think it impossible for him to escape the censure of this house. I cannot indeed conceive any delinquency of this nature likely to attract the attention, much less to justify the punishment of this house, if such a flagrant case as this under consideration shall be allowed to pass uncensured. The noble lord's statement in his evidence, that the writership was to be disposed of, subject to certain qualifications; that the case before him had no relation to a pecuniary transaction, or that the nomination did not take place, cannot avail him upon this occasion, for his intention is obvious, and of that intention we are to judge. I now come to the evidence of lord Clancarty, which is equally important and forcible. From the situation which that noble lord held, and his connection with the object of my motion, I must take leave, although the whole of the Evidence lies on the table, to call the attention of the house to those parts of it which particularly relate to the case I have brought before you.—Lord Clancarty being asked, When he became acquainted with Reding? answers, 'In the month of October, 1805.' 'On what occasion did you first become acquainted with that person? With respect to obtaining a seat in parliament.—Did he hold out that he had a seat in parliament? He did.' Then follows a statement that the negociation broke off, because Reding required a Writership for the Seat, which lord Clancarty had not to dispose of. But it seems upon mentioning this circumstance to his friend, lord Castlereagh, he told him he should have a Writership to dispose of. Lord Clancarty being asked, 'Did lord Castlereagh offer you this appointment of a Writership, for the purpose of facilitating your being returned to parliament?'—Answer. 'Certainly; it being always to be understood that the party was of sufficien respectability to be eligible,' &c.— The latter part of this answer has, in fac no reference to the transaction before th house, from which not a particle of its un constitutional character is removed by thi or any of the other qualifications whic appear in the evidence of either of th noble lords. I shall not detain the hous further upon the evidence, than by read ing a short passage from that of Reding which will be quite sufficient to establis the charge in my view of the subject.— 'What conversation had you with M Davies upon that subject? The conve sation I had with Mr. Davies was, a part wanted a sum of money, but the othe party were to give a seat, and this mone was to go into that sort of negociatio —Was the sum of money to procure an appointment under the East India Con pany? Yes, in one shape, but the Se was to be given to those who could g that appointment made.—Was a Write ship to be procured by the sum of mone so to be given? Not without getting Seat, as a remuneration for the Write ship; but it did not take place, &c —Now, connecting this part of Reding evidence with the others, which relate that witness's communications with th noble lord opposite, and with lord Cla carty, every man will be enabled to for his own conclusions.—But, Sir, I am no to introduce another person to your notic who has been connected with this tran action, and I feel every reluctance doing so, which can arise out of a ju respect for rank. But it is necessary the ends in view that the whole ca should be exposed, and the person whom I allude was no less than a peer the realm. The house must be aware whom I allude, and I am certain whe they review the whole of the business, a those concerned in it, they cannot be su prised that I ask what can avail all ou legislative provisions—what can avail suc Bills as that recently brought forward b the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to pr vent the improper disposal of Offices—wh can avail our Resolutions at the commenc ment of every sessions, to prevent the in terposition of peers in the election of th members of this house; or what can ava any further arrangements that may b devised upon this subject, if a transactio so flagrant in its nature as that to whic your attention is now peculiarly directe shall be suffered to pass with impunity tat attention, however, this transaction ust have long occupied. I have not en the first to bring it before you: I ve not put myself forward to make out ew case, but to call for your decision on that which has been for some weeks subject of general conversation, with ich, indeed, the public are quite fami-, and naturally looking to this house such a determination as it is intitled expect—for such a decision as this use, if tenacious of its own reputation, uld be prompt to pronounce. If such not the result, how can the people re-d your resolutions and enactments with per deference; how can you, consist-ly, inflict punishment upon the lower sses, who often under the pressure of cessity engage in this infamous traffic, you will overlook the glaring delin-ency of three noble lords, one of whom s a peer of the realm, and the other two h officers in the state?—I do not affect be ignorant of the various improper ans by which several members contrive find their way into this house. I beg don; perhaps I am inaccurate in al-ing to this house, as it is at present stituted. But I may allude to former ses; and I cannot be altogether una-re of the gross malpractices by which eral men procured their introduction them. No man acquainted with the rld can be quite ignorant upon this sub-t. But sure I am, that if any person re to urge the notoriety of such miscon-ct as any plea for the transaction to ich my motion refers—if he were to at-mpt to defend upon such grounds, such orrupt and unconstitutional practice, would be only wasting his own time that of the house. No individual, in-d, would venture to put forward such efence, unless he were disposed to ap-ciate the conduct of men, not by the ndard of the constitution, but by the stence and extent of its corruptions. I not suffer myself to suppose that such a ling prevails in this house. If it does, nn of course have no reason to calculate n the adoption of my motion.—I am insensible of the situation in which an ividual is placed, in the peculiar cir-nstance of being called upon to answer that, which he must have known many have done with impunity; but let it be membered, that till now there was no ection, and that from a continuance the impunity may follow much greater mes. Here, however, is a case brought before the house, sustained by incontrovertible evidence; and it is impossible that any palliation, drawn from such sources as I have alluded to, can have any effect upon the decision. Sure I am that they cannot avail out of doors. But there is a peculiarity in this case which renders such palliatives still less available. For I must notice the variety of situations in which the noble lord should have felt himself particularly bound to resist, much more to abstain, from such odious traffic. The noble lord was concerned in assenting to the Resolutions which are usually passed against the proceedings which this traffic involves—he was also a party to the various legislative provisions enacted against them—he could not be ignorant of the numerous prohibitory statutes to be found on our books. He was also bound, as a member of the house, to protect its purity, and as a member of the government to uphold the dignity of that government. But he proved his indifference to the fame of government and to the independence and purity of the house—to the preservation of his own character, and to the prescription of the law of his country. If such a flagrant case can admit of aggravation, it is furnished by the offer of the noble lord with regard to the Writership. What! that the President of the Board which was specially instituted for the purpose of controlling and checking corruption in the management of the affairs of India, should himself become a principal minister of corruption! Here his corruption appeared two-fold; first, with regard to this house; and, secondly, with regard to the India Company; equally betraying in both, an indifference to character and to duty.—In one part of the noble lord's Evidence I find a statement, from which it appears, that a list of the situations in his disposal, and patronage at the India house, was laid before the Committee. Now I am at a loss to know what the noble lord's patronage was in that situation, or under what law or regulation he had any right to any patronage. I do not find that any such right is conferred upon him by the statute which created the Board over which he presided. How, then, did the noble lord obtain this patronage? Was it the result of compromise or usurpation? I should wish to have some information upon this head from the noble lord, or some one near him. I rather apprehend this patronage is an abuse, as it is not granted, nay is actually prohibited, as I have stated, by the act appointing the

Board of Controul. I require, however, no information to satisfy my mind, that however the patronage was originally obtained, it was attempted, in this instance, to dispose of it in a corrupt manner. For the noble lord was guilty of an infraction of the law prevailing at the India house, by the mode in which he would apply this Writership. It will not, I apprehend, be maintained, that the noble lord's disposition of patronage was not subject to the same rules and regulations which applied to the patronage of the Directors of the India house. It will not be pretended that the noble lord had any privilege or patent of exemption from these rules and regulations. If I am not correct in this supposition, I hope that some person on the other side will take the trouble to shew that there was some ground of distinction in this respect between the noble lord and the Directors; for if no such difference appears, then I must charge the noble lord with having directly violated the law for disposing of patronage at the India house, and what is worse, with having betrayed some other person into something little short of the breach of a solemn declaration upon oath. The following are the words of the declaration made by a Director upon recommending for a Writership: 'I do most solemnly declare that I 'have given the nomination to , 'and that I neither have received myself, 'nor am to receive, nor has any other person, to the best of my knowledge or be'lief, received, nor is to receive, any pe'cuniary consideration, nor any thing con'vertible in any mode into a pecuniary 'benefit on this account.' In page 7, of the Report of the Committee, it appears that the attention both of the legislature and of the East India Company had, at various periods, been attracted to abuses which were supposed to exist in the disposal of their patronage, in consequence of which, at the time when their charter was renewed, an oath was framed to be taken by each Director, within ten days after his election, containing, among other engagements, the following: 'I do swear that I 'will not, directly nor indirectly, accept 'or take any perquisite, emolument, fee, 'present, or reward, upon any account 'whatsoever, or any promise or engage'ment for any, or in respect of the appoint'ment or nomination of any person or per'sons to any place of office in the gift or 'appointment of the said Company, or of 'me as a Director thereof.'—In the Bye Laws of the East India Company, ch. 6, sect. 5, a penalty is imposed on every Director taking any reward on account of any appointment, in double the amount of such reward, two thirds of which are to go to the Company, and one-third to the informer; and such Director is rendered incapable of holding any place whatever under the Company. Now, sir, I contend, that the above regulations are as much in force against the patronage of the noble lord, as President of the Board of Controul, which, I insist, he had no right to dispose of, as they could possibly be in regard to the patronage of Directors. What, then, will the house think of this attack on its purity and disregard of its constitution and of its rules, when they see that the high and important office which the noble lord has held so long, has been made an instrument for the worst of purposes; and that, directly in the teeth of an act of parliament, as well as of a Bye Law of the East India Company? If, then, the noble lord had not the right of patronage vested in himself, as I believe, in what a situation would the delegate have been placed, through whom lord Clancarty's writership was to be obtained? I shall be glad to hear the noble lord's explanation upon this subject. My opinion is, that the noble lord's patronage is subject to the same regulation as that which affects the Directors: but I shall attend to what the noble lord has to say. If, however, he does not satisfy the house as to this point, it must serve only to aggravate the general indignation prevailing against him, and give to the whole tenor of his conduct in this transaction a still more objectionable character.—I have said before, that I should be sorry to mention names, if they could be avoided consistently with the duty I owe to the case, and which I have pledged myself to perform. I find, from the evidence of Reding, that the names of a number of persons are mentioned who were to participate of the money to be obtained from the sale of the Writership. Probably the noble lord was deceived. Let him say so. I do not mean to attach to him the suspicion that he believed the Writership was to be converted into a source of pecuniary profit. [Here lord Castlereagh indicated his contempt of such a charge.] I am happy to perceive the noble lord indignant at the mention of the transaction in this light, but he would have done well to have shewn this indignation before the evidence had been produced. But when we recol-

ct that he had been president of the
oard of Controul for so many years; that
rd Clancarty was a member of the same
oard, and that Reding, a party to the
nsaction, had never excited that indig-
tion till his refusal to discover the par-
s, I think those feelings of indignation
ve been very tardy in shewing them-
ves. I do not wish to be hard upon the
ble lord opposite to me, but really I do
nk that merely reading the evidence
st obtain the censure I shall move for:
ough I have deemed it more decorous
d respectful to the house to preface my
tion with the comments I have already
de and have still to submit upon the
nsaction.—I am sorry to trespass upon
time of the house, but there are still
ints to which I must call its attention.
e house will see in the evidence an allu-
n made by the noble lord to a note from
vis, respecting a Mrs. Groves, in the an-
er to which the noble lord expressed his
sire, that Mr. Davis would detect and
pose the persons who had dared to men-
n his name in such a transaction. Here
re was an expression of disdain and in-
gnation—but when did it happen? At
at period and under what circumstances
it take place? In page 61, of the evi-
nce, a Mr. George Davis is examined,
l there appears to have been, at the time
alludes to, a negotiation set on foot for
procuring of a writership, which did not
e effect; but there was some corres-
ndence upon the subject, and the noble
d's name was mentioned. Mr. Davis
asked, 'From what reason do you sup-
pose the negotiation broke off?' He an-
ers thus: 'This reason was explained
y Mrs. Grove; that at that moment
here was a change in administration,
nd that it was a Board of Controul ap-
pointment. I recollect Mr. Reding, or
eading, afterwards informed me, that
here was no court subsequent to that mo-
nent, during the then administration, by
hich a nomination could properly take
lace.—Who was at the head of the
oard of Controul at that time? I do not
now.—Did she not mention by whom it
as to be given to your friend? A noble
iscount was mentioned to me.—Was
ot lord Castlereagh the person mention-
d? He was.—Was lord Castlereagh the
erson to whom you wrote, communicat-
ng these circumstances? He was.—How
ong ago was that transaction? It was in
he beginning of 1806; it was at the mo-
nent of the change of administration that
'she applied for it. When I wrote to his
'lordship, he requested me to call upon
'him at his office in Downing-street, and I
'did on that day.—Did you see him? No,
'he was at the council; and I received a
'note the next day, acknowledging the re-
'ceipt of it, and requesting that I would
'explain every thing, so that the party
'who had made use of his name should be
'detected, or something of that kind.—
'Did he decline seeing you? No; so far
'from that, his servant delivered to me
'his compliments, and desired that I would
'call at his house in Downing-street, and,
'if he was not there, go to the house of
'commons.—You have not seen him?
'No, I have not.—And no appointment
'was made for seeing him in the note you
'received? No; but he requested I would
'lend my aid in order that the party who
'would be daring enough to make so im-
'proper a use of his name (I think that
'was the expression) should be exposed.—
'You could produce the note, if necessary?
'Yes, certainly.'

Now, Sir, the observation I make upon this evidence is, by asking, was that declaration of the noble lord's indignation on that occasion, a genuine, sincere, and honest declaration, or not? All this took place after the former negotiation had been begun, continued, and broken off; (Hear! hear!) and yet he affects upon this last occasion to be so indignant, that he desires the person's name to be mentioned, in order that he might be detected. Is it possible that, under such circumstances, this house can give him credit for those feelings? Can we suppose that he, who had been the guilty instrument in conducting negotiations of this nature formerly, was actuated by a sincere intention to expose and discountenance such a practice, otherwise than that he might thereby prevent his being exposed himself? (Hear! hear!). I have no doubt, that he would rather have exposed Mr. Reding, or Mr. Davis, than have incurred the danger of exposing himself; and that it was the fear of detection, rather than a wish for the discovery of guilt, that prompted the noble lord to that conduct. I stand here in the correction of the noble lord and his friends around him, as to whether I am doing him an injustice in this statement. It is for them to say, if I am in error; but I shall retract any part of this accusation, which the evidence does not warrant me in making. If it were improper for Mr. Davis, Mr. Reding, or Mrs. Grove, to bring disrepute upon officers of government, who were they that were guilty of permitting that impropriety to exist? I contend that when the noble lord's jealousy and indignation appear to have been peculiarly excited, he had at that time done all in his power to effect a corrupt exchange of a writership for a seat in parliament; for I can never admit that his delicacy in this instance, could have proceeded from any other feeling than the fear of detection. If it were really improper to couple his name with such a transaction, I trust that when it appears to have been actually so coupled, I shall find a justification in the eyes of the noble lord, and those around him, for bringing forward such a transaction to public notice, as is similar to that of which the noble lord himself says, the authors ought to have been exposed. The noble lord must acknowledge that I am right, or he must shew that this transaction was not of the same kind with that other one. What could be meant by those terms, that the party making use of his name, should be detected and exposed? How were they to be exposed? If detected, I suppose the noble lord, or his learned law friends, would have immediately instituted a prosecution against the person making use of his name; and now I call upon this house to do that which we should have been doing against those individuals, had they been convicted; I call upon this house to inflict that same punishment upon the individual already convicted (Hear! hear!). If any such persons as those the noble lord wished to detect, had been convicted, punishment must have followed, although months and years might have elapsed before their guilt was discovered. But, so far from their conduct being corrupt or criminal, I contend, that, if, after the detection of this delinquency it should be suffered to escape with impunity, we should be intitled to conclude, that these unknown and obscure individuals had suffered an unmerited punishment. I have troubled the house at considerably greater length than I intended, but I think it will now appear that the importance of this question yields to none that can be brought before this house. The power, privileges, and immunities, attached to those in office, must not screen them from censure. We must show the public, that we are inclined to pursue with impartial justice, any crime wherever it makes its appearance. I say it is a mockery of justice, to affect to censure persons comparatively inconsiderable, if we are to suffer a noble lord, filling the office of Secretary of State, (lord Castlereagh), another noble lord, a member of the Board of Controul, (lord Clancarty), and a third (marquis of Sligo), a peer of the realm, to do those acts with impunity, for which we would visit meaner delinquents with a severe measure of punishment. We have lately been informed, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has thought proper, in consequence of some advertisement in the papers, offering a situation for sale, to direct a sum of money to be lodged, as required by the advertisement, and has taken every step in his power, in order to entrap the poor unfortunate individual (Hear! hear!). Now, I would wish the house to reflect, if this trap of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so admirably contrived, had been also laid to ensnare those concerned in the transaction I have been describing, whether he would have been not a little surprised to have caught his noble friend who now sits near him, together with his two noble accomplices. That right hon. gent. ought to have laid his trap upon this occasion, as well as upon the other; for the first appearance of this writership was by advertisement in the public papers, and if he had only applied his trap a little sooner, he would have undoubtedly detected two of his colleagues and a peer of the realm in the illicit traffic. Supposing that right hon. gent. goes on with the prosecution of those whom, he says, he has already entrapped, and will be able to bring them to conviction; what will be the feelings of this house and of the public, if they shall find in it a case trivial comparatively to this one, if although flagrant it should escape without notice and without censure. There is one circumstance which I have omitted to notice, and which may appear to place one in an invidious situation. It is, that this evidence has lain a considerable while upon your table, which I mean to move should be read, and on which I am to ground a motion of censure against that noble lord, and yet no one of the committee who made that Report has thought proper to make any observations upon the flagrant charge it contains, and there has appeared no actual intention of noticing the transaction itself. I own it did surprise me, that such evidence could have been laid upon the table, without any notice being taken of it; but however invidious it may appear, I own that I had

sooner read it, than the flagrancy of
offence struck me, and feeling as I do
ry respect for that committee and that
irman, I could not refrain from doing
at I conceived to be a public duty. It
owever somewhat surprising that they
uld have done no more than state the
s; and, though I do not mean to make
insinuation against the conduct of the
mmittee, it is I think desirable that they
uld have accompanied that statement,
some recommendation to the house.
at possible defence can be made by
noble lord, or his friends, I am truly
loss to conceive, for I know of nothing
y can have to offer either in justifica-
or extenuation of such an offence. It
y be stated, that he has done no more
n what others have done before him;
if so, I shall only say, that in all
mer transactions of this nature, a simi-
inquiry and a similar censure has
en place as that which I now ask for.
nnot agree with the sentiments of an
. and learned gentleman opposite,
en he stated that the evidence of an ac-
plice is to be rejected. In this case
e is both a principal and an accomplice
licated, and I am prepared to argue
point, should it be set up. If I were
calling for the censure of the house
n a transaction, a system of corruption,
ch had at any time appeared of a
ifiable nature, it might be incumbent
n me to urge further argument than I
e done, but at present the question
ely appears to be, has this offence been
mmitted or not? This is the question
ch the house has in its power to deter-
e from the evidence before it, and in-
d I need no other assistance than what
es from the lips of the noble lord him-
. I have refrained from casting any
utation upon the accused that the evi-
ce does not fully warrant; and I shall
glad to hear what he has to offer in
tradiction to that testimony which is
ady before us; and as I know it is usual
the house to permit persons accused to
e any observations that may occur in
ir defence, as well as to permit the ac-
er to reply, I shall not trespass at pre-
t more upon your patience, than to
eat my assurance that I have acted
n no other motive than a conscientious
charge of my duty.—The noble lord
n concluded his statement, by moving,
hat so much of the Minutes of the Evi-
ce contained in the Report which, upon
23d day of March last, was made from the Committee appointed to enquire into the existence of any corrupt practices in regard to the appointment and nomination of Writers or Cadets in the service of the East India Company, or any agreement, negotiation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale thereof, as relates to the evidence given before the said Committee by lord viscount Castlereagh, the earl of Clancarty, Mr. Reding, and Mr. Davis, might be read."—And the same being read;

Lord *Castlereagh* rose and spoke as follows.—I certainly cannot help expressing my utmost regret that any action of mine should become the subject of parliamentary discussion. I am sure no person can feel more for the privileges and independence of this house, than I do; and certainly my culpability, if really guilty, must be greatly increased, from the situation I hold in his majesty's councils. If I have committed any error in the discharge of my public duty, I can assure the house, that it was not intentional on my part, and is rather to be attributed to accident than design. I thank the noble lord for the manner in which he has brought this question forward, and for the full and candid statement which he has made of his view of it, before he came to propose his final Resolutions. There is no extent to which the charge can be carried, which I do not wish to hear and to meet, and on this account I am gratified at the full explanation which has been given by the noble lord. I am the last man who will complain of his going too far in urging any charge against myself. I allow him to draw every inference he can from my own evidence, but there are some things which I have to say, that will be directly contrary to what has been stated by some of the witnesses. If gentlemen will judge my conduct, when separated from my political principles, I trust that no blame will attach to it. Here it may be necessary for me to state, and I solemnly declare, that, as a minister of the crown, I never applied my patronage to acquire any unjust influence in this house; and I am sure no person can contradict me. The patronage I had, and the manner in which I disposed of it, is before you, and it will be seen that I neither bestowed it upon the members, nor upon the electors, nor for any political purpose whatsoever. I also beg leave to state that it never once occurred to me as an original idea, to employ my patronage to obtain lord Clancarty's return. When I saw Mr. Reding, he told me, that a person who wished to vacate his seat had a nephew, whom he wished to send to India as a writer, and that he had it in his power to favour lord Clancarty's election. I certainly regret very much that I ever had any connection with Reding; but I assure the house, that at that time I had no notion, that such a person existed in society as a trafficking broker for offices under government (A loud cry of hear! hear! in which lord Milton's voice was distinguishable). I beseech the noble lord to restrain his impatience; and again beg leave to assure the house, that I knew not that persons of that description were in existence. If any other member knew of it, I am surprised they never made it a subject of parliamentary enquiry before. When I recommended Mr. Reding to go and make his proposal to lord Clancarty, I perceived no impropriety in the case, as I considered it perfectly fair for one friend to serve another at an election. When I placed the Writership at lord Clancarty's disposal, I had no other view than to serve my friend, and if I could do so, I had no hesitation to give a Writership to any respectable gentleman's son or nephew who could promote my views, particularly as I was myself to determine whether the party recommended was eligible. I certainly considered lord Clancarty to be a man of great abilities, and was of opinion, both on account of those abilities, and of the great quantity of business, for which that noble lord was peculiarly qualified, that if he had at that time a seat in parliament, the country would derive much benefit from his services. In my opinion, no turpitude attaches to the transaction, and if a pecuniary consideration could have formed any part of it, it was least of all to be expected to take place between a father and a son, or an uncle and a nephew. I do not deny but Mr. Reding meant to derive considerable advantage from the transaction, but I assure the house it never entered into my mind, nor I am confident into that of lord Clancarty. As I did not want the seat alluded to by Mr. Reding for myself, I sent his letter to lord Clancarty, and the only conversation he had with him, was his inquiring who was the person disposed to retire from parliament, and finding he could not get that information from him, he broke off the transaction. The negotiation never having been resumed, it was evident that the bartering of a writership for any corrupt consideration, was as foreign from lord Clancarty's mind, a it was from mine. As to the case of M Davis, the fact is, I never saw that perso in my life; although it is said, he calle upon me in Downing-street, in conse quence of a message from my porter, i answer to his note. If my porter told him as from me, to go to my office in Downing street, I must have supposed him to b Mr. Davis, a member of this house; bu when I found who he was, I wrote to him that he could not do me a greater favou than to expose the whole transaction This is all I know of Mr. Davis, and I never saw him in my life in Downing street or elsewhere.—The noble lord ha brought a particular charge of criminalit against me, from the official situatio which I held as President of the Board Controul, alledging, that this criminality particularly aggravated from this add tional consideration, that I did make use the influence which I possessed in cons quence of that situation, to promote th election of a member of parliamen The appointment of the higher offices India is vested, no doubt, in the Board Controul, but with the inferior appoin ments this Board has officially no conne tion, as it was supposed by the legislatu that the power of such appointments wou devolve too great a share of influence the Crown, and for that reason had the i ferior patronage been broken down, a parcelled out among the directors. Of Writership, therefore, I could not ha officially disposed, as such an appointme was not within my official province. Fro the situation, however, which I held, had no doubt a degree of influence, b that influence was not of an offic nature, and rested entirely with the pe son legally authorized to recommend. This influence was not of my creating; found it existing when I succeeded to t office, and considered it merely as an a of grace and favour arising natura perhaps from the situation, but a pat nage by no means officially in the han of the President of the Board of Contro For that portion of influence, therefore cannot in justice be considered as respo sible, not having exercised it in my offic capacity. So far is this portion of patro age from being official, that it is oft enjoyed by a person who has been on in office, even after he is no longer Pre dent, as a right hon. gent. opposite (M Tierney), I have no doubt, has exp rienced. This at least I have found to

case even after my connection with
Board no longer existed. This in-
nce may be easily accounted for from
habits of friendship, and the circum-
e of having been so intimately con-
ed with the Directors, and was not less
al than that supposed to be enjoyed
e existing President of the Board. In
r situation, I confess, it is a duty to
e a proper use of this influence, en-
d by the mere indulgence of indivi-
Directors; but to the exercise of this
ence there is no particular or extra-
nary responsibility attached from the
mstance of being President of the
d of Controul.—Of whatever crimi-
y, therefore, I may be accused on this
sion, any attempt to render it more
avated, from considering it as con-
ed with the exercise of my official
, I must consider as unfair and ill
ded. The Board of Directors do
inly make a declaration which binds
particularly in such cases; but it
not follow that other persons who
e no such declaration are to be con-
red as having their errors aggravated
he breach of what they have not
ged themselves to observe. When
ed before the Committee, I thought it
luty to state what I knew. Had the
osure been connected with my pub-
r official duties, or had it related in
way to the conduct or policy of go-
ment, there might have been some
n for hesitation; but the subject being
ly of a personal nature, it would have
unpardonable in me to have hesitated
a moment. I have reason to regret
unfortunate circumstance of having
name connected with that of a man of
a character as Mr. Reding; but when
pplied to me, I had no suspicion of
mproper motives from which he act-
and was far from thinking that he was
of those who made a traffic in places.
re feel it to be my duty to state to the
e the motives from which I entered
the transaction. I do most solemnly
re the house, that I had never for a
le moment an idea that the appoint-
t in my gift, and placed at lord Clan-
y's disposal, could lead to any corrupt
ence, either in that house or with in-
lual electors. Although the person who
to retire from parliament had not been
ed, still the impression upon my mind
this, that he was not only a man of
respectability, but one of those who
e in the habit of voting with the government. I considered him to be a man, who had had some favour to seek for a son or a nephew, and could never suppose, that the grant of such a favour could operate either to affect the independence of parliament, or to corrupt the purity of election; and, indeed, I would be the last man on earth who would grant any favour, which could have such an effect. But, even admitting, (what I am prepared to deny,) that it was corrupt to exercise the influence, which local considerations or legitimate official patronage gave to the members of the government, with a view to favour the election of a friend; still, in the opinion of very able men, in which I coincide, it is fortunate that places exist, where such influence can be exercised, because they afford an opportunity to men of high talents and great learning, though not possessed of local influence, to get into parliament. Places of this description, which happily exist, open a facility of obtaining seats in this house to men, who cannot dedicate their whole time to the acquisition of popularity; men who from attention to the business of office, who from study and application to professional pursuits, are prevented from the exercise of those arts in which others have an opportunity of indulging: these places, I say, open a facility for such men to make their way into the house, who would necessarily be excluded if elections were all conducted upon popular principles, and confined, as in such a case they would be, to those only who could dedicate their time to the attainment of local influence and favour. The question then comes to this; was it proper to have appointed a person under the circumstances of this case to the situation proposed, subject to the qualifications I have mentioned, supposing the transaction, instead of existing only in the imagination, to have been carried into execution? Even the crime of treason requires an overt act to constitute the offence and maintain the charge; and surely it is not too much for me to expect to receive the benefit of such a principle. I consider it a duty imposed upon me as a minister not to accept of any defence which might be injurious to the public; I therefore will accept of none such; but can it be supposed for a moment, that I intended to influence elections corruptly by means of this appointment? Standing in my situation as minister of the crown, I had a right, I contend, to exercise that fair in-

fluence which my situation gave me, to support the government with which I was connected, of which I was a member. I had a right to give those who would support that government, upon independent principles, every assistance which my situation allowed, but not so as to interfere with the freedom of election by unduly influencing the conduct of individual voters. I am convinced, that no man in this house, nor any committee which may be appointed by this house, would or could say, that conduct, such as that imputed to me, went so far to the corruption of a vote, as to invalidate an election. The transaction itself, as it turned out, I cannot undoubtedly justify to the full extent, but I must be allowed to say, that no moral corruption has been proved against me. Indeed, if I could have had any corrupt views, this was a case, in which, of all others, I should not have acted upon them. It was a case, which, from its very nature, precluded secrecy. This is as plain as any thing I can say—as plain as that the marquis of Sligo had no seat in this house to dispose of—as plain as that he had not seen Mr. Reding at Downing street. It must be obvious, therefore, that, with any corrupt object in view, I should have avoided this case, which never once existed, which was merely imaginary, which was a perfect romance, as perfect a one as my playing cards with Mr. Reding, to which charge, if to any other, I could undertake to prove an alibi. For suppose lord Clancarty was returned to parliament, and it appeared that I had given the son, or nephew of the person through whom his seat may have been obtained, a writership, would not the transaction be instantly exposed? If I acted hastily upon this subject, it was not from any turpitude; it did not proceed from any dishonest or dishonourable motive, as is evident from the nature of the case, which could not be kept a secret. With respect to the case being never acted on, I disdain any defence drawn from that consideration; for if the corrupt intention is proved, it makes little difference whether it was executed, or not. But it is possible that in my communications with lord Clancarty, before the business could be accomplished, I might see reason to influence me to retract; it was competent to me to withdraw, if I saw cause for so doing; and if I received any intimation with respect to Reding's character, I must and would have retracted. I hope that no one will think me mad enough to relinquish my public situation, my public character, and all that is dear to me as a man, for the purpose of serving a private friend, or procuring an addition of an individual to the party to which I belonged. I do not wish to disguise any thing: I do not wish to justify any thing upon principle, which might be inconsistent with the dignity of parliament. Having stripped the case of its aggravation, having stated that I was influenced by no interested or corrupt motive, that I do not think the individual would have been led to surrender up his principles, and, above all, that no elector was likely to be corrupted by the transaction, I have only to express my sincere regret that motives of private friendship, or a wish to have the assistance of competent persons in the government, should have led me into the adoption of any conduct that rendered an inquiry by this house necessary. The evidence is before you upon which you are to form your judgment, and whatever decision you may pronounce, I shall submit to it with deference.

His lordship withdrew on concluding his defence, and the Evidence being entered as read, lord A. Hamilton proposed the following Resolutions:—1st. "That it appears to this house, from the Evidence on the table, that lord viscount Castlereagh in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of President of the Board of Controul, and being then a Privy Counsellor and Secretary of State, did place at the disposal of lord Clancarty, a member of the said Board, the nomination of a Writership to India, for the purpose of thereby procuring the said lord Clancarty a Seat in this honourable house. 2nd. That it was owing to a disagreement among other subordinate parties to the transaction, that this corrupt negotiation did not take effect;—3rd. That lord viscount Castlereagh has been by the said conduct guilty of a violation of his duty, of an abuse of his influence and authority as President of the Board of Controul, and also of an attack upon the purity and constitution of this house."

Lord *Binning*.—Sir; when a man who has served the public in a high office for many years, is called upon to defend himself from charges such as those contained in the noble lord's Resolutions, it is a matter of great moment, and requiring much deliberation. In the course of the speech which the noble lord made, he avowed any intention of defending nself upon principle: I do not intend defend him upon principle either, and sorry that it is not in my power to do I am not inclined to weaken the pression made by the speech of my le friend, by going at any length into case. but I feel it necessary to refer fly to the proceedings. It appears, Mr. Reding, in his interview with Castlereagh, told him that he had means of assisting him in coming parliament. Lord Castlereagh inned Mr. Reding, that he did not want eat himself, but conceiving that he de the offer as agent for a person ing to assist the government, he referhim to lord Clancarty, whom his lordwell knew, and who was his particular nd; in some time after, he was told that business was blown over, and that nog was done. The simple fact is, that Castlereagh said that he could proe the situation of a writership, which would apply to the purpose of facilitatthat specific negotiation of bringing Clancarty into parliament, an intento this moment unexecuted. Such is plain case before the house; the whole t of which consists in lord Castlereagh's posing to facilitate the election of his nd. The noble lord opposite said, that was unwilling to press harder upon any n, than the evidence would bear him ; but it appears to me that the noble is forgetful of this declaration. I will w it is the duty of every man not to ose of his patronage improperly, but ord Castlereagh had not any knowledge he character of Reding, it cannot be ined, that he meant to make an improuse of his patronage, by disposing of it nworthy objects. I think it unfair to t the case of Davis on this occasion; ause whatever might have been the obof Davis, lord Castlereagh was cerly no party to it.—Some observations e been made respecting the indignation ifested by the noble lord at having his e associated with such persons; and n what has fallen from the other side e appears a wish to represent the innation as not fair and honest; but why ld it be thought otherwise? If the nolord did not feel indignant at it he ld deserve all the punishment which noble friend appears so willing to upon his head. It appears to me that udging of the conduct of lord Castlegh we are not to call in the assistance of inference, but decide from the evidence before us. I have said that it was impossible to defend lord Castlereagh upon principle, I say so still, but I may maintain in perfect consistency with this opinion, that the Resolution of the noble lord goes to draw down a greater punishment than the offence deserves; there are degrees in offences: you would not punish a man for a bare intention with the same severity as for an actual commission: what is necessary to constitute the offence is here wanting. There was no *malus animus*; no corrupt design appears in the whole transaction. The noble lord acted not in his official capacity, but as an individual wishing to oblige his friend. He had officially no India patronage to bestow. What he gave in this way must have been given him by some of the Directors who had the nomination at the time. Officially he had committed no offence, and the degree of punishment ought to be proportioned to the degree of guilt. The necessary consequence of carrying these Resolutions will be the loss of office to the noble lord. I know it is sometimes asserted that dismissal from office is not to be considered a punishment. When the dismissal is occasioned by the pleasure of the sovereign, by a want of strength in the ministry, or the success and overbearance of some rival party, it is certain the dismissal cannot be considered as a punishment; but when charges of corruption are entertained, sanctioned, and registered, and the dismissal takes place in consequence of such charges, will any man say that the dismissal from office is not a punishment, and a severe one too? I will not trouble the house any longer upon this subject, but shall conclude with a hope that the house, in exercising its discretion, will be considerate, and in its anxiety to discharge a duty to the public, will not forget what it owes to an individual. On the grounds I have already stated, I shall move that the other orders of the day be now read.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn.* Certainly, sir, after the speech which we have heard from the noble lord, I for one did not expect that he would have concluded it with such a motion; I for one did not expect that after he said the proposition of my noble friend was rather severe, he would attempt to substitute for it a proposal that it should be dismissed altogether; that when a Resolution was proposed by my noble friend grounded upon facts, the noble lord should propose to us to pass it by without notice as a matter wholly unworthy of detaining us from more important business. I agree with my noble friend that a negociation upon a corrupt principle was intended to be carried into effect; I should be sorry that any man should think of confounding the intention with the execution, and attaching to them an equal criminality; but, if the intention is less criminal than the execution, are we therefore to conclude that entering into such a negociation is no offence whatever? I expected that the noble lord would have said he agreed as to the facts, but thought the expressions were too strong, and that he would have proposed some other form of Resolution, as a middle course, not liable to that objection. I will admit that many may have entered into, and continued the same system; that they may have been equally guilty with the noble lord, though they succeeded better in concealing their faults from the public; but, is that a reason why, when such a fact is brought to light, the house of commons should pass it over lightly? If they do, it will be in effect publishing to every person who may fill the same situation hereafter, that he may pursue the same traffic, that he may keep an open market in the same way. There might have been many persons guilty of such transactions who were either misled or acted from ignorance, and on that ground might merit some indulgence; but would this apology be pleaded by any member of that house? or would it be set up as an excuse for any member of his majesty's government? In a case like the present we have but one course to pursue; there is no option for our decision. Duty chalks out the line, and, however reluctantly, we must submit to its dictates. I know that there are many persons in this house who are disposed to maintain that the influence over electors is not injurious, and that little disadvantage results from the practice of bribery; this I know many of them to maintain in private conversation; but when a case of this kind is made out, they are bound in duty to obey the course prescribed by law, and by act of parliament; and with that, their private opinions ought not to interfere. I agree in the Resolution of 1779, which reprobates the interference of ministers of the crown at elections, and I shall propose that that Resolution be read before the house comes to a decision in this case. Many may differ in opinion upon this Resolution, they may be inclined to doubt its truth, but it being a Resolution of this house renders it, in my opinion, imperative upon us. It may be said, that the East India Company ought to be grateful to those who would recommend proper men to fill the situations, and possessed of the qualifications that are required. I think it wholly impossible that out of 20 educated men 19 should not be fit for them; it therefore is not so great a compliment to supply the East India Company with these competent persons. Appointments under the Company are, by a Resolution of the Court of Directors, vitiated when obtained with undue influence, even though the holder should not have been privy. But was this a case, in which the noble lord was ignorant of the disposal of his patronage? No, it was one in which he himself was about to dispose of his patronage for unworthy and unconstitutional purposes. He had not attempted to justify the transaction upon principle. That was better than if he had stood up unblushingly, and said, I have no money in my pocket, I have gained nothing by the transaction, and therefore I am innocent. It was a better and more modest way of proceeding, and may have some tendency to mitigate the punishment which the house may be inclined to adjudge to him. I wish that some censure may be adopted which shall vindicate the dignity of the house: not only the public now, but posterity will look to our decision upon this occasion, and be influenced by it. I remember a charge once brought against a Treasurer of the Navy, for having misapplied the public money, which had been granted for a particular service. I remember too, that the person charged in that instance, declared that no human power should compel him to disclose the manner in which that money had been applied. Yet that person (lord Melville) had been brought to trial. Here we have the evidence of one of our own body, confessing the fact charged, and shall we suffer it to pass unnoticed? Will any member state, that what appears upon the evidence in this case, if carried into effect would not have been deserving of punishment? For my part, I think expulsion the smallest that could be applied to it. I certainly am not for punishing the intention with the same severity; but then I am as far from agreeing that no notice should be taken of it. A case occurred some time ago, of a man attempting to murder another by striking him with poker on the head; on the trial there wa

ne difficulty in ascertaining the extent
the crime, in order to proportion the
nishment; the poker was not an instru-
nt to cut with, but the intention was
ally manifest as if it was, and equally
nished. Upon the same ground, I
k that the intention manifested and
nowledged by the noble lord, is suffi-
nt to establish his criminality. Consi-
what an effect your compliance with
motion of the noble lord may produce
n the country hereafter; how natural
it be for subsequent parliaments to
, when called upon to punish a minis-
who has actually executed what the
le viscount only attempted, "in the
liament of 1809, the attempt was consi-
ed too trifling to be noticed. Surely,
n, the performance of it now is of no
erial consequence."—Something has
n said with respect to aggravation, in
case. It has been said, that that pa-
nage did not fall to the noble viscount
virtue of his own office, but was at-
ned to some other department, distinct
n his. I do not think that such inter-
nges ought to exist. This circum-
ce, however, does not appear to me to
any aggravation of the noble viscount's
t; but as certainly it is no extenuation
t. If that was admitted, it would open
door to numberless other abuses; for
Chancellor of the Exchequer was to
ke a corrupt appointment in a public
artment, he might say, "I have no-
g to do with that, it does not come
nediately under my office, it was in the
artment of my friend the Secretary of
e." This exchange, this borrowing
atronage for the purpose of influencing
return of members to parliament, ought
be prevented, and it is upon the
ngest conviction of the necessity that
te for the Resolutions proposed by my
le friend, because if the negociation
ed, it was from other grounds, and not
want of inclination on the part of the
le lord.

Ir. *Croker* claimed the attention of the
se for a short time. He wished that,
onsidering the whole of the case now
er discussion, they would, in the very
instance, reflect on the evidence of
Reding, upon whose testimony the
erial part of it rested; which if they
in a dispassionate way, they would find
t it was so irreconcilable to reason,
h, and common sense, that they could
e no faith, no credence in it. When
was first interrogated before the Committee, his answers confounded themselves; at one time he said the seat in parliament was to be obtained for a writership; but being closely pressed, he then declared that it was only to be obtained for a pecuniary consideration, and that, too, was related in so confused a way, as to produce a very unfavourable impression upon the mind of all the Committee. It was, from beginning to end, one tissue of incomprehensibility, evasion, and equivocation.—But what had principally induced him to rise on this occasion was a wish to rescue the memory of a much valued and deceased friend from the imputation thrown upon it. That friend was the late marquis of Sligo, and he contended, that such a charge or imputation of corruption against a man who was in his grave ought not to be credited upon the evidence of such a person as Reding. He further endeavoured to shew, that the story told by Reding could not be true, because, in point of law, lord Clancarty as an Irish peer could not sit in the house for an Irish borough. The same remark applied to lord Hawarden, who was in a similar situation. He (Mr. Croker) had enjoyed the friendship and the confidence of the marquis of Sligo, and knew that he had no influence or interest, except in the counties of Mayo and Galway, and that such influence as he had depended solely on his rank and landed property. With regard to his noble friend who had just retired, he contended that the second Resolution of the noble lord against him was false in fact, for he had shewn that there was an impossibility that the transaction could have been completed. He also affirmed, that the first Resolution was false in fact, though perhaps not in terms, because the patronage had not been conferred by the noble viscount as Secretary of State, but as President of the Board of Controul. The gentlemen from his side of the water were supposed to be rather deficient in their logic, but in the present instance the deficiency rested with the noble mover (a laugh.) He hoped the noble lord would excuse the gentlemen on the other side for laughing at him. Perhaps they only laughed at his logic (a loud laugh.) Disagreeing with the noble lord in his premises, he could not vote for his conclusion; for the premises being both false, he could not, consistently with reason, support a conclusion affirmatively derived from them. There really in this case existed no more than a parliamentary difficulty (a laugh.) The thing had be-

come familiar by custom; and when it was discovered could only be considered as a venial offence (Hear! hear!). This was what must be admitted on all sides. Without entering into detail, he would rest his vote on what his noble friend had himself stated. His conduct was not altogether justifiable, for he could not say that it was not wrong (a laugh.) He meant that his noble friend had successfully contended, that his offence was not of the darkest die, but that it was a middle sort of offence. He therefore wished that a middle course should be taken, as had been recommended by the hon. gent. who spoke last. He requested that every individual would do in this case what he would wish to be done in his own. At all events he could not agree in a direct vote of censure.

Mr. *C. Wynn* said, that the hon. gent. seemed to have misunderstood him: he recommended no middle course. He had only said, that he expected the noble lord opposite would have recommended such a course; but for his part he did not mean to disapprove in any degree of that which his noble friend had adopted.

Lord *Milton* observed, that he had felt great indignation at a particular part of the noble lord (Castlereagh's) speech, and indeed at the whole of it; but as to the manner of expressing that indignation, he was ready to apologize to the noble lord and the house.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not help admiring the ingenuity with which the hon. gent. (Mr. Croker) contrived to turn the attention of the house from the main question to the marquis of Sligo, whose case had nothing to do with the subject under discussion. The hon. gent., he thought, would find some difficulty in reconciling some inconsistencies that appeared in his speech. He felt the greatest indignation at the imputation that had been cast upon the deceased marquis of Sligo, in associating him with such transactions, but he seemed to lose all his warmth, when he contemplated the charge made against the living. The hon. gent. ought to have taken a little more pains to defend the living, seeing what he had done for the dead. There existed in this case a degree of guilt, which was not to be passed over in the slight way proposed by the noble lord opposite (lord Binning,) nor in a slight way at all; and nothing short of adopting the Resolutions of his noble friend would satisfy the duty of the house. He held an opinion directly contrary to that stated by the noble lord in his defence; and thought this mode of disposing of seats in parliament was extremely improper, unconstitutional, and subversive of the best interests of the country. He was surprised that they who thought otherwise should bring forward such opinions now; for though they might think it proper that such practices should exist in secret, yet, in order to continue their existence in secret, they ought to visit them with due severity when they came before the house. To pass them over when thus exposed would be giving the severest stab to their own doctrines. Be the personal corruption here ever so little, (and he was not disposed to aggravate the case,) it was necessary to look at it as an official offence, and with a view to its effects on the country. The circumstance of the noble lord holding two official situations at the time was rather an aggravation of the offence. The patronage of the Directors ought not to be given away for such purposes as this; or, if it was, it would only be a reason why they should not possess that patronage. The meaning of the term "facilitating," in the evidence, meant nothing else than placing a writership at the disposal of a member of the government, which, as had been openly avowed, was appropriated to the purpose of bringing a man into parliament.—With regard to the assertion that there was no view in this particular instance to the augmentation of the influence of government, if lord Clancarty had come into parliament, neither the noble lord, nor any body else, could have much doubt as to the side on which he would have voted. The one being President of the Board of Controul, and the other a member of that Board; the presumption was, that lord Clancarty would have voted for the government for the time being, of which he (lord Castlereagh) formed a part.—The defence did not go to maintain that all this was perfectly right; but it was said that there was no corruption of the electors in this case. But, the person, who was to give the seat, was supposed to have the command of it—a command of seats might be had in different ways, but the whole of them might be ultimately more or less resolvable into money. Burgage tenure and boroughs were as much a matter of bargain and sale as a cow or a horse. When an estate was sold, if any parliamentary interest belonged to it, this was always considered in the price. When members were to be returned, nds of the proprietors were sometimes in, but it more frequently happened the seats were sold for 5,000*l.* or what- sum they could bring. There were er boroughs where parties maintained r influence by continual corruption, when an exchange of this sort took ce, the parties must know that corrup- must be the effect in procuring the . There were some who said that this ruption was necessary, in order to sup- the government; but, he had no he- tion in declaring it to be his opinion, it ought not to be supported by such uence as this. This subject, he obser- , was connected with the general ques- of a Reform in Parliament. He re- mbered in his early life to have heard n observation of the great lord Chat- n, "That if Parliament did not reform lf from within, it would be reformed h a vengeance from without." He ed the latter alternative would never e place; but if such abuses as this were sed over unheeded, it was not to be cealed, that a Reform would be called in a manner which nobody would be e sorry to see than himself. It was essary, for the preservation of the con- ntion, that such transactions as this uld be animadverted upon with seve- . That severity ought not, indeed, to beyond the occasion, and the Resolu- s of the noble lord did not go further n the occasion required. They were rely Resolutions of fact, though per- s, the fact in the second Resolution was orrectly stated, and he would therefore e to add some few words by way of endment, such as the following: "As as appeared to the noble lord at the ;" for it was absolutely certain, that exchange would have been completed, he underlings had not dropped the ne- iation. If the hon. gent. (Mr. Croker) concluded his speech by proposing e such Amendment as this, he would e been more consistent, or what, per- s, he would like better, he would have n more logical. Great stress was laid the transaction not being completed. agreed, that if the affair had gone for- rd, the noble lord might have seen he circumstances to stop him, and this s entitled to weight; but setting moral lt out of the question, the whole ounted to this, that the noble lord had, his political capacity, as far as the ne- ciation went, done all in his power to ry the object into effect, and, according to the common expression, "no thanks to him that it had failed." If the patronage of the East India Company was thus to be commuted for seats in parliament by members of the government, upon what principle could they be prevented from applying the patronage of the government itself to the same purpose; If a writership was to be thus exchanged for a seat in parliament, why should not a surveyorship of the Customs be applied to the same object? If this open abuse was passed over slightly, it would be telling the whole house, and the country, that such transactions might be carried on with impunity, in direct violation of the spirit of the acts to prevent bribery at elections. Was the house gravely to tell the country, that he who corrupted one voter was to be punished, while he who corrupted the whole was to be allowed to escape? And yet the noble lord proposed to pass over this transaction altogether, and to come to the order of the day! For the curiosity of the thing, he should like to know what the order of the day was. It was, he understood, the third reading of the Irish Commissioners Fees Bill; and the house was to pass over this great constitutional question without doing any thing, in order to discuss the subject of Irish Fees. There never could be a better opportunity of declaring the sense of parliament on this species of abuse (coughing). He was aware that the case was so clear, that many might think he took up too much of the time of the house in discussing it; and he trusted that those who were so impatient would shew that they agreed with him by their votes. (Hear, hear! from the Opposition side).—The hon. gent. then adverted to the transactions of the noble lord in Ireland, and from his assertions of purity drew this inference, that in the minds of some men, even of correct private characters, the supposed value of the end might, by custom, sanction any means whatever. He recollected that Mr. Hastings made a defence at the bar of the house which astonished every one; and almost every allegation of which he afterwards disavowed, when it appeared that it was not his own, but the defence of some other gentleman, who had drawn it up for him. The defence of the noble lord that night was all his own. But political men ought to consider the means better, because improper means might turn out to be as mischievous in the long run, as if the ends had been

and there was nothing to warrant the inference which the noble mover meant to convey. For his part, he felt most strongly that any charge of this kind was totally unfounded, and was confident that the house would be of a similar opinion. He felt also confident, that, even if the house thought it necessary to pass a censure on the conduct of his noble friend, yet, under all the circumstances, they must feel regret in doing so; and even when they censured his political conduct, they must yet do the justice of freeing his moral character from all imputation, and in which case he would still be justified in calling him his friend. With regard to the noble lord's propositions, he should say, that the first was true in words, though false in effect, and that the 2nd was both verbally and virtually unfounded. The first Resolution did not state the conduct of his noble friend, as accompanied with those qualifications which attended it. It was quite evident that the Writership was not placed at the disposal of lord Clancarty for the purpose of general barter or sale. He felt quite confident, that if the house agreed to entertain the Resolutions at all, they must be considerably amended; for it was evident that the negociation did not fail from the conduct of the subordinate agents, since the fact was, that Reding had no seat whatever to dispose of, and that lord Sligo had also none. These two propositions of the noble lord he could not assent to. Yet still even upon the face of the transaction itself, and such as it was upon the evidence, he was prepared to admit that the act itself was offensive in its nature, and in itself not an unfit subject for parliamentary opinion. Even this was acknowledged by the noble lord himself, that the transaction was not justifiable.—The right hon. gent. then proceeded to expose the conduct and views of Mr. Reding in the use he made of the name of the Marquis of Sligo. He objected to any attempt at aggravation, on the ground of any particular office held by the noble lord. It was a question of abuse of patronage, and was not altered by the circumstance of a particular place held, whether of President of the Board of Controul, or of Secretary of State. In either case, the patronage was a trust to be exercised. It had been stated correctly, that the punishment should be appropriate to the offence. The censure contained in these Resolutions would convey a slur upon the character of the noble lord, the effect of which the house would see and contemplate. If the house was prepar
to pass such a sentence (and he did n
know in what milder terms it could b
conveyed), they must see that it must en
in the removal of the noble lord from h
official situation. Thus it would be mad
as severe a punishment as could be i
flicted, even had the imputed offence bee
actually committed. Lord Castlereag
never appeared in the transaction, but i
a moment's conversation, until the clos
His lordship indeed stated, that the perso
to be appointed must be a proper perso
one who was sufficiently qualified for th
situation. The affair could not have bee
completed, without giving his lordshi
full time to review the whole and to mak
every proper enquiry. There were shad
of offence, and the present was by n
means of that nature as to call for tha
sort of censure which would amount t
political extinction in that house. Le
the house consider dispassionately whethe
it was that sort of case that called upo
them to institute any proceedings, or t
record any censure. It had been com
pared to bribery. How would the case stan
in that respect, if a charge were mad
where there was no bribery committed
and which had occurred two parliament
ago? Could the house, in such a cas
think it necessary to pronounce a judg
ment on the transaction? The noble lor
(A. Hamilton) had spoken of his (Mr. Per
ceval's) trap, and wondered what he woul
have said had he caught his colleague
He could only say that he should hav
been very much surprised: but, yet le
the noble lord recollect that he had laid
his trap so widely, that if his colleague
had been guilty, assuredly he would have
caught them.—The house had been called upon to record this censure and to consider the means of making themselves respected. He thought, however, that the house was most likely to create a due respect for itself, not by endeavouring to promulgate its laws by punishments, but by enactments: not by taking up a case marked by so many circumstances of limitation and mitigation, as the present must unquestionably appear to be. There was no privilege violated; there was no seat obtained. All rested, at the most, in the mere intention and nothing in fact, and yet the greatest severity was to be inflicted. It was far, indeed, beyond what the nature of the case could require.—The right hon. gent. concluded, by expressing his wish to proceed to the order

the day, not on account of its peculiar
portance, but because he thought that,
pon a fair and impartial consideration of
e present question, it did not require any
rther investigation or proceeding on
e part of the house of commons.

Mr. *Ponsonby* was disposed strongly,
on a case of this delicacy and import-
ce, to exercise all those feelings of ge-
rosity which it was calculated to excite;
d if he should fall into error in the
urse he was about to pursue, it would be
ror on the side of lenity rather than se-
rity. It had been stated by the right
n. (the Chancellor of the Exchequer,)
at the fact urged against the noble vis-
unt was merely a parliamentary offence;
ilst the hon. gent. under the gallery,
r. Manners Sutton,) had declared that
e only way in which the house could
its duty to the public would be by
ssing an adequate judgment upon that
t; and yet both gentlemen proposed
at no judgment should be come to upon
e subject, but that the house should pass
the other orders of the day. He was
cerely disposed to take the mildest
urse that the nature of the case would
mit of. The right hon. gent. had said
at the Resolutions of the noble lord
uld go to inflict as heavy a punishment
could be imposed, if the offence had
en committed with the most criminal
ention. But might not the noble lord
ve proposed to follow up his Resolutions
th a motion for the expulsion of the
ble lord, or for an address to his majesty
his removal from his presence and
uncils for ever? The question was
en, whether with the fact so fully ad-
tted, that house could, consistently with
duty, pass the matter wholly by? In
opinion that was impossible. In pro-
sing to dispose of the Writership in the
nner stated in the evidence, the noble
d had not been simply guilty of an
use of his patronage as a servant of the
own; he had been guilty of a violation of
East India act to a peculiar degree, by
ing that, which it was the object of that
to prevent, in applying India patronage
purposes of parliamentary influence.
s conduct was not only an offence,
t a perversion of the duties of an office
ated to prevent such perversion. It
d been said, that the first Resolution
s false in sense, and the second false in
nse and in fact; but if the whole of that
re to be admitted, what argument
uld it afford for passing to the orders of the day? It would be rather an argument for the amendment of the wording of the Resolutions.—He had been engaged in a long course of political hostility to the noble lord, and more particularly relating to the measure of the Union; but he trusted that on this occasion he had repressed every hostile feeling, and was only actuated by a sense of what he thought due to the character and purity of the house of commons. He meant not to allude to any clamour which might be excited among the people; popular clamour ought never to be mentioned when the character and honour of an individual were at stake; but nevertheless the house were bound to give their verdict upon their honour; and he felt himself justified in saying that the noble lord had been guilty of a parliamentary offence, which in its effects and example could not fail to prove highly pernicious, in as much as the character of parliament, both now and at all times, must depend upon the purity and independence of its members.

Mr. *Bankes*, as Chairman of the Committee, felt it necessary for him to say a few words upon the question, in consequence of some allusions which had been made to the conduct of the Committee. The noble lord who brought forward this subject, had, towards the close of his speech, made an observation expressive of surprise that the Committee had not mentioned this case in their Report, nor accompanied the Evidence upon it and other Cases with any remarks; and appeared to think that the question ought to have been taken up by the Chairman, or some other member of the Committee, rather than be left to the house at large to take up. But in his wish to promote his own object, the noble lord forgot what the Committee had been appointed to do, and the instructions under which that Committee acted. This case was not within the purview of the Committee, which was confined to the Abuses of East India patronage as connected with the conduct of the Directors: and to effect that object, he as chairman of the Committee was obliged to come to the house for fresh and more extensive powers. The same cause prevented the Committee from reporting upon other transactions which had been brought before them, though the evidence had been printed, and given rise to much surprise on the part of many persons whose names were inserted in the evidence. The Committee, when it found that no corruption was to be traced to any Director or other party, closed the case there, and did not think themselves authorized to go into the private parts of such cases; and, as they could not suppress any part of the evidence, hence it was that the names he alluded to appeared in the minutes. It was matter of sincere regret, that in times like the present, there should be in this country a busy and active class of men, who took every opportunity to vilify every thing that was high, and to degrade all that was eminent in rank in the country. He was sorry to see that this Report had been used for that purpose. He had seen the evidence garbled, maliciously garbled, with a view to vilify the members of the royal family. He had seen the evidence of Mr. Fuller respecting a negociation for a Writership, which was said to be expected to be procured through the Duke of Cambridge, given so far as it could tend to make an impression, as if that royal personage had been concerned in these transactions, but leaving out altogether the declaration of Mr. Fuller, that he was thoroughly convinced his royal highness knew nothing of the circumstance.—The hon. gent. then proceeded to observe upon a similar mutilation of the evidence in a case in which the first subject in the realm was said to be concerned, and expressed his opinion that the house ought to set a strong mark upon this attempt to degrade and vilify all that was eminent in the state. The hon. member then commented upon the circumstances, under which the names of two members of that house, and of the marquis of Sligo, had been introduced into the Minutes; and accounted for the insertion of their names on the ground, that, though it appeared they had not been parties to any improper transaction, yet, as their names had been mentioned in the course of the progress of the inquiry, the Committee did not consider themselves at liberty to omit any part of the Evidence. It would be most agreeable to him if he could either agree to the Resolutions of the noble lord, or be contented with the course proposed on the other side. He thought the punishment which the former would inflict was inadequate to the offence, and greatly disproportioned to the case; and the latter would not be sufficient for the dignity of that house, if they should pass to the other orders of the day from a charge where the facts were proved upon such incontrovertible evidence. He agreed with the whole of the speech of his right hon. friend, and contended th upon every principle of law a distincti should be taken between an offence exis ing only in intention and an offence act ally completed. If the first Resolutio therefore, should be amended by the intr duction of the proper qualifications, should have his support, and then should propose to add a Resolution, "Th it was the duty of that house to be jealo of its independence, but at the same tim that it appeared that the said negociatio rested merely in intention, and had n been completed; and that, therefore, th house did not think it necessary to dire any penal proceedings." This was wh struck him as the most eligible course be pursued, and he should therefore mov this Resolution, if the noble lord shoul agree to an Amendment in his first Res lution, but to the second and third Reso lutions he could not agree.

Sir *Francis Burdett*, at that hour of th night, and after the very able speech the noble lord who had opened the debate, as well as the able speeches of man gentlemen below him upon the floor, di not mean to trespass at any length upo the attention of the house. At the sam time, the question was in itself of suc importance, and so much had been said i extenuation of the case, founded upon th admission of the noble lord, and som observations which had fallen from th hon. gent. who had just sat down wer such, that he was induced to trespass short time upon the indulgence of th house, even at that late hour. If it had not been for the general gravity of tha hon. gent., and the serious manner in which he had produced these observations to the house, he should have supposed that there had been something ludicrous in his statement, from the effect it appeared to have produced upon the faces of the right hon gentlemen opposite.—With respect to the question before the house, he could not see any objection to the original Resolutions proposed by the noble lord. As to the objections which had been taken to the second Resolution, that it was not founded in fact, he must observe, that though it was not exactly made out by the evidence, yet it would be very easy to amend it; because the fact was, that the negociation had actually failed, in consequence of the inferior agents not having been able to accomplish what they had undertaken. Did the noble lord perceive the impropriety of his conduct, and stop short in his proress to its accomplishment? No such ing; the offence, as far as he was to act, as intentionally committed, and he had plea of extenuation, because it ultiately failed from the inefficiency of minor ents.—It had been argued, that if the ble lord had been aware of the characr of Reding, or had an opportunity of ain turning his attention to the transacon, it could never have taken place. t it would, indeed, have been surprising the noble lord should not have broken the business in the event of his having scovered the character of a man who as endeavouring to trick him. The hon. nt. who had just sat down had thought oper to make an allusion to a set of rsons, what persons he could not tell, o were busy and ever active in decryg all the rank, and running down all that as eminent in the state. It was with reet he heard such an accusation proceed ainst any description of the British peoe from that hon. member. He had often ard complaints made in that house ainst calumniators and libellers, but ghly as he valued the privileges of parment, he knew of no privilege that ould entitle any member to calumniate y class of his majesty's subjects. He ew of no right, that any gentlemen uld claim to utter misrepresentations ainst whole classes of the people of Engnd, especially when so much mischief as likely to result from such calumnies ing forth to the public. It was peculiar hard that such a course should be opted; it was particularly so at a moent, too, when, (as he must be permitted state, even within the walls of that use), the character of parliament did not and as high in the country as it ought. nder such circumstances, he thought unfortunate, for that house, as well as jurious to the British public, to calumate any class of the people of England, whom, as far as his observation enabled m to judge, such calumnies were wholly merited.—Having made these observaons, he would leave it to the house to dge how unfair it was to deal out insinuaons against whole classes of the peoe, or whether it would not have been ore candid and manly to name the perns at whom such observations were apied. He was convinced upon the result of l that he had an opportunity of observg, that there was no set of men in this untry disaffected to the government; and make an assertion that there was, would be as injurious to the people, as it would be dangerous to the security of the throne, and hostile to the constitution and the interests of the country. He had attended particularly to every thing that had been said by the noble lord in his defence, or rather in his confession, and whatever difference of opinion might appear to exist in the house as to the degree of his guilt, it appeared to him to be an aggravated case. It appeared to him to be an abuse of the patronage of a minister with a view to make an attack upon the independence of parliament. If a minister were proved guilty of such an offence, was the house not to say that he was so guilty? It was not now a question of punishment; or if the removal of the noble lord from office was to be considered a punishment, this was the first time that he ever heard of its being a punishment to be out of office. The noble lord had said that his object was, in disposing of this writership, to procure support for government, that is, for the administration, because that was the way in which he confounded the government with the administration. But as the noble lord had given them to understand that he would still think that a justifiable mode of disposing of his patronage, it was the duty of that house to guard against such abuses. The patronage of the state was the property of the public, and ought to be fairly and impartially distributed amongst the people. If ministers had attended more to this principle, and less to the practice of exclusively promoting their particular connections, there would have been a benefit to the public service, and certainly less disgust existing out of doors at the manner in which this patronage had been hitherto disposed of. The noble lord had complained in some measure, that he had been convicted solely upon his own evidence; but he would leave it to the house to decide whether there could have been stronger evidence produced? Yet whilst the noble lord rested so much on the circumstance that his conviction was not supported by any evidence but his own admission, he had still endeavoured to maintain that there had been nothing blameable in the transaction, as he wished only to bring his friend into parliament, that he might have his assistance in their common department. That statement was sufficient alone to shew that these Resolutions ought to be passed. If the noble lord could pervert his official patronage for the purpose of bringing a friend into parliament, that was, in his mind, a heavy offence, such, he was convinced, as that house would consider no other heavier. The right hon. gent. had complained that the hon. gent. on the floor (Mr. W. Smith) had made an allusion to the transactions in which the noble lord had been concerned at the time of the Union. He could not see any hardship in such an allusion, when the noble lord and his friends had laid so much stress upon the purity of his motives. It was natural, in answer to such a defence, to refer to transactions that would shew that such purity of motives could not easily be imputed to that noble lord. It might be urged against him as a want of candour, but he could not conceal that he did not give the noble lord much credit for purity of motives. He should still continue to watch with that jaundiced or jealous eye, which had been sometimes imputed to him, all the conduct of that noble lord; and having caught him in one instance tripping, he should therefore jealously observe his future measures.—It had been contended, that the offence, in this instance, was not as heinous as the taking a bribe at an election: but the house would never by its vote upon the present question, sanction the opinion, that it was ready always to punish the petty offenders in retail, at the same time that it passed over this wholesale trade in corruption without animadversion. The noble lord had stated, that if the transaction had proceeded, he would have taken care that none but a proper person should be appointed. But the law does not allow any man, however proper, to be promoted for a bribe. Yet, had not the noble lord pointed out the particular political principles which his proper person was to entertain? Had he not described the connections, and mentioned the support that was to be expected from him and them? Would the connection of any gentleman, who, in the performance of his duty in that house, should oppose the noble lord, have been a proper person, according to his idea of such a one, as he should deem a fit object of his patronage? It was this gross partiality in the selection of objects, and the still grosser motives that guided the selection, that he looked upon as the most dangerous circumstances in giving to any minister the unlimited disposal of the patronage they possessed. Every thing, therefore, shewed how necessary it was to pass the Resolutions of the noble lord.—Some gentlemen had taken occasion, and very properly taken occasion in this discussion, to make some observations upon the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform. His own opinion upon that subject was well known, and he was convinced that nothing could tend more to shew the necessity of such a measure than if that house should pass from these Resolutions to the orders of the day. In supporting the Resolutions, therefore, he was certainly most disinterested; because he was most sincerely a friend to reform. He should be happy to see reform brought forward by his majesty's ministers, because in such hands it would be productive of as much good, as would spring of mischief from the blind resistance to practical reform proceeding from any other quarter. He would particularly, therefore, rejoice to see his majesty's ministers bring forward a plan of reform, which would come with grace from them, and be received with gratitude by the people. The opinion of the necessity of a reform in parliament was at present so general, the only difference prevailing upon the subject being only as to the precise plan, that some reform must necessarily take place. This was particularly desirable at this time, when committees of that house were every day bringing to light abuses that were concealed from view; when the weight of the taxes were only to be equalled by the severity of their collection; when what was granted liberally was expended prodigally; and when there appeared no disposition to retrench or to limit unnecessary expenditure. Under such circumstances, a reform was essentially necessary, and at such a moment he regretted that any gentleman of such respectability as the hon. gent. (Mr. Bankes) and who had rendered such important services, too, in the various committees of that house, should have spoken of a class of the people of this country, in such a manner, that, with all his respect for him, he must say, he had grossly misrepresented them.—The hon. gent. said, that the noble lord ought not to be punished, because the offence had not been completed. But, the question was not then a question of punishment. All that was proposed was, to guard against his majesty's ministers future conduct; it was only proposed to provide, that similar effects should not in future arise from similar causes: and the more especially, as it had been that night admitted and argued on the other e of the house, that the corrupt abuse patronage in support of administration s not blamable. It behoved that house shew to the public that it was not inattive to its interests; and to guard its n character from the imputation that ilst it punished petty offenders in detail, was reluctant to inflict the same punishnt upon an offending minister. Was the Plymouth Tinman's case in the ollection of the house; and with such example before their eyes, could they itate to vote the Resolutions against noble lord? Complaints had been ted against the press; but if men of k would do their duty, they might bid ance to the press. It was not their k, but their vices that provoked the anidversions of the press; which would r be ready to pay the tribute of its adsations to their virtues. In this think-, this rational, this reflecting country, v had but to do their duty, and they uld ensure the approbation of their ntrymen. If any plan of reform uld be proposed, he besought the se to entertain it with temper, and abn from all imputation of disaffection to se who might propose it. He should detain the house longer, but should t certainly vote for the Resolutions of noble lord.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he came to join in discussion biassed in favour of the stion; but he did not see that the noble , whose conduct became the subject nvestigation, deserved all the disgrace dishonour which had been attached im. He preferred a moderate course of ceeding towards the noble lord. He eed with the mild maxim of Hume, that most moderate measures were the most e.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* said, the crime imputed the noble lord was not dissimilar to a tical offence committed by the late Pitt, for which parliament granted an indemnity. He could not vote for Resolutions, as they imposed a cendisproportioned to the crime. Still was of opinion that the transaction of such a nature as not to be passed r with total impunity.

Mr. *Windham* felt it necessary to explain reasons for the vote he should give, rather for the vote he should not e. Neither the original Resolutions, the motion made by a noble lord on other side, were such as to induce him ive his support to either. He could not agree that they should pass to the order of the day, as it would expose them to misconstruction. On the other hand, the Resolutions of his noble friend were too strong and disproportioned to the offence. Two courses lay open; either to vote for neither, or to vote against both. The most regular way would be to oppose the motion for the order of the day, for the purpose of pursuing the medium course that was proposed. The house, in giving their decision, were called upon, in his opinion, to distinguish between the act and the offender. Should they pass to the order of the day, he feared it would be regarded as an implied approbation of the principle. He would admit that any attack on the privileges of that house, or the freedom and purity of elections, was a very fair and fit object for parliamentary cognizance. He would be glad to know how far the principle was to be carried? Whether it was to apply to any man influencing or endeavouring to influence a vote, or procure a seat under certain circumstances, or whether it was meant to limit it to ministers? He feared his noble friend had taken his principle too wide. If he meant that it should be declared criminal in any man to endeavour to obtain a seat in that house under those circumstances with which they were all acquainted, that would embrace much more than this motion. There was not a place in the kingdom that sent members to parliament to which, with perhaps the exception of Old Sarum, it would not apply. When they were called upon to condemn so violently the noble lord, they would do well to ask themselves whether they would hesitate for the purpose of securing an election to recommend a friend to government. From the evidence, it did not appear that the offence imputed to the noble lord was even inchoate in intention. It was certainly incumbent on the house to give an opinion on the transaction, but not too strong an opinion of the man. It certainly was not the intention of the noble lord, from what he could collect, to put a person in this place to answer an improper purpose. An hon. member (Mr. Bankes) had been accused of calumniating classes of the people, and he had been called upon to name those who under the mask of reform were endeavouring to subvert the constitution. Now, though there might be no difficulty in naming individuals, there might be a great deal in naming classes. But it was notorious that there were many hundreds, and he feared thousands and tens of thousands who speculated upon a change. Some of these might be influenced by worthy motives; he had no doubt there were; others with different views, who wished to throw all into confusion, and take their chance, as it is called. Some were hostile to this; some to that. Others were so extravagant, that they were only doubtful where to begin, and what to do. But he trusted that whatever government was in the country, would be strong and firm enough to resist. The moment a single brick was taken out of the building on this principle, the entire ruin of the edifice must follow. Such reform would inevitably terminate in revolution. As to parliamentary reform, he never saw any change that was proposed which had either common sense or practicability to recommend it.

Mr. *Whitbread* moved that the Resolution passed by the house in 1779 be read. That Resolution declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanor in his majesty's ministers or servants under the crown, to interfere in the election of members of parliament. Such interference was evidently an infringement of the liberty of the subject, and dangerous to the free constitution of this country. He called on any man in the house to lay his hand on his heart, and declare whether the offence with which the noble lord was charged did not come under that Resolution. If it did, was it possible to pass to the order of the day, after the confession which they heard from the noble lord, after his pathetic appeal to their feelings, after he threw himself, in fact, upon their mercy? He certainly had not much prejudice in favour of the political opinions of that noble lord; but there was something in his manner of leaving the house that almost wholly disarmed him. He had attended closely to the speech of his noble friend who had made the motion, and listened to it throughout with feelings of approbation; but he must say, that the manner in which his noble friend's propositions had been treated was calculated to produce a very unfavourable impression on the public mind. The offence was one of a very serious nature, and the house had not to enquire whether it had been committed. The fact of the negociation was admitted by the noble viscount; but thought he had unequivocally confessed his fault, still it was the duty of the house to express their opinion upon his conduct.
It was not sufficient to say that a corr
purpose had not been carried into effe
that formed no excuse in other cases. H
not a Mr. Hamlin been prosecuted
offering a bribe to lord Sidmouth? a
was not the unfortunate Mr. Beazly suff
ing for a similar proceeding towards t
duke of Portland? Why, then, is it s
that the noble viscount, who offered to e
change a Writership for a seat in th
house, should escape all punishment? T
house were told that they ought, in t
case, to take a middle course, by which
appeared to be meant that nothing at
should be done. A learned gentlem
(Mr. Croker), had talked about the sa
tion of precedent, as if it were a comm
practice to barter Writerships for seats
parliament. But no precedent of the e
istence of such abuses as those which h
been proved to prevail, could excuse t
house for not punishing offenders, wh
the cases were brought under their notic
The regret expressed by the noble viscou
had also been urged as an inducement
the house not to pass a vote of censure
him. This, however, was a very we
argument in his favour. Did a judg
when trying a starving wretch for stea
ing, tell the jury to put themselves in h
place, and to allow his temptation a
contrition to be an excuse for his crime
When such practices were thus alluded t
and brought within the knowledge of pa
liament, it was impossible they could a
stain from passing a marked censure
them. In this instance it was impossib
not to adopt this noble friend's Resolutio
or one of the same tenor. They had b
fore them "*confitentem reum.*" The nob
lord acknowledged the justice of the acc
sation brought against him. Lord Castl
reagh acknowledged that he placed
Writership at the disposal of his friend, t
enable him to obtain a Seat in parliament
lord Clancarty acknowledges the fact; th
Chancellor of the Exchequer admits tha
it is a great political offence, and how
after these admissions, was it possible t
pass to the order of the day? What, unde
these circumstances, were they to do
Why, save the character of the house: fo
if they did not, the house was gone! A
bill of indemnity it was supposed migh
cover this, as well as other cases of th
same sort. But it would be curious to se
how a bill in the present case could b
worded. Would it declare that becaus
lord Castlereagh had confessed that he ha
been guilty, he was therefore indemnified

hon. gent. has alluded to some recent blic meetings, which, he says, have ssed Resolutions tending to degrade rsons of rank, and public men of every cription. He, however, had seen no solutions of the kind to which the hon. nt. had alluded; on the contrary, he und the people attached to the sovereign l the constitution; but it did not follow t that attachment should induce them approve of all the abuses which had pt into the administration of the constiion. His right hon. friend had exclaimed inst the activity of the enemies of the stitution. He did not believe there was considerable body of men in this counwho wished to subvert it. The people ectively were attached to the crown, y were attached to the person of the reign monarch, and nothing but the egreus misconduct of his ministers, or those ut him, could alter that attachment. had once endeavoured to impress upon house the necessity of a reform in the resentation of the country, but from ous circumstances into which it was necessary to enter, the public mind then diverted from that question to er objects. The converts to parliamen reform were now, however, numerous very part of the country, and if the ion which his noble friend had subted to the house should be negatived, it easy to predict that they would bene still more numerous. His right hon. nd (Mr. Windham), had alluded to the e of the question of reform twenty years , but he begged of him also to reflect the events which had occurred in Eue since that period; events which might fairly ascribed to a pertinacious resiste of all reform. This unyielding spirit pposition to reform had been the prinal cause of the ruin of the continent. tes had fallen, when a trifling conces might have preserved them. The es of Brabant, his right hon. friend ld allow, might most probably have n preserved to Austria, had a more ral policy been pursued by the cabinet Vienna. With respect to what had been of the various plans of reform, it was ly absurd to make that an argument for reform at all. If his right hon. friend ld again become a reformer, he was fident, that with his fertile imagination sceptical doubts, he would be the last n in the country to know when or where begin. He would tell his right hon. nd, however, that the necessity of reform was every day becoming greater; that the house must take up the question, and that if they must reform deeply, it was because they did not reform sooner.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* agreed with what had fallen from an hon. gent. on the other side of the house, that the character of the house was more to be attended to than the character of any individual whatsoever. He perceived, however, that every gent. who had spoken, entertained a due sense of the manner in which his noble friend had conducted his defence, and did not wish to press any severe sentence upon him. They might then take into their consideration, that the intention of the noble lord was never carried into execution, and that it certainly would have been retracted, if the noble lord had afterwards come to learn the character of the person, and the circumstances of the offer. No man could say the noble lord had conducted himself with contumacious contempt. He had expressed as much humility as he could, consistently with his own honour and the dignity of the house. Every liberal person would acknowledge, that there was a manner of recanting an error which became a man, and the noble lord had a claim on that ground to the good opinion of the house. He, therefore, in voting for the orders of the day, by no means thought the house thereby would pronounce that the case submitted to them was not of very serious importance, but that the voting for the other orders of the day was, according to parliamentary usage, a way of shewing that the house had taken the case into its consideration, and that having weighed all the circumstances, they did not think it necessary to come to any criminating Resolutions. In order, however, to express this opinion more clearly and unmistakeably, he would rather wish that instead of the orders of the day, a Resolution should be substituted, declaring that the house saw no reason for a criminating resolution. —Mr. Secretary Canning concluded, by stating, that when the present question was disposed of, he should submit to the house the following Resolution: "That it is the duty of this house to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of parliament; but that this house duly weighing the Evidence before it, and all the circumstances of the case, and considering that the intention referred to in that Evidence was not carried into effect, this house does not think it necessary to come to a criminatory Resolution upon the same."

Sir *C. Price* spoke for some time, but there was such a general cry of question! question! that we could not collect his sentiments.

Mr. *Tierney* said it was not his intention to offer himself to the house; but the Resolution of the right hon. Secretary had put the noble lord's case on a new footing. After debating the question several hours, the right hon. Secretary had brought forward the same Resolution proposed by an hon. member (Mr. Bankes.) The hon. gent. had perhaps over-heard some conversation, and finding the orders of the day would not do, because that motion could not be carried, he had brought forward his Resolution. He wished rather to be lenient than severe towards lord Castlereagh; but when so much had been said about the great candour of his defence, he must observe that in his defence he had only repeated what he had said before the Committee; and it must be recollected that the fact had been fully proved against lord Castlereagh in the Committee by the evidence of lord Clancarty and others, before lord Castlereagh had himself been examined. He did not see that it was any mitigation to say that lord Castlereagh had been so particular about the fitness of the person recommended, as those writerships were always given to boys, and the son of a chimney-sweeper might be just as fit as the son of a nobleman, if he had interest to get a recommendation. As the fact was not only clearly proved, but confessed, he could not see how the house could avoid expressing its displeasure. When the house ordered Mr. Davison to be prosecuted for a lesser offence, with respect to corrupt influence at elections, he could not see how, with any shadow of impartial justice, they could come to such a resolution as was proposed by the right hon. secretary.

Lord *A. Hamilton*, in his reply, denied that he meant to impute to lord Castlereagh any knowledge of pecuniary advantage to be gained by the business.

At half past two o'clock the house divided on the original motion.—Ayes, 167. Noes, 216.—Majority 49 against it.

The gallery was not re-opened to strangers, and the house shortly afterwards divided on Mr. Canning's Amendment.—Ayes, 214. Noes, 167.—Majority 47.

Mr. *C. Wynn* then proposed, that there should be added to Mr. Canning's Amendment words to this effect—"That the house was confirmed in its opinion, that it was unnecessary to proceed further in t case, from the openness which the nol lord had displayed, and the regret whi he had expressed for his conduct." Th however, was negatived without a divisio —Strangers were not again admitted, b we understand that Mr. Madocks stat his anxiety to assure the house, that it w his intention at no very distant day to su mit to that house the motion of which had given notice previous to the Easter r cess relative to the great question of Pa liamentary Reform.

List of the Minority.

Abercromby, hon. J.
Adams, C.
Agar, E. F.
Allan, Alex.
Althorp, visc.
Antonie, W. L.
Babington, Thos.
Baker, J. (Canterb.)
Barham, J. F.
Bastard, J. P.
Beach, M. H.
Bernard, Scrope
Bernard, Thos.
Bewicke, C.
Biddulph, R. M.
Blachford, B. P.
Blackburne, J.
Blackburne, J. I.
Bouverie, hon. B.
Bradshaw, hon. C.
Brand, hon. T.
Brogden, J.
Burdett, sir Francis
Burrell, sir C.
Byng, Geo.
Calcraft, John
Calvert, N.
Cartwright, W. R.
Cavendish, ld. G.
Cavendish, Wm.
Clements, hon. J.
Cochrane, lord
Cochrane, hon. G. A.
Coke, T. W.
Colburne, N. W. R.
Combe, H. C.
Cooke, Bryan
Cowper, E. Sing
Creevey, Thomas
Curwen, J. C.
Davenport, D.
Dugdale, S. D.
Dundas, Charles
Dundas, hon. C. L.
Dundas, hon. L.
Estcourt, Thos.
Ferguson, R. C.
Fitzgerald, ld. H.
Fitzpatrick, rt. hon. R.
Foley, hon. A.
Foley, Thomas
Folkes, sir Martin
Folkestone. visc.
Forbes, viscount
Gascoyne, Isaac
Gell, Philip
Goddard, Thomas
Godfrey, Thomas
Gooch, T. S.
Gordon, Wm.
Gower, lord G. L.
Grattan, rt. hon. H.
Greenhill, Robt.
Grenfell, Pascoe
Grey, hon. Booth
Giles, D.
Halsey, Joseph
Hammet, John
Hibbert, Geo.
Hippisley, sir J.
Holmes, W.
Horner, F.
Horrocks, S.
Howard, hon. W.
Howard, H.
Howorth, Humph.
Hughes, W. L.
Hurst, R.
Hussey, Wm.
Hutchinson, hon. C.
Jekyll, Joseph
Keck, G. A. L.
Knapp, G.
Lambe, hon. W.
Lambton, R. J.
Langton, W. G.
Leach, John
Lemon, sir Wm.
Lemon, John
Leycester, H.
Lloyd, J. M.
Lloyd, sir E.
Longman, Geo.
Loveden, E. L.
Lubbock. sir John
Lushington, S. R.
Lyttelton, hon. W.
M' Donald, James
Madocks, W. A.
Mahon, hon. S.
Markham, J.
Marryat, J.

artin, H.
aule, hon. W.
axwell, W.
lbanke, sir R.
ller, sir T.
lner, sir W.
lton, lord
ontgomery, H. C.
oore, Peter
ordaunt, sir C.
sley, sir Ows.
styn, sir Thos.
rth, D.
ville, hon. R.
wport, rt. hon. sir J.
Callaghan, James
ander, sir Wm.
ulston, lord
lk, sir L.
nell, H.
ten, Peter
rse, Henry
cy, earl
ndergraft, —
ty, lord H.
ggott, sir Arthur
llington, lord
sonby, rt. hon. G.
chester, lord
ce, Richard
ttie, hon. F. A.
m, F.
hardson, W.
ley, sir M.

Robarts, Abraham
Romilly, sir S.
Saville, A.
Scudamore, R. P.
Sharpe, R.
Shaw, Robert
Shelley, T.
Shipley, W.
Simeon, J.
St. Aubyn, sir John
Stewart, James
Symonds, T. P.
Talbot, R. W.
Taylor, C.
Taylor, M. A.
Tempest, sir H. V.
Temple, earl
Templetown, visc.
Thornton, H.
Tierney, rt. hon. Geo.
Townshend, hon. W. A.
Tracey, C. H.
Tremayne, J. H.
Vansittart, Geo.
Vaughan, sir R. W.
Walpole, hon. G.
Wardle, G. L.
Western, C. C.
Wharton, J.
Whitbread, S.
Wynne, C. W.

Tellers.

Hamilton, lord A.
Smith, W. (Norwich)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, April 26.

[America.] The Earl of *Selkirk* moved an Address to his majesty, praying for he Papers relative to the Mission of . Rose to America. These Papers were cessary to the discussion of his motion, l he thought there could be no objection their production, as they had been aldy laid before the other house.

The Earl of *Liverpool* protested against principle, that because papers had en laid before the other house of parment, that therefore they were to be duced in their lordships' house. He ntended that there ought to be some telligible rule on the subject. For innce, in order to elucidate any Bill on table, or with a view to a discussion any subject, the discussion of which had en previously acceded to by ministers, pers were readily granted. In this case, wever, he was wholly inimical to the roduction of the discussion proposed by noble earl in his intended motion; otesting, as he did, against any attempt take the negociation with America out the hands of his majesty's ministers. He must, therefore, oppose the production of papers moved for with a view to that discussion.

Viscount *Sidmouth* expressed his astonishment at what had fallen from his noble friend, and contended that there were other cases besides those mentioned by his noble friend, in which, in conformity with the practice of the house, papers had been granted, and particularly for the purposes of inquiry and investigation. He thought in the present case, a mission having been sent to America which had failed, that there was no ground for refusing the papers asked for, with the view of explaining the circumstances attending that mission.

The Earl of *Selkirk* urged the propriety of granting the papers, the mission of Mr. Rose having terminated, and because he had reason to believe that ministers were on that occasion disposed to sacrifice the most important rights of the country: If so, would it not be fitting to address his majesty, praying him to maintain those rights, and in that case, would it not be proper to have before the house information upon the subject?

The motion was negatived.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 26.

[Martinique Trade Bill.] Mr. Rose moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the Trade with Martinique.

Mr. *Marryatt* expressed his surprize, that when a deviation so great from the general colonial system was proposed, none of his majesty's ministers had thought proper to communicate to the house any reason for such deviation; he considered the price of sugars would be equally affected, whether those from Martinique were admitted only for exportation or for home consumption also: the not allowing the inhabitants of that island the privileges of other British colonies, might create disaffection, and was contrary to the spirit of the proclamation of our commanders.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* defended the measure, and contended, that the restrictions proposed on the Martinique trade would be beneficial to our own colonies, and was not aware that any proclamation had been issued, of which this regulation would be an infringement. He professed his readiness to discuss the measure on a future day, and only wished at present for leave to bring in the bill.

Mr. *Jacob* remarked, that the proprietors of West India Estates had always shewn a great degree of tenacity to maintain a monopoly of the supply of the British Islands, and that it did not appear their produce would be much affected, whatever regulations might be adopted with respect to Martinique; but as they entertained a prejudice on the one hand, and the inhabitants of Martinique on the other, it was the business of the house to legislate impartially between them. He felt it impossible not to lament the situation of our own colonies, the property of which was depreciated in a most ruinous degree. It would be no small alleviation to them if the importation of French brandies were prohibited: this would increase the consumption of rum, its natural substitute, and the production of our own colonies. Brandy was by no means a necessary of life, and by allowing its consumption we were benefiting the enemy. He gave government credit for their determination to prohibit its importation, but their views were in a great measure frustrated by the licences now outstanding circulated in different parts of Europe, and of which a shameful traffic was made.

Mr. *Rose*, in the present stage of the business, was willing to wave the discussion of Martinique sugars, but denied any assurance being given to the inhabitants that the island should in all respects be in the same situation as other British colonies. He asserted that no licences for the importation of French brandies had been granted for the last six or eight months, except in circumstances of peculiar hardship, when the brandies had been paid for by British subjects; and that even under those circumstances, none had been either granted or renewed lately, nor would they in future.

Mr. *Horner* contended, that the sale of licences had been carried to a great extent, and was an evil that much required correction: he did not altogether disapprove of making a distinction between Martinique and our other colonies, but it was of importance to ascertain whether any promises to the contrary had been held out by our commanders.

Mr. *Baring* coincided in opinion with Mr. Marryatt and Mr. Jacob in respect to placing the sugars of Martinique on the same footing as those from our own islands, and condemned the abuse which existed in respect to licences. He regretted that at a time when it was thought necessary for government to interfere so much affairs of commerce, the Board of Tra was filled by noble lords and learn lords, and not by men of practical co mercial habits.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 27.

[Campaign in Spain—Orders issu by Sir John Moore.] Mr. *Abercrom* rose to make the motion of which he h given notice, relative to the general ders issued by general sir John Moore Salamanca, &c. in Spain. His sole obje in moving for these papers was, that t character of that gallant and highly l mented officer might appear in its tr colours. He did not apprehend the could be any objection to this motion, an should therefore mention the papers, vi Copies of the general Orders issued on th 25th of October, 11th of November, an 23d, 27th, and 30th of December, 1808.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he should be sorr to refuse any papers which might b thought necessary to vindicate the character of the gallant officer alluded t but he must resist the motion; first, because the executive government could no comply with it. No such papers were i his office, nor did he know where the were, except they might be in possessio of the adjutant-general in Spain. In th next place, he thought it a serious question of prudence whether such pape ought to be called for, as the orders of generals to the army under their comman were conveyed in a tone which might b necessary to keep up discipline, and migh not perhaps be quite consonant to th feelings of the house, and should not therefore be made public.

General *Tarleton* said, that if the nobl lord would refer to the adjutant-general he would easily find where the paper moved for were. As to the other objection to the tone of general orders, an their not according with the feelings o the house, he thought it very futile. They were always clear and concise, and so fa not consonant with the long speeches in that house; but if those moved for were supposed necessary to clear up any doubts as to the conduct of the gallant and lamented officer alluded to, they ought certainly to be produced. He should therefore take the sense of the house on the question.

Mr. *Abercrombie* said, that as, contrary his expectation, his motion was oppos- he would beg the attention of the use while he briefly stated his reasons making it, and why he thought the ob- ions of no weight against it. As to first, it would be easy for the Order of t house to be directed to the adjutant- eral, and if he had not the papers, then the adjutant-general of the army in in. With respect to the second objec- , of the tone of a commanding officer ng different to what it would be if ad- ssed to the house, it made, he thought, ner in favour of the motion; there ld not, certainly, be any object which house ought more to wish the know- ge of, than the state of the discipline of army. As to the gallant officer who the object of the motion, he was sure brave general never wrote or express- a sentiment relative to the army under command, which he would not have lished and wished to be known to the ole world. It was very well known, t a considerable alarm had gone abroad pecting the disorder and want of disci- e in the army under the command of John Moore, which had shewn itself ticularly in the retreat from Sahagun Corunna, and that this want of disci- ne was not owing to general Moore. w, if those Orders were made public, y would shew plainly and clearly that fault was not with him. If the noble l meant these orders should not be wn to the public, and if it were true, as noble lord had admitted, that every ng had been done by sir John Moore in retreat from Sahagun to Corunna, that ld have been done by the ablest gene- in any service, then the argument ounted to this, viz. that you must not t the feelings of the army, but you y sacrifice the honour and character of officer who commanded. If any thing been done by the gallant officer al- ed to, which was at all faulty, it was irely owing to ministers; and as he , unfortunately for the country, fallen acrifice to the situation in which he had en placed by them, or by their adhe- ts, it was extremely hard to sacrifice character, as well as his life, to screen mselves. The whole of these Orders been published in the newspapers, if refused, that house would be the y place in which they would not be own. He wished, however, to place character of the gallant and lamented officer, in its proper colours on the records of that house; and the production of these orders was the only way of effectually clearing it from the doubts that would otherwise be spread over it.

Mr. *Taylor* thought, as the propriety of sir John Moore's conduct appeared such that the public were generally satisfied, the production of the papers moved for seemed unnecessary.

Mr. *Horner* thought, that whatever obstacle from a feeling of delicacy might arise in some cases to the production of certain documents, none after what had already been produced could be supposed to exist in the present. He thought they ought to be produced, to enlighten the public on a question so important.

Lord *Castlereagh* briefly replied, and gave it as his opinion, that such an inquiry at the present moment would be invidious and unnecessary.

A division took place, when there appeared, for their production, 37; Against it, 62; Majority, 25.

[Campaign in Spain.—Sir John Moore and Mr. Frere.] Mr. *Eden* rose to move for certain Papers relating to Mr. Frere's mission. After some preliminary observations, he stated, that Mr. Frere had written to sir J. Moore on the 23d of November, advising him to advance with his army. In answer to this letter of Mr. Frere's, sir J. Moore writes "I last night received a letter from the Supreme Junta. I have commanded sir David Baird to march back to Astorga, and have stopped the preparations for retreating." And this, it appeared, had been done at a period when there could, in fact, be no prospect of the British army being able to exert itself with effect. At this juncture, two persons (Thomas de Morla and the duke del Castell Franco) calling themselves the Supreme Junta, wrote a letter to sir J. Moore, dated the 1st of December, in which they stated, that they were much threatened by the enemy, that Castanos, with 25,000 men, and another army of 10,000 were falling back, and that they hoped he (sir John Moore) would fall back, and unite with their force. It had since appeared, that on the very day on which that letter was written, Morla had an interview with the French commanders; three days after from his conduct it should appear he considered all resistance as useless, and on the 5th (the day on which sir John Moore received the letter) the French were in quiet possession of Madrid. If it had been the wish of Morla to decoy the British army into the power of the French, he could not have wished for an instrument more likely to forward his wishes than the letter which had been written to sir John Moore by Mr. Frere. And the subsequent conduct of Morla was such as to justify a suspicion that that was the fact. The situation of sir John Moore at that period was truly distressing: he found himself at the head of a British army in a foreign country, placed in such circumstances (though no fault of his) that he could not be cheered with any reasonable prospect of success. He knew the extravagant notions of Spanish enthusiasm that at that time so generally pervaded this country, and was aware of the censure he must, in all probability, incur if he consulted the safety of his army, by quitting the country without making any further effort in the cause. Yet happily superior to all these afflicting reflections, the gallant general determined to brave the transient obloquy that menaced him, by preserving his men. To this resolve we might attribute his avoiding the snare; but though the whole of his army were not decoyed into the power of the French, the disastrous battle of Corunna might be ascribed to the circumstances he had spoken of. The right hon. Secretary opposite certainly could not mean to say, at a time when Mr. Frere was so confident of the success of the Spanish cause, when he was so confident in the soundness of his own judgment, that he in a manner superseded the commanding officer, in a case which involved the fate of the finest body of troops that had ever sailed from England, that he never wrote in explanation of his conduct; it could not be supposed that he had failed to communicate to government his reasons for acting as he did, and if such an explanation had been transmitted, it was highly proper that it should be produced. The hon. gent. concluded by moving, "That an humble Address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this house a copy of the Letter from the Junta at Madrid, referred to by lieut.-gen. sir John Moore in his letter to the right hon. John Hookham Frere, dated Salamanca, 6th December 1808, and any information of which his majesty's government may be in possession relative thereto, or relative to the two Letters of the right hon. John Hookham Frere to sir John Moore, dated Talavera de la Reyna, the 3d of December 1808, a to the message which is stated to ha accompanied those Letters."

Mr. Secretary *Canning* had already co municated to the hon. gent. that it w impossible to comply with his motio because government had no such pape as he had moved for to produce. H left the house to judge of the candour the hon. gent. under these circumstance who seemed to have taken this occasion throw out insinuations against Mr. Fre before the time for discussing the subje altogether had arrived. He had heard th with feelings which he would not tru himself to express. When the prop moment came he would endeavour to di charge his public duties and those of pr vate friendship. He was surprised the rig hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Tierney) had n called the hon. gent. to order when was reading the extract from the letter the Junta; he who had on a former oc casion made so much noise about garble extracts. That letter, however, was n in the possession of government; and to the other part of the motion, all t communications of Mr. Frere on the su ject were on the table.

Mr. *Tierney* observed, that the offenc of his hon. friend had not deserved th wrath of the right honourable secretary It was extremely proper to move fo these papers, and to state the ground of the motion, even though governmen had them not to produce; for it wa very important to know that there wer no such documents; and this fact did no operate much in favour of Mr. Frere. A to his calling his hon. friend to order, th right hon. gent. ought to be aware tha there was a difference between reading an extract of a letter in moving for a paper, and the production of garbled extracts to form a foundation for a vote o the house. This was what they had complained of; for a Secretary of State migh by this means give any complexion to the documents that would best suit his own purposes.

Mr. *Canning* stated that Mr. Frere had accompanied the Junta when they left Madrid, and could have known nothing of Charmilly, or the letter of Morla, had it not been that the Junta stopped at Talavera de la Reyna, on their way to Seville. Here Charmilly found him, when on his way to sir John Moore, with a direct communication, never intended to be forwarded through Mr. Frere.

Lord *H. Petty* did not know whether right hon. gent. had attended to the ent of his hon. friend's motion. He hed he would state whether there was communication from Mr. Frere re- ve to the two letters which he had to sir John Moore, and which had n received by him when Charmilly ved?

Mr. *Canning* did not know of any.

ord *Castlereagh* said, there were no uments at his office on the subject, er from Mr. Frere or sir John Moore. wished to correct a mistake, which, he erstood, to have prevailed. It had n said, that Charmilly went to Spain ommended by him. There was no ndation for the report. Charmilly had lied to him to be sent, but he had him that he did not know of any ser- in which he would be wanted, and eally never knew that the gentleman in Spain till the mention of this trans- on.

Ir. *Whitbread* would reserve what he to say on the subject of Mr. Frere's luct till the proper time, but he sup- ed the right hon. secretary could not ect that any one would be prevented n saying of Mr. Frere whatever he ld have said if he had not had the ection of the right hon. gent.'s friend- . There were two important facts, ever, ascertained by this discussion; that Charmilly was the messenger to ohn Moore; and next, that the noble (Castlereagh) was still in office, in face of a minority of 167. Many ter men had been driven out by a formidable minority. But while the ly oak was rooted up by the storm, pliant bulrush bent its head and re- red the shock.

ord *Castlereagh* said, that he certainly not disposed to retire on any sugges- of the hon. gent. As to Charmilly's g the messenger alluded to, he did not ually know any thing about the matter.

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that majority of the house had voted that e was no reason why his noble friend ld retire, and that the judgment of the e was to be regulated by its majority, not by the minority.

eneral *Tarleton* observed, that what been applied to Buonaparté might, the alteration of a word, be applied e noble lord. Buonaparté had been ed the child and champion of Jaco- sm: The noble lord was the child and champion of office. In order to shew how utterly unworthy of any trust or credit Charmilly was, he stated that he had refused to pay to a Mr. Devereux some money which he had lost to him at play, upon the pretence that he was a ruined man; although as had been afterwards ascertained, he certainly had the means of paying.

Mr. *Yorke* called the hon. general to order, on the ground that this had nothing to do with the question.

The *Speaker* said that it was difficult to know precisely, in some cases, the exact limits of order. The gallant general would use his own discretion.

General *Tarleton* proceeded. It appeared that this colonel Charmilly, had been the bearer of the dispatch to sir J. Moore; he therefore came before the house in that kind of military diplomatic character. Now when this colonel Charmilly was charged with his conduct to Mr. Devereux, what did he do? Why, simply denied ever having played with Mr. D. at all. The business was not proceeded in, owing to the interference of a very respectable man, the Compte de Vandreuil, who represented the total ruin in which it must involve colonel Charmilly. Such was the man whom Mr. Frere chose to authorise to interfere with sir John Moore!

Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Canning mutually explained; after which the motion was put and negatived without a division.

[Newspapers.] The house having resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. *Huskisson* stated, that according to an agreement entered into, in the year 1797, it was stipulated that the proprietors of Newspapers should be allowed 12 per cent duty on stamps, provided they were restricted in the sale of their papers to the price of six-pence. They were to be allowed this discount provided the price did not rise above sixpence; but if it did, the discount was discontinued. This agreement, at the time it was made, was just, for the expences attending the publication were commensurate to the restriction. Since that period, however, owing to the rise in paper, the additional expence of labour, and a variety of other circumstances, the present profits were not adequate to the expenditure. It surely, then, could not be just to continue an agreement which had been made under very different circumstances from those now existing. Two modes were proposed, in order to meet the present circumstances. The first was, to take off the discount altogether, and allow the proprietors of papers to sell at their own prices; the other was, to raise the limits of the discount: the latter method was in his opinion preferable, for though the consequence he had no doubt would be the raising the price of newspapers one half-penny each, still this would not place the proprietors in as prosperous a situation, owing to their additional expences, as they were in, in the year 1797, when the agreement was first made. In the year 1801, an additional duty had been laid on paper, and of course an additional discount was allowed; but the duty having been repealed, the additional discount was also taken off. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill in order to amend the 37th of George 3, relating to the restrictions on Newspapers."

Mr. *G. Johnstone* was surprised at the motion which had been made. He had rather expected that the discount would be taken off entirely, and that the price should remain as it at present was. Various circumstances concurred to shew, that newspaper proprietors considered they had a good trade of it. For instance, a paper had been lately set up, which thought proper to extend itself from four (the usual number of columns,) to five columns. It was, in his opinion, impossible that the size of the articles should be increased, unless the value of it rose in proportion. He did not see, then, if this was the case, why this additional encouragement should be given.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, that he for his part would be glad to take off the discount altogether, and leave the restriction in price to the fair efforts of competition. He was sure, however, that the immediate effect of that would be, the increase of the price to sevenpence. With respect to the objection of one paper having increased the number of its columns to five, the reason of that he supposed was, that its proprietors thought they should profit by the additional number of advertisements, in which the chief value of a newspaper consisted. This was the exact case, he believed, with this individual paper, which had been established by a body of auctioneers, who looked chiefly to advertisements. The great evidence of the burthen of the restriction was, that the aggregate number of daily papers was not increased since 1797. This was a fact which he had ascertained from the commissioners of stamps. It was very true, that a nu ber of additional denominations of pap had been lately established, but still t risk attending such establishment was n less than that of a lottery, and had be often followed by ruin to the adventure

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer,* said, i was very true that an additional numb of papers were continually appearin but these papers were not diurnal prin which incurred necessarily a very hea expense in their establishments, but wee ly and two days a week papers, whi could glean their intelligence from t daily papers, without having to pay t sources from whence it was derived; course, the circumstance of their appea ance ought not to militate against the dai paper, which gave to them much of its a vantages, while it could not extend any its expences. The paper which had e tended its columns to five was a daily p per, it was true; but then, in order to su port itself, it was compelled to publish an early hour, which early publication n cessarily prevented it from participation the sources of information from whi other papers derive much of their interes for instance, it was not able fully to gi intelligence of what was passing in t house. He supported the present measu from an absolute conviction of its justi and its policy; for, surely, it would n be equitable to keep newspaper proprieto to the strict limitation or letter of an agre ment, when the foundation on which su agreement stood had sunk. Why shou they be restricted in the price of their p per, when the expence attending it h been extended? Papers which had variety of advertisements might profit it, but that was the result of much labo and a long establishment, and was at a events no reason why those which h fewer should suffer. A multiplicity of p pers were now printed in this town, but su speculations were extremely hazardou and were often kept alive at absolute ru from too long protracted hope and a natu ral disinclination to dissolve a regulate establishment.

The question was then put and agree to.

[SALE OF OFFICES PREVENTION BILL The Chancellor of the Exchequer move the order of the day for the house resol ing itself into a Committee on this bil On the motion for the Speaker's leavin the Chair,

Mr. *Horner* expatiated on the impre

ety of allowing offices in the courts of v to become saleable. This practice d been justly reprobated by all judicial aracters, from lord Kaimes, downwards. e Committee of Finance in 1797 had approved of the custom, and had re- nmended strongly its discontinuance to house. He merely threw this out as opinion, for he did not mean to make specific motion on the subject.

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed h the hon. and learned gent., that the ject to which he had alluded was de- ving of consideration, and was of opi- n that the house should come to some olution upon the question in the present ion. It would not be right to proceed her in the present instance without nmunication with the courts, with a view guard, in any future measures, existing nts and vested property. In the last ion, he had given notice of his intention he present to bring forward a proposi- for the increase of the salaries of the ne judge, and he had to state, that that still his intention. He thought it ld also be right to increase the salaries he Welsh judges, and of the Chief Jus- of the Common Pleas, and of the chief on of the Exchequer. He had not ught forward this measure at an earlier od of the session, because from the ngs which the mention of it seemed to excited, he did not apprehend any osition to it when he should propose to y it into effect. But he trusted that house would not think it necessary to ce any provision respecting the sale of cial offices, before this regulation should adopted, but content itself with a reso- on declaratory of its intention to take that subject next session. In the ex- ions, therefore, in the present bill, he posed that these offices should be in- ed, and should not propose to delay year the consideration of the expe- ucy of making some regulation respect- them, if that delay could effect or in- ere with the administration of justice. the offices were purely ministerial; there were other judges in the dif- nt courts, besides those, who had the osal of these places, and who could de whether the persons appointed adequate and fit for the offices. It matter of surprise, that such places ld have been excepted in the act of vard vi.; but, as they had been so long epted from the operation of that act, allowed to be sold, it would not be just to take away the right of disposing of them without due consideration, and an adequate equivalent.

Mr. *Henry Thornton* observed, that in his idea the operation of the bill ought to be extended to sinecures in the courts, and offices sold by persons holding such sinecures. He did not know all the cases, or how many sinecures of that description existed, but he was confident that many offices were sold that did not belong to the courts of justice to dispose of. The Third Report of the Finance Committee contained a recommendation to abolish sinecures in the courts of law. The Committee of Finance in 1797, had also recommended the abolition of such places, the profits of which were then estimated at 26,000*l.* By the late Report, it appeared that the amount of these profits had since doubled. There might, perhaps, be room for further inquiry before any legislative measures should be enacted; but when it appeared that the profits of such places amounted to no less a sum than 52,000*l.* it was his opinion that this sum would afford a very ample fund to remunerate those whose property might be injured by taking away the right of selling judicial offices.

Mr. *Rose* stated, that there were many inaccuracies in the estimates of the Committee, and instanced one office, which they had sat down as one having 2,500*l.* profits, when the actual profits did not exceed 500*l.*

Mr. *H. Thornton* admitted, that some inaccuracies might have existed in the Report, which the committee was at present engaged in examining with a view to their correction, but still declared, that the gross amount of the profits of such places was such as he had stated.

Mr. *C. Wynne* thought, that not only the interests of the judges should be protected, but also the interests of other persons who held offices for life, and now exercising the right of selling offices in their departments; which right, he was of opinion, ought not to be suffered to continue. Nothing would more effectually contribute to make the public submit cheerfully to the burthens that were necessary, than that they should see that every saving of the public expenditure that was possible was resorted to.

The house then resolved itself into a Committee upon the bill, Mr. Wharton in the chair.—On the first clause for extending the operation of the Bill to all officers in England and Ireland, an amendment was proposed by lord Folkestone, to insert the words "and in any part of his majesty's dominions or plantations." The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that the object of the noble lord was secured by words to the same effect in a subsequent part of the clause. Mr. Maxwell, in seconding lord Folkestone's amendment, proposed that the operation of the bill should extend to the sale of sheriff's clerkships, and offices under the keeper of the signet in Scotland. To which the Chancellor of the Exchequer answered, that the bill would extend, as worded, to all offices not legally sold in Scotland, and if the offices alluded to were of that description they would be included within the operation of the bill.—After a few words from Mr. Horner, stating that judicial offices were not enumerated in the bill, and a reply from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they were enumerated in the act of Edward VI. which was to be affirmed by this bill, the clause was agreed to without the amendment; and on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the office of Treasurer of the Navy, which had been inadvertently omitted, inserted in the clause.—In the clause extending the operation of the bill to all offices, civil and military, the word "naval" was introduced on the motion of lord Folkestone.—A long discussion took place upon an amendment proposed by lord Folkestone to insert the words, "and all offices in the East Indies," which terminated in the adoption of the amendment, restricting it to offices in the appointment of the governor-general.

Lord Folkestone proposed, for the purpose of obtaining evidence, to give a reward to the informer, and to indemnify him or her as to any penalty to which they might be subject under the act; the reward to be paid by the person transgressing, and not to be less than 200*l.*—The Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to the amendment, and pointed out many inconveniencies that would result from its adoption. Lord Folkestone acquiesced in the objection, and suggested that the chairman should report progress.—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the clause relating to opening houses for the sale of places, and advertising and printing the same, was rejected; and two clauses introduced in place thereof.—The bill was ordered to be reported on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 28.

[Application of appropriated or u appropriated Money.] Lord *Henry Pe* rose, pursuant to his notice of yesterda to call the attention of the house to a su ject which, in point of its principle, dee ly involved their most valuable privilege It appeared, by an account laid upon th table by order of the house, that in th month of May, in the course of the la sessions, a system had begun to be act upon, which called for the most serio interpositon of that house: at that peri money had been issued to foreign ministe without the consent of the commons hou of parliament. It appeared that the su of 5,000*l.* had been given to Mr. Chinner to be by him handed over to the Chevali Souza, for the purpose of affording assis ance to the Portuguese emigrants, and defraying the expences of the passage Portuguese families to South Americ Upon the 3d of June following, anoth 5,000*l.* was devoted in a similar mann to the same object. On the 21st of Ju there was an additional grant, and afte wards, during the recess, several sums money, amounting in the whole to 85,000 As to the expediency of the issue the made, he was yet to learn, not having r ceived any information respecting it; b this, however, he well knew, that the was not in the course of the late sessio any service voted to which such an appl cation could have any reference; it w therefore his intention to call upon th house to come to a Declaratory Resol tion, in the spirit of that principle adopte by their ancestors, and in conformity that practical lesson taught them in th course of a contest for a century, with th encroachments of the crown, while pa liament was sitting. For two months th public money was issued in different sum without any application having been mad to that parliament, though they were the sitting. He knew of no exception to th great rule, that was not made out by th most urgent necessity; a deviation ha been made in cases of imperious necessity but even in these there was no analogy t justify the proceeding of which he no complained. In the case of the 13th May in the year 1711, the money applie had been voted by parliament, but the er ror here was, that it had been applied to different service from that to which parlia ment had voted it, though the service

hich it was applied had been also voted
r parliament. Such a case, which was
ly a transfer, could not be adduced as
precedent for the present one, where
e service had never been voted by that
use; had never been considered; had
ver been contemplated by it; nor were
ey to be told, that in consequence of
pressing exigencies of the times; of
critical state of public affairs; of the
eat necessity for dispatch, that it was
tremely difficult to act up to the good
constitutional principles, of which
at house was bound to be the jealous
ardian. In proportion as they relaxed
m those principles, in yielding to any
dden and uncontroulable necessity, in
e same proportion should they watch
d diligently pursue all such exceptions
might have inevitably occurred, that
ey might not be made precedents to
tify cases not at all analogous. Till
e year 1727 Votes of Credit never had
en heard of, and such was the laudable
lousy of that house, that in the year
37 (he believed) a limitation was im-
sed upon that vote of credit, which re-
ains imposed upon it to this day. There
s an exception, but it was one which
ntlemen would not, he believed, be very
ward to cite; it was that which had
curred in the course of the American
r, and the committee upon it had pro-
nced the introduction of such a Vote
Service into the Army Extraordinaries
be a dangerous invasion of the rights
d privileges of the house of commons.
e was aware of the grant of money which
d excited so much observation in that
use, made by Mr. Pitt to the emperor
Austria in the year 1796; but in the
endment then moved upon the original
tion, it was submitted, that the advance
ng made without the consent of parlia-
nt, was against the law of the land;
s was admitted by those even who
re the supporters of that minister upon
at occasion. From this view, then, of
e transaction, he could anticipate no-
ng that could possibly be urged in its
fence, unless some plea of paramount
cessity was made out in palliation of the
ence. If, however, that plea was not
de out, he hoped they would not be
d of the comparative smallness of the
m by way of extenuation.—The sum was
thing, but the principle on which it was
anted was, and ought to be, every thing
the eyes of those who were the constitu-
nal guardians of the public purse. The noble lord then concluded with moving "That the applying any sum or sums of appropriated or unappropriated money to uses not voted or addressed for by parliament, during the sitting of parliament, and without any communication to parliament respecting the nature and amount of such issues, is a misapplication of the public money, and is contrary to, and dangerously invades, the acknowledged rights and privileges of this house."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated his surprise at hearing the noble lord say, that the grant of which he complained was unprecedented. If he had reverted to some of the grants voted during the time he was in office, he would find that there were some of an analogous nature. He by no means wished to contend the present question upon a recriminating principle, because he was aware that such an issue of public money could not be withheld without a great public inconvenience. What was the amount, either in expence or quality, of the present motion? It was no more than this, that on the 23d of May and the 3d of June, 1808, two sums of 5,000*l.* each were applied to the purpose of assisting those Portuguese who loyally and nobly preferred an emigration to the Brazils, rather than submit to the dominion of the enemy, by which their native country was subjugated. The objection was, to have the amount of that application brought before that house in the Estimate of the Army Extraordinaries. He could not see the validity of that objection. It was to be recollected, that the persons served were our allies, cleaving to our protection, looking to England for an asylum, and he was sure with the same expectation of protection as if they had found refuge in a British camp. It was under the reciprocal feeling both of the government which ordered the issue and of the unfortunate and loyal persons who were assisted, that the sums now attacked by the motion of the noble lord were conditionally issued to the chevalier de Souza. He would put it to the house to say, whether if any other means of pecuniary assistance were applied to that portion of our emigrating allies, suppose to the British commissary, there would be any opposition to such an application. But the noble lord complained, that it was a sum appropriated to one service and diverted to another. The answer to such complaint was, that it was an application truly referable to the Army Extraordinaries, inasmuch as was a pecuniary claim upon the country growing out of the circumstances and accidents of the war, and therefore ought to be met out of the fund voted for such extraordinaries. What, then, did the noble lord introduce by his present motion; Nothing less than a sweeping clause affecting not alone the present and past administration, but the very branch of administration which the noble lord had lately filled, and the very conduct which he himself had practised. He did not condemn that conduct, but at the same time could not suppress his surprise at the sudden disposition of the noble lord not only to find fault with his own acts, but finally to withhold the power of government to meet what the noble lord must know were most pressing exigences. He could not suppose that the house would concur in such a motion, and therefore moved the order of the day.

Mr. *Tierney* denied that there was any comparison between the sum of 85,000*l.* now voted in opposition to the appropriation of parliament, and the money supplied out of the Army Extraordinaries during the administration of his noble friend. The latter was a perfectly military application, with a view to future operations in Hanover, and under that impression, and for that object, the money was issued to count Munster. Besides, military co-operation was intended in Hanover under lord Cathcart. Would any man assimilate such an application of the Army Extraordinaries to the present one, of applying certain monthly sums to certain Portuguese emigrants, merchants, traders, &c. to the Brazils, men who had nothing to do with the army? The house had also to bear in recollection that it had voted in the same session a sum of 120,000*l.* for the relief of distressed Emigrants, and therefore to apply another fund for the relief of such persons, was nothing less than a gross deception upon parliament. But, at what time did the government make this undue application? Why, at the time that the same government announced to Europe, that it had dispensed a blessing upon Portugal, that it had released that people from the intolerable burthen of their invaders. So that poor England was to have the expence of conferring the blessing of expelling the enemy, and afterwards of paying for the passage and subsistence of the very Portuguese who ran away from this identical blessing. It was not true that these sums to the chevalier de Souza were paid before the Army Extraordinaries of the last session were voted. Tw sums of 5,000*l.* each were voted on th 23d of May, and the Extraordinaries wer not voted until the 25th following. It wa therefore that he felt it his duty to pr nounce such an application of the publ money both unjustifiable and unconstitutional. In the army Extraordinaries the last year the king's ministers ha taken a vote of credit for 2,800,000*l.* an the claim now amounted to 4,100,000 With such an excess beyond their proposed estimate, he could not but vote for th motion of his noble friend.

Mr. *Huskisson* contended that the per odical grants of 5,250*l.* to count Munster b the late administration, were in a grea part for the distressed Hanoverians, an were, without any censure from the nobl lord for that policy, analogous to the ver issues of public money, of which he no so much complained. He begged leav also to state that a number of the Portuguese emigrants were invited to this country in order to be sent to the Brazils, b the proclamation of the commanding officer of the British fleet at that period o the Tagus

Lord *H. Petty* explained, that such par of the grant to Hanover that was made independent of the intended military operations under lord Cathcart, were for th enlistment of Hanoverian troops for ou service. That he presumed was strictl a military application, and therefore ough to be estimated in the annual Army Extraordinaries.

After a few words from Mr. William Smith in support of the motion, it was pu and negatived without a division.

[War Office Accounts.] Mr. *Wardle* pursuant to notice, moved, That there be laid before the house a Return of all the annual Regimental Accounts now in the War Office, specifying which were separate and which not, and also which had been carried into warrant from the 25th Dec. 1797 to the 25th Dec. 1808, and specifying whether for cavalry, infantry, or militia.—The hon. gent. also proposed to move for an Account of the Deficiencies of the several paymasters within the same period. The reason why he brought forward this motion was, that he might call the attention of the house to the Sixth Report of Military Inquiry, as the papers on the table were not sufficient to place the subject fully in the possession of the house, and that, though the clerks in the War Office had been increased since 1797, om ten to fifty, yet the accounts were as uch in arrear as before this increase ok place, and the business of the Office emed rather to be impeded than pro-oted by this increase.

On the Question being put on the first otion,

The *Secretary at War* said, he had no ection to the production of these pa-s; but as the subject was under the nsideration of the Commissioners of Mi-ury Inquiry, and the War Office was cupied in forming arrangements pur-nt to the suggestions of that Report, l also of the 7th and 8th Reports, he it to the hon. gent. whether he should defer his motion for the present, until should know what arrangements would adopted, especially as the preparation these papers might interfere with the ue of the clerks, now usefully occupied the projected arrangements.

Mr. *Wardle* had no desire to press his tion, if his majesty's ministers were re-wed to oppose it. Why had they not de the arrangements alluded to, in all period since June last, when the Re-rt was laid before the house? He be-ved it likely, that no arrangement was contemplation, till after he had given ice of this motion. But he could assure house, that unless an entire change of tem should take place, much loss uld accrue to the public. What cost ,000*l.* now, could be done for less than ,000*l.* and this he would pledge himself prove. He could not see why the ac-unts should not be settled here as well they were in Ireland. He had been on th establishments, and had suffered, to-ther with his regiment, by the failure of aymaster, and the arrears of accounts this country.

The *Secretary at War* conceiving him-f personally glanced at by the observa-ns of the hon. gent., begged to assure m, that on his coming into office he had en the necessity of making some ar-ngement, and had been prevented from dertaking it only by the consideration, at the subject was in the hands of the rliamentary Commissioners of Military uiry.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* submitted the hon. gent., whether, when he was formed that the subject was in a train of rangement, it would not be better for m to defer his motion till he should see at would be done with respect to it. en it would be in his power to bring forward any motion he should think necessary upon the subject.

After a few words from Mr. Horner and Mr. Whitbread, deprecating the postponement of the motion, unless upon an understanding that in the present session of parliament, the arrangement would be communicated to the house, or with a view to give ministers an opportunity of inquiring whether the papers could be produced without inconvenience,

Mr. *Wardle* declared that he had not meant any thing personal to the right hon. Secretary at War; neither did he feel any personal hostility to his majesty's ministers; for he could assure them that he did not wish to see any other set of gentlemen in their places. All he had in view in his motion was to shew, that there were faults in the conduct of the Office to which it referred, which faults he wished to have corrected. He would withdraw his motion until some day next week. The motion was then withdrawn.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 1.

[Portuguese Regency.] The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* said, that it was with reluctance he had given their lordships the trouble of an attendance on account of the motion he intended upon that occasion to submit to the house, but in truth, he considered the subject of Portugal so important, not only with reference to the arduous contest in which the people of the peninsula were engaged against the French, but to the essential and permanent interest of Great Britain, that he should neglect what he deemed an act of indispensable duty, were he not to bring the question, of which he had given notice, under their lordships' consideration.—He thought it necessary, as a preliminary observation, to declare his perfect acquiescence in the sentiments of a noble friend of his (lord Sidmouth), respecting the doctrines laid down upon a former occasion by the Secretary of State (lord Liverpool) with regard to the production of papers, and the right of the house to interfere in matters of pending negotiation. To the principles advanced by the Secretary of State, he never could agree in the extent to which he was disposed to carry them, inasmuch as they seemed to him calculated to circumscribe and limit the most important duties of parliament.—Upon the present occasion it was not necessary that he should take up their lordships' time by combating them, as he was not aware that the papers for which it was his intention to move, would be objected to, upon any other ground than the inexpediency of producing them.—Lord Buckinghamshire then proceeded to make some observations upon the geographical situation of Portugal, its capability, from the strength of its military positions, to resist an invading enemy, and the disposition of the Portuguese people for the profession of a soldier. Portugal, he said, was so situated as to afford the readiest means of assistance to the Spaniards, either in the centre, the north, or the south of Spain; an advantage, in the present contest, the most momentous that could be conceived; and which was truly described by the Junta of Gallicia, when "they expressed to sir Arthur Wellesley the greatest anxiety, that the troops under his command should be employed in driving the French out of Portugal, as they were persuaded that the Spaniards of the north and south of the peninsula could never have any decided success independently of each other, and could never make any great simultaneous effort to remove the French from Spain, till they should be driven from Portugal, and the British troops should connect the operations of the northern and southern armies."—The success of the Spaniards, his lordship remarked, might thus be improved, and any reverses the French might meet with rendered fatal by a sudden and judicious movement of the British troops.—The strength of Portugal, he said, as a military position, was not only known to the professional men who had served in that country, but must be obvious to every one who had referred to the maps. Its defiles, its mountains, and its rivers, were most conspicuous features; which, added to the sterility of the soil in most of the provinces, were circumstances of infinite weight in a defensive campaign. A country that does not furnish subsistence to its inhabitants for seven months in the year, may easily be placed in a situation that would leave nothing for an invading army to live upon.—Without going further back into the history of Portugal than the seven year's war, the campaign under the cómte de la Lippe will afford ample information as to the natural means of defence afforded by Portugal. That able general found the Portuguese army without discipline and without any officers of experience to form or conduct it; but the spirit of the people was roused, the confidence plac in him by the government was unlimite the resolution to exertion most decide and although he never was able to brin into the field an army of 17,000 me 3,000 of whom indeed were British, co trived to baffle all the efforts, and defe the plans of a combined force of 42,00 men, 6,000 of whom were French, und the command of the prince de Beauvais.— As testimonies of the hardihood, obedienc and bravery of the Portuguese soldier his lordship then cited the following i stances—Lord Townsend, in a letter to th marquis de Pombal, of the 17th Feb. 176 writes thus: "Notwithstanding all thes fatigues and difficulties, the Portugue soldier obeyed with the greatest chee fulness; and I ought to add to his prais that if he was ill clothed and ill disc plined, he was at the same time content and subordinate beyond any thing I ha ever seen in any part of the world. Wha advantages might not one expect from such a disposition improved by militar art?"—Le Comte de la Lippe, in hi memoire, speaking of a march made by lord Townsend, says: "This march wa executed by the skill of general Townsend, and by the admirable perseveranc of the Portuguese troops, who supporte the greatest misery. The larger proportion of them having worn out their shoes marched *gaiment* over steep rocks, leaving on their route the traces of their *pieds ensanglantes.*" A French author, the Duc de Chatelet, speaking of Portugal, expresses himself in the following manner: "The inhabitants whereof are naturally spirited, and in whom valour has escaped that torpor *(engourdissment)* which has nearly taken possession of all their other faculties."—Lord Buckinghamshire said, he had adverted to these authorities for the purpose of shewing what might have been done, had the proper measure been resorted to, for calling into action the resources which Portugal was calculated to afford; and, whilst he cóntemplated with satisfaction the steps which the government were then taking, he had only to express his hope, that they might not be too late.—He could not leave this part of the subject without stating to their lordships that he had seen a most able plan of an attack upon Portugal from Spain, written by a Frenchman in the year 1767, when calculating the Portuguese army at 30,000 men, he allots a force of 75,000 for the attack, judiciously tracing the

ole progress of the campaign, the pre-
ation for which, he says, must be made
ore the breaking out of war, as it would
indispensably necessary to collect pro-
ions for the whole army, urging as a
sideration nearly conclusive upon the
cess of the undertaking, that it should
executed with a rapidity that did not
nit of the arrival of British succours.
uch was the opinion of a person whose
k no man could read without the most
rough conviction of his capacity to
n a correct opinion upon the subject—
n attack upon Portugal in order to be
ctual, required such preparation, and
n means, and that at a time when the
nish government was undisturbed, when
attacking army was to be aided by
iendly country in its rear, and had
sequently no precaution to take for the
rity of retreat in case of failure, to
t degree would not the difficulties be
eased by the actual state of Spain at
present moment?—His lordship said,
ated this in order to justify an opinion
ad long entertained, that if the re-
ces of Portugal had been wisely ap-
d, the spirit of the people encouraged,
overnment established that was calcu-
l to inspire their confidence, and an
y, such as sir John Moore had com-
ded, sent for their protection, not only
ld that country have been rendered
regnable against any efforts the French
d have made under the present cir-
stances, but the foundation laid of
ding the most effectual support to the
niards which could be derived from
rnal co-operation.—If, in the month
ugust, a blow could have been struck
e French army upon the Ebro, much
ht have been done to have prevented
disasters of the last campaign; but as
majesty's ministers had not judged it
sable to adopt that measure, Portugal
the point to which every national
was directed, and where, indeed, ad-
ages did actually present themselves
nature so important and so evident,
it is utterly inconceivable how they
ld have escaped the notice of his ma-
's ministers.—His lordship said, he
ld then proceed to that part of his
ect which embraced the conduct which
been pursued in Portugal, founded
the events that had taken place in
country.—It had appeared in papers
e the house, that previous to the ar-
of sir Arthur Wellesley with the
under his command, the disposition

of the people of Portugal to resist the French, had been manifested in the most unquestionable manner. Sir Arthur Wellesley, speaking of the situation in which he found that country, says, "In respect to Portugal, the whole kingdom, with the exception of the neighbourhood of Lisbon, is in a state of insurrection against the French. The means of resistance are, however, less powerful than those of the Spaniards. Their troops had been completely dispersed, the officers had gone off to the Brazils, and their arsenals pillaged, or in the power of the enemy; and their revolt under the circumstances in which it has taken place more extraordinary than that of the Spanish nation." To these exertions they had been urged not only by their own feelings, but by the proclamation of sir Charles Cotton, dated the 4th of July, 1808, who thus addressed them:—"Some months experience must convince you of the effect of French friendship. It is now to British faith and assistance, aided by your own energy and efforts, that you will, I trust, be indebted for the restoration of your prince, and independence of your country." Thus called upon, such was the attachment of the Portuguese people to their prince, such was their sense of the oppression they were suffering from the French, and such was their reliance "on British faith and assistance," that in the month of July the provinces of Entre-Minho-y-Douro, Beira, and Tra-los-Montes, as well as Algarva, comprehending more than half the population of Portugal, were in a state of insurrection against the existing government. This was the situation of things when sir Arthur Wellesley landed, and which enabled him, with a force not otherwise equal to the attempt, to move forward for the purpose of meeting the enemy in the vicinity of Lisbon. The insurrection in Algarva had obliged Junot to detach six thousand men under Loisson, in order to collect provisions and disperse the Portuguese force; but sir Arthur Wellesley, with that promptitude and vigour for which his military life has been distinguished, attacked and defeated that officer at Roleia, before he could form his junction with Laborde, who was employed for similar purposes in the province of Beira. His lordship said it would be difficult to estimate the advantages the British army derived from the actual state of the country. Its effect, in the instance already given, has been shown; the organization in the neighbourhood of Oporto had amounted, by official report, to above 25,000 men, a part of whom were armed and acting with sir Arthur Wellesley: but his lordship observed, it was not his intention to go into the history of the campaign. He should however have no difficulty in explicitly declaring that he wholly approved of every thing sir Arthur Wellesley had done, whilst he had the command, but that he could neither concur in the expediency of the armistice or convention. These measures were adopted under the contemplation of a campaign in the north of Spain, and taking Burgos as the point to which the march of the British army was to be directed, it would appear singular that an agreement should have been made with the French general, by which it had been so contrived, that the forces he then commanded, and which had been defeated by the British, should have been embarked for France, and actually have reached Burgos many days before the conquering army could have arrived there, even if it had met with no interruption on its march.—It was proved, his lordship said, by the papers on the table, that general Junot was at Vittoria with the division which had served under him in Portugal on the 12th of December, the earliest day on which sir John Moore could assemble his army at Salamanca; volumes could not more fully illustrate the impolicy of the convention. Were it necessary to go further into that subject, lord Buckinghamshire said it would be sufficient to refer their lordships to the unanswerable reasoning of the Earl of Moira in his protest against the opinions of the majority of the Court of Inquiry.—It would be recollected, his lordship proceeded to observe, that in the month of July official representations had been made to his majesty's government, that the people of the north and south of Portugal, having followed the example of the Spanish nation, had established juntas. That of the north having been designated the Junta of Oporto, acknowledging the bishop of Oporto as the head of the government; and that of the south the Junta of Algarva, with the count Monteiro Mor as their president. With the knowledge of the existence of these juntas, when the expulsion of the French army from Portugal might confidently be expected, it became the duty of his majesty's ministers to consider in what manner it would be most advisable to form a provisional government in that country, until the sub ject could be submitted for the decision the prince regent; and with a view such an arrangement as would appe most likely to be satisfactory both the prince and the people. The know ledge of the opinions of the represe tative of the prince regent, who was correspondence with him and the junta did seem to present the most easy an natural course for arriving at a rig determination. Unfortunately however measure had been resolved upon, to whic it was known that the representativ of the prince regent could not give h sanction. It was matter of notoriety th the whole of the regency left by the prin for the purpose of preserving his interest and those of his faithful and loyal subjec who had accompanied him to the Brazil had betrayed their trust in a variety instances; amongst others in giving effe to a decree for confiscating the propert of absentees from Portugal, and issuing circular letter to the ministers of the prin regent at the several courts of Europ directing them to discontinue their diplo matic functions. With such informatio respecting the conduct of the regency, was not possible the Portuguese ministe in London could sanction the appointme of any of the persons composing it, as part of a provisional government; and a the circumstances alluded to were know to every merchant connected with Po tugal, his majesty's ministers cannot b supposed to have been ignorant upon th subject. It has, indeed, been admitted b his majesty's ministers that instruction were issued to sir Hew Dalrymple to rein state the regency; and although he ex cluded three out of the five obnoxiou persons, yet as the remaining two wer actually included, it was not surprizin that when the people saw the whole powe of the government vested in those persons that they should be alarmed and disguste (as neither the bishop of Oporto, nor the count Monteiro Mor would act with them) Indeed, his lordship said, the conduct o this regency, immediately upon their ap pointment, was such as could not fail to excite suspicion and distrust. It was perfectly well known that one of the chie defects in the Portuguese army was the inadequacy of its establishment in point o pay. In order to remedy that defect, the Junta of Oporto, by an ordinance promulgated for that purpose, had raised the pay of the infantry soldiers to five pence pe

y. The effect of this judicious measure
s, that, in less than one month after its
ption, upwards of twenty thousand men
re enrolled under the orders of that
nta, and were fast approaching to a state
discipline that would soon have ren-
ed them fit for the discharge of any
ies they might be called upon to per-
m. The first act of the newly appoint-
regency was to rescind this ordinance,
l the consequences of it were desertion
a very great extent, and a degree of
ubordination amongst the troops and
people, that nothing but the personal
uence which the bishop still retained,
ld have prevented from producing the
st fatal effects; and although by his
rtions tranquillity was restored, the zeal
the people was damped, the seeds of
rust and suspicion were disseminated,
hope of confidence in the government
s destroyed, and whilst the means by
ich they had expected to have been
e to defend themselves against the
nch were thus interrupted, they saw
t "British aid and assistance," upon
ich they had been called upon by sir
rles Cotton to rely, withdrawn from
m, and their country left exposed to
return of the French, if it should suit
purposes of Buonaparté to repossess it.
such a state of things lord Buckingham-
e said it could not be a matter of sur-
e to any man, that when on the 11th
December the country was by proclama-
n called upon to arm, the Portuguese
ies should have been found in a less
ward state than at the end of July, and
t all hope of effectual resistance to the
nch should appear to have been aban-
ed.—Were it necessary to adduce
of of the unfortunate state of insubor-
ation and distrust at which the Portu-
se people and army had arrived, it
uld be found in the murder of their
eral Bernardin Freise, and several other
cers, upon the approach of the enemy;
the loss of Oporto, the city and sea-
t next in consideration and importance
hat of Lisbon. Speaking of that event
eral Beresford in his order of the 4th
April, says, "On the 26th the enemy
ived in the vicinity of Oporto. On the
h they made some warm attacks, which
re repulsed by the intrepidity of our
ops. They continued their attacks on
following day with the same success,
on the 29th, the distrust which had
sen between the people and the army
sing and increasing that anarchy and
confusion which it ever produces, rendered ineffectual all the endeavours of the officers, as well Portuguese as English, to direct the operations of the great force which was in the city. The enemy entered with little loss. Much as the marshal regrets the loss of this important city, he feels with more acuteness the alarming cause to which it is to be attributed. Let it be a warning to the rest of the kingdom to avoid the fatal consequence of anarchy and insubordination. The marshal hopes that the army will perceive that we ought always to distrust those who have been with the French, or their partisans, and what reports they may propagate, as they are undoubtedly paid by the enemy to promote confusion and distress, the arms of which they make the most dangerous use."—His lordship said he had drawn the attention of their lordships to these orders, for the purpose of bringing the actual situation of Portugal more immediately under their observation: a situation the more alarming, because whilst so important a conquest had been made by Marshal Soult in the north, a great army under Marshal Victor was threatening that country from the east. At such a crisis every thing might depend upon the promptitude, the judgment, and the energy of the Commander-in-chief.—Lord Buckinghamshire said he knew sir John Craddock well enough to be quite confident that nothing could abate his zeal, or check his exertions in the advancement of the public service; but at such a conjuncture, when all the faculties of the human mind were called into action, when the most splendid military talents might be unequal to the task of extricating his majesty's troops from the difficulties with which they were surrounded, it was seriously to be lamented, that the general upon whom so much depended, should act under the knowledge that he had been superseded by an officer many years his junior in the army.—That the approbation of all the measures he had pursued in Portugal, under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and his acknowledged gallantry and approved exertions in Martinique, in Ireland, and in Egypt, had not been sufficient to protect him from so severe a mortification.—His lordship said he could not avoid remarking, in this place, upon the peculiar talent the present administration possessed, by the most ingenious contrivances, so to form their military arrangements that at the most critical periods they should never

have the full benefit of the abilities of the officers employed by them; for under the hourly expectation of supercession, or under the controul of a presumptuous and inconsiderate interference, the human mind was incapable of those efforts by which alone great military achievements could be accomplished. The instances of sir Arthur Wellesley, when engaged in the operations against Junot, sir John Moore in Spain, and sir John Craddock at present, his lordship said, would fully illustrate the force of his observation.—Lord Buckinghamshire then proceeded to express (as not totally unconnected with the subject under discussion,) the satisfaction he had derived from the appointment of the marquis Wellesley to the Spanish embassy.—He dwelt upon the services he had rendered the British empire in India; the manner in which he had conducted the operations of the wars that had broken out during his administration in that country; the foresight, energy, and judgment he had displayed, and whatever differences might have arisen upon other points, the universal applause and admiration with which his military measures had been distinguished.—Was he to state in one sentence what he thought of lord Wellesley, he should be inclined to say, that he eminently possessed those qualities, to the absence of which in the councils of his majesty might be ascribed the disasters of the last campaign, with the fruitless expenditure of eight millions of money and seven thousand men.—Under the contemplation of this appointment lord Buckinghamshire would venture a suggestion, from which he thought considerable advantage might be drawn by his majesty's ministers: he conceived an alteration in the provisional government of Portugal indispensably necessary; and he would earnestly recommend that powers should be vested in the marquis Wellesley, for the purpose of making those changes which could not be delayed without the most material injury, not only to the interest of that kingdom, and the cause of Spain, but in its consequences to the welfare and security of Great Britain and Ireland.—His lordship in conclusion said, he had stated that the existing government was neither acceptable to the people nor to the prince regent; of the disapprobation of the people there could be no question. The documents for which it was his intention to move would shew the sentiments of the prince. Upon those documents, if produced, it might become h
duty to institute a further proceeding; f
the present he should confine himself
the following motions:

"That an humble Address be presente
to his majesty, that he would be graciou
ly pleased to give directions, that th
Proclamation issued by sir Hew Dalry
ple on the 18th of September 1808, f
the formation of a Regency in Portuga
be laid before this house.—That an hum
ble Address be presented to his majest
that he would be graciously pleased
give directions that there be laid befo
this house, copies of any Communicatio
from viscount Strangford, concerning th
formation of the Regency in Portugal,
tablished by sir Hew Dalrymple's Pr
clamation of the 18th of September 180
and of any communications relating there
from the Portuguese minister resident
London, or of such Representations re
pecting the formation of a provisional go
vernment in that country, as may ha
been made at any time by the same mini
ter, in consequence of advices having bee
received by the prince regent, of the r
sistance of the people of Portugal again
the usurpation of the French, and of th
successful operations of his majesty's arm
in that country."

The Earl of *Liverpool* restated the op
nion he had declared on a former evening
as to the principle which was to guide th
house in calling for papers. The grantin
of papers in one house, was not a conclusiv
argument in favour of their being produce
in another. He agreed fully with the no
ble earl, as to the capacity of the Portu
guese peasant to become an excellent so
dier. He was convinced of his bravery
and of the bravery of the people of ever
country. They only required disciplin
and to be well led on to make brave sol
diers. With respect to the main question
that of the formation of the Regency, ther
were two modes to be adopted after th
French had been compelled to evacuat
Portugal; either to retain a military oc
cupancy of the country, or to reinstate th
former provincial government as nearly a
could be, under all the circumstances o
the case. The first could not have been
resorted to on account of the jealousies i
was calculated to create. The latter wa
actually done, because it was that kind o
arrangement which was presumed to b
most agreeable to the government at Ri
Janeiro. In the manner of forming th
Regency, every attention was paid to th

ings, and even to the prejudices of the ple. Of the original Regency one was rance, where he remained to this day, two more had accepted offices under French government, after the dissolu- of the Regency. Of these three, not was admitted into the new Regency, the three remaining, who were not le to the same objections, chose their colleagues. These colleagues were ons distinguished for their patriotism talents; the bishop of Oporto and t Monteiro Mor. In Portugal, as in r countries, intrigues and jealousies, icularly among the higher and mid- orders, were known to exist, and it impossible that any arrangement would universal satisfaction. The inhabi- s of the northern provinces, the most strious and populous part of the coun- were naturally anxious that it should me the seat of government, or that at they should have a preponderance in new government. The southern pro- es, on the other hand, were adverse to quishing the superiority incidental to apital being situated in that quarter e kingdom. It would not have be- e the government of this country, con- ring the circumstances under which British army entered the kingdom, to rfere or endeavour to decide between e jealousies and claims. They adopted course which prudence, as well as de- cy and a due regard to the feelings of lly, dictated; and they reinstated the er government as nearly as could be. had no objection to the first of the no- earl's motions; but seeing by what it to be followed, he must resist both. could not consent to the production of correspondence which had passed be- en his majesty's government and the ce Regent, or his representative in this ntry.

ord *Sidmouth* supported the motion rly on the same grounds as lord Buck- amshire. He insisted that the disunion discontent produced among the Portu- e by the complexion of the Regency materially impeded our operations, injured the cause of Spain as well as of ugal. For the success of both, how- , he was still disposed to hope, and hopes were considerably strengthened the appointment that had just taken e, of a noble marquis (Wellesley) to the assy of Spain, for which situation, in- ll for any, the highest situation, he was very respect so eminently qualified.

Lord *Harrowby* could not see the propriety of entering into this discussion at present. He thought the most expeditious mode of proceeding was that adopted by sir H. Dalrymple. It might perhaps, be thought better to summon a Cortes; but that would have been a work of time, and the circumstances of the moment required urgency. He never could have approved the conduct that seemed to be advised, that of our taking military possession of Portugal; it was our duty to re-establish a civil government under the most legitimate form.

Lord *Grenville* said, as there seemed to be an indisposition to lay the papers moved for before the house, he should not trouble their lordships long on a subject, respecting which he had not the necessary information. He supported the objections of the two noble noble lords on the cross bench, (Buckinghamshire and Sidmouth,) and maintained that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to establish a form of government more agreeable to the wishes of the people, than a Regency in which they had no confidence, but which, on the contrary, was universally suspected and distrusted.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire replied, and after some observations from lords Horrowby, Sidmouth, and Liverpool, the question was put, and the motion was negatived without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 1.

[M. CHARMILLY.] Mr. *Whitbread* put a question respecting M. Charmilly, whose name had been frequently mentioned in a late debate in that house; and, as the subject had reference to the Spanish question, he thought it necessary to receive an answer, before the discussion on that question should take place. M. Charmilly, he understood, was in the half-pay of the British establishment as a lieutenant-colonel; and rumours were afloat, that he had also, in addition to his half-pay, received a pension. The object of his question, therefore, was to ascertain the fact, whether or not that gentleman had such a provision.

Mr. *Huskisson* replied, that M. Charmilly was allowed to receive his full pay; and that he was not aware of any other provision having been made for that gentleman.

Mr. Whitbread then gave notice of a

motion for to-morrow relative to this subject.

[Paper relating to Spain.—Dispatch from sir J. Moore to Mr. Frere.] Mr. Secretary Canning presented to the house the following,

Copy of a Letter *from lieut.-general sir John Moore, to the right hon. John Hookham Frere; dated, Salamanca, 6th December*, 1808.

Sir; I neglected to mention to you, in my Letter of this date, that the general officers and had been with me, who are mentioned in that extraordinary Paper* which you sent me with your Letters of the 30th of November, signed by The two generals seemed to me to be two weak old men, or rather women, with whom it was impossible for me to concert any military operations, had I been so inclined.—The only persons with whom such operations can be concerted at present, are the generals who command the armies; not men like these two, who had no information upon which such plans can be framed, except the official papers, always incorrect, which have been given to them from public offices. Their conferences with me consisted in questions, and in assertions with respect to the strength of different Spanish corps; all of which I knew to be erroneous; and they neither knew that Segovia or Somosierra were in the hands of the enemy. I shall be obliged to you to save me from such visits, which are very painful. I mentioned to you in my Letter of this day, that I had had a Letter from the Junta at Madrid.—My Instructions direct that all my communications with the Spanish government shall go through you, and I should be very happy, on every account, to comply with them; but I do not see how this can be, if you continue at Badajos. I shall, however, send you copies of them if you wish it. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) John Moore.

* Not transmitted.

[Dutch Commissioners.] Mr. Ord moved that the Fourth Report of the Committee of Public expenditure should be entered as read. This being done,

Mr. *Ord* rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to the matters detailed in that Report. It must have struck every one that the circumstances of the case stated in that Report were such as to call for the most serious attention of the house. It had been too much t practice, he observed, to pass over su Reports without doing any thing up them, by which proceeding the useful l bours of Committees of this kind were danger of losing their credit with the pu lic. Parliament had, for many yea past, and was likely to have, for ma years to come, the task of imposing en mous taxes upon the country; and imposing heavy burthens on the peop there was no duty of the house of co mons more sacred, than that of watchi over the expenditure of the public mone Not anticipating any serious objection the Resolutions which he was about propose, he would state the material ci cumstances of the transaction, with th observations of the Committee, and th comments which he should think it nece sary to make upon them.—The hon. gen then proceeded to state, from the Repor which he held in his hand, that the Com missioners had been appointed in 179 to manage, sell, and dispose of the cargo of Dutch ships detained or brought in, order to prevent those cargoes from bein greatly injured, or totally destroye They had general instructions as to th conduct of their transactions from th Lords of the Privy Council, requiring the to keep Minutes of all their proceeding and to keep their accounts in such form the Lords Commissioners of the Treasu should direct and approve, and upo points of any difficulty occurring, the were to refer to the Committee of th privy council for instructions. Thes Commissioners were five in number— James Crauford, John Brickwood, Alle Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and Joh Bowles, a member of the society for th suppression of vice, or rather, as appeare by the Report, for pilfering the publi Their sales, it was observed, ceased, an their transactions were nearly brought a close in July 1799. Nothing remaine after that but small sales of remnants, n completed till 1801, and a few other thing which would give them very little troubl To these, however, was to be added an im portant law suit commenced in 1797 which brought into question property the amount of 180,000*l*. But this coul not impose much labour upon the Commi sioners, as it was obvious that the burthe must rest upon the Solicitors and Counse —The hon. gent. next adverted to the ob servation of the Committee, with respec to the circumstance that no fixed re

neration had been assigned to the Com-
ssioners, in consequence of which these
ntlemen had resolved to remunerate
emselves, and charged a commission of
er cent. on the gross proceeds of their
es, which commission in the four first
ars amounted in all to 80,000*l.* No
gular accounts were furnished to govern-
nt, and criminal as this was in the Com-
ssioners, he could not help saying that
government was far more criminal in
calling for them. Only one Account
s rendered to the privy council, and in
s it was remarkable that no mention
commission was made, which the Com-
tee observed, might lead the privy
ncil to imagine that no Commission
s charged, although at that time 25,000*l.*
d actually been divided. But the Commis-
ners had good reason for not rendering
account, because that might lead to
suppression of their illegal profits.
is, the hon. gent. said, was a most ex-
ordinary thing, considering the noise
ich Mr. John Bowles had made respect-
the returns to the Property Tax
ear! hear!). It would be curious to
ow what returns he himself had made
he Property Tax, at the time he was
iving this large profit from his labours.
ear! hear!). The act authorizing the
pointment of these Commissioners re-
red that the proceeds of the sales should
paid into the Bank of England. But,
tead of this, the Commissioners had
ened accounts with private bankers.
was singular that a lawyer should lead
m to a violation of the law; and the
rchants, who were in the commission,
state a false amount of commission as
nsistent with the general practice in
rcantile transactions. The reasons al-
ged for this violation the Committee
d proved to be unfounded; and further,
tly remarked, That if there had been
doubt as to the construction of the act
this particular, they ought, pursuant to
eir instructions, to have applied to the
vy council.—The next point to which
hon. gent. adverted, was the magnitude
the Cash Balances, retained by the
mmissioners, and he particularly called
e attention of the house to the fact, that
. Pitt had, in 1796, applied to them to
ow whether any sum arising from the
e of the property under their manage-
ent, could be paid into the Exchequer
the current service of the year? They
nied that they could pay any sum into
Exchequer, although it appeared that at that time they had a balance of no less than 190,000*l.* out of which, though it was proved that they had great demands upon them at the time, the Committee observed, they might at the least have advanced 50,000*l.*—The hon. gent. then adverted to the great neglect of the Commissioners in not applying the balances in their hands in a way that might render them productive to the public, instead of discounting private bills; and applying these balances, during the years that preceded the completion of their sales, entirely with a view to their own emolument. If these balances had been vested in Exchequer bills, between 40 and 50,000*l.* would have been saved to the public: and though they had been instructed to keep Minutes of their proceedings, no Minutes whatever were preserved of the mode in which they employed the balances in question.—By the commission at 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds, by brokerage and interest on the balances, it appeared, that they had taken for their labours, the enormous sum of 133,198*l.*, being at the rate of 26,000*l.* for each Commissioner!—The hon. gent. here pointed out a circumstance which seemed to have escaped the attention of the Committee, which was that the Commisssioners appeared to have charged the 5 per cent. commission upon the property which had been managed and sold by the East India Company, in the disposal of which they had had no trouble whatever; so that, in point of fact, a commission of 10 per cent. had been paid upon much the largest proportion of this property, in as much as the East India Company had also a commission of 5 per cent. on their sales. The hon. gent. then followed the course of the Report in exposing the futility of those reasons by which the Commissioners had attempted to defend the appropriation to their own use of the 5 per cent. commission. Some of these Commissioners were themselves merchants, and it was therefore most extraordinary that they should have asserted that 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds was the usual commission, when it was well known that the highest commission common among merchants was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross proceeds. The Commissioners had cited two precedents for their charges. The first was a similar Commission issued in the war of 1756; and the other the general practice of prize-agents. With respect to the Commission of 1756 it appeared that only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the net proceeds was

charged; and the result was that no more was paid than about 14,768*l.* being about 1,000*l.* to each Commissioner. This, therefore, was a most unfortunate precedent for these gentlemen, in support of their claim to 27,000*l.* each. The case of prize-agents would stand them in little stead. Prize-agents must have a capital before they could carry on the business; and they were besides exposed to risk and to losses. But, supposing they wanted as little capital, and were as secure from risk as these gentlemen, the precedent would not avail, because the prize-agents charged 5 per cent. not on the gross but on the net proceeds of their sales.—The hon. gent. then requested the house to consider what were the real services of these Commissioners. Their sales had been finished in four years and a half from the time of their appointment, and the important part of their labours had of course then closed. As to the law-suit, that must have been entirely the business of the solicitors and counsel. Nay, in 1804, it had actually occurred to the Treasury, the last quarter where such a notion could have gained admission; that it was useless to retain this Commission any longer—that the very loyal Mr. John Bowles could be uselessly retained in this Commission; and they had actually applied to the law officers of the crown to know whether the Commission might not be dissolved. Nothing prevented that dissolution, except that it was thought proper to continue them nominally because the suit had been commenced in their names—a circumstance which rendered it necessary to maintain their existence till the suit was concluded. The real labours of the Commissioners had however closed; and in point of fact, during the ten years the Commission lasted after the completion of the business, the gentlemen found time enough to do a great deal of other business. This same John Bowles had been active in several elections, which had since taken place, and had time, besides, to write about thirty pamphlets. Mr. Brickwood, too, appeared by the Report to be at this moment a Commissioner for Spanish property. Two of the Commissioners pleaded, it appeared, that they had quitted their professions with a view to the fulfilment of their trust. This was not the first time that professions were abandoned for something better. Another hon. gent., whom he did not see then in his place (Mr. R. Ward) had also quitted his profession for a salary of 1,000*l.* a year as Lord of the Admiralty. This brought hi to notice another case adverted to in th Report, which appeared to him to be most palpable job: the case he alluded was that of the American Commissioner Mr. Tho. M'Donald, it appeared, g 5,000*l.* for abandoning his profession to b come an American Commissioner, and thi in addition to a salary of 1,500*l.* per annum He did not mean to detract from the meri of Mr. M'Donald, but he could see n reason why such a sum of the publi money should be given to induce any pe son to abandon his profession, when many thousands of persons could be pr cured to execute the business of the Commission as well, for the bare salar Mr. John Bowles too must have a cons deration for abandoning his profession, an the house had no difficulty to apprecia the means he had taken to secure that consideration. Mr. John Bowles to be compensated for the loss of a profession, which he might have starved, had it n been for this profitable job of Dutch Commissioner!!! Mr. Bowles had discovere that it was much more profitable to trad in Anti-Jacobinism under Mr. Pitt, tha to wait for causes at the bar.—He wa sorry to detain the house with such a ma as Mr. Bowles, but it happened that h career was connected with some very important points. It shewed the nature o the cry of Anti-Jacobinism, which ha been set up with so much vigour to defea the most beneficial political objects—it exposed the principle upon which the loudes of these Anti-Jacobin declaimers acted which was solely a view to their own private emolument. This John Bowles afforded an admirable specimen of an Anti Jacobin—the eulogist of existing powers— the defender of present establishments— the denouncer of all, who might condem abuses, or call for reform, as vile Jacobins These tricks would no longer impose upon the public—the mystery was discovered— Mr. John Bowles himself had let out the secret, and the reign of imposture and delusion was at an end. This transaction afforded a useful lesson to all government how they should bestow important pecuniary trusts upon persons having no meri to recommend them but the circumstance of their being mercenary hireling authors If governments would employ such persons, they must share the disgrace brought on by their conduct.—For his own part much as he condemned the conduct of the

mmissioners, he looked upon the neglect
government as still more criminal. It
this neglect that produced all the in-
ous transactions which had lately been
ught to light. It was a bounty upon
uery, and an encouragement to abuses.
gligence of this description, and a pro-
ate profusion in the public expenditure,
been the peculiar characteristics of
administration under which these Com-
sioners had been appointed.—Before
should conclude, he had a few words to
upon the mode in which these ac-
nts were passed. A right hon. gent.
posite (Mr. Rose) had stated in his evi-
ce before the Committee, that they were
be referred to the Auditors of Public
counts from the Treasury, and in this
appeared to have been incorrect.
ther hon. gent. (Mr. Huskisson) ad-
ed that the accounts were to be deli-
ed in at the Treasury to be passed.
w, most unquestionably the Treasury
the last place to which he should con-
to send the accounts of so loyal a man
r. John Bowles to be audited and pass-
because it was not improbable, that
might have friends there, who would
be very strict in the examination and
ng of his accounts, and, besides, the
asury had not power to examine upon
. If he was rightly informed, the
ctice was, that accounts sent in on one
were often passed on the next day.—
he Resolutions which he meant to pro-
e, he should introduce one, directing
the Accounts should be sent to the
itors of Public Accounts to be passed.
to the proportion of remuneration
ch it might be desirable to give to the
nmissioners, he thought that that ques-
could not well be brought before the
se till the Accounts of the Commis-
ers should be passed. He was not
re of any other observation, which he
ald think it necessary to make upon this
asion, and should therefore proceed to
to the house the Resolutions which he
nt to propose for its adoption. He did
include in them any Resolution for di-
ing a criminal prosecution against the
nmissioners by the Attorney-General,
ause he understood that a doubt was
ertained whether they were liable to
n a proceeding; and it would ill be-
e him, whilst such a doubt existed,
in the presence of so many gentlemen
were so much more competent than
self to decide that point, to propose any
olution to the house upon the subject.
—The hon. gent. concluded with moving the following Resolutions; 1. "That it appears to this house, that to commit pecuniary trusts to any persons whatsoever, without providing any check on their proceedings, without calling for any regular or periodical accounts, and without settling, during a long course of years, the mode or amount of their remuneration, is a neglect which must inevitably lead to the most prejudicial consequences, and is a violation of the obvious duty of government. 2. That such neglect and deviation have been proved to exist, and might have been attended with material loss to the public. 3. That the Commissioners upon Dutch Property have been guilty of gross misconduct, in violating the act under which they were appointed, and appropriating to their own use without authority, sums for which they ought to have accounted to the public. 4. That the Accounts of the Commissioners be referred to the Auditors of Public Accounts to be examined. 5. That all consideration of the remuneration to be allowed to the Commissioners ought to be deferred till their accounts are finally settled."—On the question being put upon the first Resolution,

Mr. *H. Thornton* felt it necessary, as chairman of the Committee which had made the Report, to state, that he most cordially concurred in every part of that Report. He would have wished, however, to have assigned some annual rate of remuneration to the commissioners, rather than a per-centage, because he thought it desirable for parliament to shew that it would not countenance the practice of giving to such Commissioners an allowance upon the proceeds of their sales. The remuneration, as recommended in the report by the Committee, was now 10,000*l.* no very inadequate compensation for the light business they had to perform. But this remuneration would be still farther reduced by the sums the Commissioners would have to refund. By the act of parliament, their accounts must be sent to the Auditors of Public Accounts, who have power to demand interest on the sums kept at private bankers, or otherwise withheld from the public, by which a considerable reduction would be made in the amount of their remuneration. The Report recommended, that the Auditors should be directed to use their usual discretion with regard to these accounts. It was not with a view of preventing the house from coming to any decision it might think proper, that he mentioned this circumstance, but in justice to the Committee, which did not consider itself at liberty to abstain from making a Report upon the subject of the remuneration, and had therefore introduced the round sum, liable, however, to the reductions he had alluded to. The Committee, too, had stated its opinion with respect to the duty of government, as appeared by the hon. gentleman's having adopted in his first Resolution the very words of the Report, with the trifling alteration of a word, in substituting "obvious" for "acknowledged." But here he felt that a distinction should be taken between Commissioners, such as these, and a government. If the Commissioners neglected the business to which they were appointed, their neglect must be wilful, and consequently highly criminal; but the members of a government had various other important functions to attend to; besides, successive governments might not always be aware of the views of their predecessors; and even the Secretary to the Treasury has so much other business to attend to, that he might inadvertently omit some part of his duty. Upon these grounds, therefore, he considered the neglect of the government, and the neglect of the Commissioners, as meriting different proportions of blame. It was not his wish to take any portion of blame from any person to whom it could be applied. He certainly entertained sincere and warm feelings of friendship for some of the persons to whose conduct the Report referred; but he should not suffer himself to be influenced by those feelings in screening them from any censure which they might by their misconduct have justly incurred. It was due to the Prussian Commissioners to state, that an inaccuracy existed in the statement in the Report, that they had had 18,000*l.* at a private banker's; the fact having been, that the sum actually placed in the private banker's did not exceed 3,000*l.* the remainder of the sum being vested in Exchequer Bills. He had thought, that the usual practice was, when a Report of this description was laid before the house, to wait a short time before any proceeding should be instituted upon it in the house, in order to ascertain, whether any steps were taken by government pursuant to the recommendations of the Report; and upon this point he trusted his majesty's ministers would state what steps they had taken.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was
pared, without any call, such as that ma
by the hon. gent. who had just sat do
to communicate to the house the measu
that had been taken by the Treasury w
respect to this Report. When gentlem
considered that it was only on the 2
of March that the Report had been p
sented to the house; that some delay h
taken place in the printing of it; and t
it was not in the hands of gentlemen u
within a fortnight of the time when not
of this motion was given, they would
think it surprising that no measures
been taken by the Treasury before
notice of this motion was given.
could, however, state that the Treasu
had applied to the Committee of the Pr
Council, to call upon these Commission
to give in their accounts to the Treasu
to be then transferred to the Auditors
Public Accounts to be passed. The Tr
sury had also, adopting the suggestion
the Committee, proposed that the rate
remuneration should be 5 per cent. on
net proceeds, the Commissioners being
defray the charges of their establishme
and to pay interest for any sums wh
they may have kept at their private ban
ers. It appeared, that in some of
sales there had been no net proceeds,
an actual loss, and it was thought rig
that the amount of these losses should
deducted from the net proceeds. Fr
this statement the house would be able
judge whether the conduct of governm
merited that general censure which
Resolutions of the hon. gent. went to p
upon all the governments that had succ
sively existed since the appointment
these Commissioners; a censure, to
which undoubtedly would least of all a
ply to the present government. But, w
the case such as to call for this censur
This Commission was an anomalous ca
Parliament took the business out of t
regular course in which it would ha
been administered under the authority
the Court of Admiralty. No remuner
tion was assigned for the Commissione
because that was never done in the ca
of parliamentary Commissioners. Besid
it was not for the government, in the fi
instance, to fix upon any particul
amount of remuneration. To shew wh
had been the conduct of the present g
vernment, he should refer to the Commi
sioners for Portuguese property, who we
directed to restore the whole of the pr
perty, without any deduction of per cen

, to the Portuguese claimants who uld prove themselves the owners, as a rse most consistent with justice, and st worthy of the crown, and the cha- ter of the nation. Upon the whole, he not think that any practical conve- nce could result from the adoption of Resolutions of the hon. gent. and cer- ly he was not more liable to blame n the noble lord (H. Petty) who pre- ed him in office. But neither, he con- led, was justly liable to blame. The ct of a general vote of censure upon all successive governments, since the in- tution of these Commissioners, would entirely upon the present govern- nt. Seeing, therefore, that the act, ch had been in operation for the last years, provided for the effectual check these accounts, and that the business now in train to be fully and finally set- , the house he was confident, would not it necessary to entertain the Resolu- s. The hon. gent. himself, would, he ed, now that he was in possession of uniform practice of the house in such es, withdraw his motion; but if he uld not, it was his intention to move previous question upon his Resolu- s.

ir *John Newport* would not consent that motion should be withdrawn, or dis- ed of by the previous question. If ever re had been an instance of malversation rust, it was this one now under discus- . In all parts of the Report there ap- red proofs of trangressions of the act parliament, of an abandonment of their y, and of their instructions under that upon the part of these Commissioners. eir accounts had been made up appa- tly according to their instructions, but reality with a view of disguising the state of their illegal profits. If such practices, when proved incontestibly, uld not be marked by the severest sure of that house, it would be an en- ragement to corruption. Their con- t was aggravated by the manner in ch they had given their evidence be- the Committee. On their examina- , they gave amended and explanatory wers to the questions which were put hem, but which, in fact, amounted to hing else than gross prevarication, and ect falsifications of their former testi- ny. They had presumed to say that y placed their balances in the hands of vate bankers, as public officers do. Did blic officers really do so? Good God! was the floating security of individuals equal to that of the Bank of England? Instead of being lodged in safety in the Bank of England, every Commissioner applied his proportion of the balance in the manner the most beneficial to himself. Those gentlemen began very early to appreciate their own merits, and drew, truly, a very handsome reward. Within the first year of their existence they had lodged 850,000*l.* in the hands of their private bankers, though during that period not a farthing had been paid by them into the Bank of England; and within the last three years, the whole sum lodged in the Bank of England, amounted only to 90,000*l.* If any bankrupt had given a statement of his effects in the manner in which these gentlemen had done, would the Commissioners remain satisfied with it? Would any better proof of fraud be required, than that a single item had been kept back in his accounts by the bankrupt? He should support the Resolutions; but whatever might be the fate of them, he should afterwards move for an Address to his majesty, to direct the Attorney-General to prosecute these Commissioners for malversation in their trust.

Mr. *Rose* stated, that previous to the passing the act of the 25th of the king, there had existed no effectual mode of passing and auditing accounts. Under that act these Commissioners, as public accountants, would be compelled to go with their accounts to the Public Auditors. If any blame was imputable to any government, it undoubtedly must be to that government which existed when these Commissioners had been appointed. But the act by which they had been appointed required them to furnish their accounts when called for, and to take their instructions from the privy council.—As to the proportion of their remuneration, his idea was, that when their business should be completed, that point would be settled; but he never could have had an idea that they would take to themselves a poundage upon their sales. To him personally, if any blame was imputable to any one, it might be said to attach. But as to what had been stated by the hon. gent. who opened this business, relative to any leaning he might be supposed to have towards one of these Commissioners, (Mr. John Bowles) he could assure that hon. gent., that he knew as much of that person, and was as well acquainted with him as he was himself. And what was more, he could assure him, that he had never read any of his pamphlets, though he would allow that they were regularly laid upon his table. He had only to add, that a neglect such as had taken place on this subject might happen in the hurry of business to any government. He had ever been a friend to inquiries such as the one which had detected this transaction, because it was impossible for any man to say, that he never omitted any part of his duty; and the benefit of such inquiries was, that they brought to light any omissions which might take place. He trusted, however, that the neglect was not of such a character in this instance, as to induce the house to adopt the Resolution of censure upon the government, proposed by the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose and said; Sir; there are several reasons which prevent my suffering this question to go to a vote without expressing my opinion upon the conduct of the Dutch Commissioners, and of those who ought to have paid some attention to their proceedings. A great smoke has long issued from the office of the Dutch Commissioners. Persons have often said that the Dutch Commission was a great job, that if it were enquired into, it would be found to be so: but no mortal alive ever expected to find such a blazing fire as that which is now known to have been so long burning in Broad-street. The right hon. gent. who has just sat down (Mr. Rose) has, after the fashion of a noble colleague of his in office, behaved himself with great decency: he has candidly confessed the omissions of that Board of Treasury with which he was connected; his own in particular, as arising out of the situation in which he was formerly placed, where it was his more peculiar duty to have attended to what these gentlemen were about.—It must be said of the noble lord (Castlereagh) and the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) that at the place of execution they have conducted themselves with decency and contrition; and in allowing the justice of the sentence passed upon them, or rather which ought to be passed upon them, I cannot help feeling some compassion for their unhappy lot. But the Dutch Commissioners, Sir, enter no such claims. When convicted of guilt upon the most undeniable evidence, after having in vain attempted every subterfuge; after having been allowed every possible mode of evasion and explanation, they, by a paper published subsequent to the breaking u of the Committee, arraign the condu of the Committee itself, which it therefo becomes our duty to support and to pr tect.—I cannot help remarking that th Commission has arisen out of one of tho abominable practices, which, if they b long to, entirely disgrace, the law of n tions: and that the Dutch Prizes, for th settlement of which this Commission wa instituted, were tempted into our ports b a proclamation which offered to the the protection of this nation. That the having repaired hither, according to th language of a subsequent Order in Coun cil, in full confidence, were, after anoth Order in Council directing reprisals to b made upon the Dutch, seized upon a prize of war: and according to the cu tom of civilized nations, we made a pre of those whom we had pretended to pr tect. The Chancellor of the Excheque has described this to have been an ano malous commission of an extraordinar nature. Unquestionably during the fir short period of its institution it was so but that soon ceased; and after war ha been declared against Holland, the kin by his Order in Council, appointed thi commission for the ordinary purposes t which such commissions are applied, an it came under the controul of the priv council exactly in the same manner a others. However, sir, as an extenuatio of the conduct of these gentlemen, it mat ters not in what way they were consti tuted. They were appointed servants t the public; which public, according t the confession even of the Chancellor o the Exchequer, they have grossly de frauded.—After the confession made by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), and the guilt allowed by the Chancellor of the Ex chequer, I am at a loss to conceive how any man can presume to recommend that no notice should be taken of these proceedings by the house of commons; and that no question should be taken either upon the negligence of the government, or the criminality of the Commissioners: and yet such is the course that we are called upon to pursue, to open our eyes to negligence and criminality, and to pass them over unobserved upon, and unstigmatized.—Perhaps, it is difficult to find in all the accounts of public servants who have misconducted themselves towards the nation which employed them, a case more flagrant than that which is now before us. These gentlemen having been appointed he purposes mentioned in the act of iament, were left, as is the custom, out any specific salary named: but, l other instances that I am aware of, he same nature, the Commissioners waited with patience till parliament ne privy council, as the nature of the might be, should have determined t that salary should be. In this in- ce, however, the Dutch Commissioners ame very soon impatient; and, al- gh parliament and the Treasury had otten them, they did not forget them- es. It appears, that they very early ed their attention to the subject of own profit, and that not knowing to do, or what mode of remuneration dopt, they applied for information the subject.—Sir, it must appear to of ordinary habits and modes of pro- ing, that it would have become the missioners to have applied either by ion to this house, or by memorial to Treasury, for a rule by which to guide selves; but these gentlemen did nei- the one nor the other. Some one of body was deputed to go to Chelsea, re, at that time, lived a very res- able gentleman, who must have been advanced period of life, of the name ufrere. He had been a Commissioner Prizes as long ago as the year 1756. report brought by the delegate to his hren, which afterwards turned out to otally false, was that Mr. Aufrere and ellow Commissioners had received 5 cent. upon the proceeds which went ugh their hands, but whether gross, et, the Commissioner who received the rmation does not pretend to deter- e: and yet the Board have, upon this ority, supposing that it is, as far as it , truly stated, ventured to assert to committee that they were sanctioned precedent! The truth of the conver- n between Mr. Aufrere and the Com- ioner, it is not now my intention to tion, because any enquiry into the ect must be fruitless; Mr. Aufrere self is dead. It may be observed, in ing, that the Treasury was a good nearer to the residence of these gen- en than was the house of Mr. Au- e, and that their messenger must ac- y have passed by the one to get at other. The delegate must carefully shut his eyes, I think, when he ed Charing Cross, and rigidly ab- ed from casting one glance that way, he should be tempted to go to that place for information to which only it was his duty to resort. The Commissioners, however, being, even after this conversation at Chelsea, in a fresh difficulty as to whether they should charge upon gross or net, solved that difficulty in their own favour, and immediately set to work and charged 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds.—Why was not the Treasury consulted instead of Mr. Aufrere? The information would have been more authentic. It might have been less satisfactory then, although much more satisfactory to them (if they had known it and acted upon it), as their case stands now, for they would not have been reduced to that situation of shame in which they now stand before this tribunal.—Sir, I cannot help remarking upon the attempt at deceit and gross prevarication which appears in the first short paper returned to the committee from the office of the Commissioners.—In that paper they say that they have no fee, emolument, or compensation whatever, and that they have only the usual commission upon the proceeds passing through their hands.—Sir, these Commissioners, although men of the world, either appear to have entertained that foolish notion with which we have seen witnesses at this bar impressed, namely, that they should be allowed to make their own statement and be called upon to speak no farther, and not to be subjected to any observation or cross-examination whatever; such must have been their notion at the time they signed that prevaricating paper; or they must have thought that the committee itself was composed of weaker men than I trust are to be found in this house.—Sir, give me leave to ask them where the usage is to be found on which they ground their assertion? Of Mr. Aufrere's authority even they are not certain, and the Treasury Warrant to the Commissioners in 1756, directly and flatly contradicts them.—But, Sir, be it remarked, that they assert, upon the authority of Mr. A. also, that the expences of their establishment were not to be paid out of their pretended emolument. An instance of unblushing assurance! For they do not pretend even that Mr. Aufrere ever said any one word to their delegate upon the subject: these are sins of commission on the part of these Commissioners: and, notwithstanding the fairness with which they were examined; the opportunities which were afforded them of explaining their answers, and afterwards of answering their own explanations; they end worse than they begun, and their guilt becomes more manifest every step they take.—I cannot help here remarking upon the contrast which is exhibited in the latitude of explanation allowed by the Committee, and the conduct towards witnesses which we have seen sometimes adopted at the bar of this house. There, witnesses who are selected, or at least ought to be so, for their judgment, discrimination, acquirements, and knowledge of the world, are deliberately asked temperate questions, to which they are allowed to answer in the most deliberate manner. They are then allowed to consider those answers and to explain them. They are afterwards allowed to answer those explanations, and to amend them: and the Commissioners, not contented with that, have published a set of posthumous papers, attacking the able Report of that impartial Committee, (to whose labours, in this instance, I cannot give praise too strong), which they have put into the hands of members of this house, and even have ventured to canvas for vote and interest. They have the effrontery to talk of the sacrifices they have made to the public. Having set aside for their own use above 130,000*l.* they still have further claims upon us, which they in their generosity have relinquished. The sacrifice they have made to the public, is to refrain from charging the expence of their establishment over and above such enormous gains: and yet in such a charge they say they should have been justified upon precedent! *Proh pudor! et veritas!* No such precedent nor the shadow thereof can be traced. Here, Sir, we have seen witnesses pressed with questions in a hurried manner: and the hurried answer which has escaped from them, has been taken down and deemed conclusive, without the smallest latitude allowed of explanation or amendment. I have made the remark, I do not wait to draw any inference from it.—Sir, I have spoken in very strong terms of the conduct of these Commissioners: and I do not think the house will do its duty, unless it goes further even than the Committee itself has pointed out in the Report. I do not think that the allowance mentioned by them, ought to be made, and I concur in the opinion of the hon. mover of these Resolutions, that not one farthing ought to be paid until the whole of their accounts are settled. We should untruss these Dutchmen, and take from their trunk-hose every farthing of

their ill-gotten wealth. We should ex
from them a minute account of all th
gains: and then, if it should be proper
give them any thing after their conv
tion of such gross frauds, parliament its
should decide upon the quantum.—S
I am not acquainted with any of th
Commissioners personally, nor do I kn
but that they may be all men of gr
reputation hitherto, and of ability su
cient to execute the office consigned
them; one of them, however, is su
ciently known to the public, Mr. J
Bowles, a gentleman who, for a series
years, has been a writer by professio
who has libelled much that has been go
and virtuous in this country. If it rea
be Mr. Bowles the author, who writes u
der the signature of Christianus Laicus, t
sanctified Anti-Jacobin, who has been
detected, I will venture to say, that a
covery so rare, and in all its circumstan
so amusing, has not been made since t
moment when that atheistical philosoph
Square, was discovered in Miss Seagrin
garret.—He was appointed a Commissi
er under the administration of Mr. P
Sir, I do not mean to follow the examp
of this political writer, who, for p
poses most unchristian-like, thought p
per to assume the title of Christian
Laicus. I do not mean to invade the
lence of the tomb, or unnecessarily to
tack the memory of the dead. I do
mean to question the propriety of M
Pitt's conduct in this instance: but, ha
pily, we have before us, if not in t
bloom of youth, at least in the vigour
health and intellect, a right hon. gen
who was an appendage to that admin
tration of Mr. Pitt, as he is to the p
sent, and who confesses, that with his
partment, and with him more particular
lies all the guilt of not enquiring into t
proceedings of those men. He, perha
may also know for what particular se
vices as a political writer, or rather as
party writer, Mr. Bowles was rewarde
and he can tell us which of all the
merous publications he has uttered to t
world, insured to him this snug situati
in Broad-street.—Perhaps, Sir, no censu
that I can pass; no resolution to which ev
this house can come, blaming Mr. Bowle
can be regarded by him as so severe
the assertion made by the right hon. gen
(Mr. Rose), that, although his table groa
with the publications of Mr. Bowle
he never condescended to open o
of them in his life. I think, the rig

s. gent. himself has a good deal to an- er for, in suffering the public to be in- lated with the productions of Mr. wles's pen, when those, through whose ans he obtained the public money as emuneration for such services, were acquainted with the extent and malig- of the poison which they so suffered e diffused.—If, Sir, I may use a quota- , sufficiently hackneyed indeed for any , however illiterate, to catch hold of; which is sanctioned by the adoption of . Bowles himself, who has said of a per- , described in his mild and christian- manner, that, *noscitur a sociis;* I may of the Commissioners, *noscuntur a* ; and really if Mr. Bowles is a sam- of the rest, I can have no reliance n them whatever, no compassion for r situation, and can find no excuse their misconduct. When a man sets self up a self-elected censor of the nners of the age: an universal con- nner of all whom he chuses to sub- to his lash: when he affects the title, distinction, of Christian, he ought to most peculiarly upon his guard, as to rectitude of his own conduct: and if hould be found to have yielded to er motives than those which he has tured to ascribe to others: if during time that he has been censuring the lties of mankind, he should be found ave been himself the doer of the most lid deeds, the severity of his punish- nt ought to be in proportion to the ctity of the character he has thus false- assumed: for the injury such a man s to the cause of virtue by hypocrisy, beyond all comparison greater than which can be done by the open, wed, and hardened malefactor.—Sir, as been said, as one of the false pre- ces under which these gentlemen col- ively seized upon so large a portion the money which passed through their ds, that two out of the five, after a months, abandoned their professions. ree out of the five, I believe, were mer- nts; they, certainly, did not abandon r professions: one was an East India tain: the other was a lawyer. The t India captain might, I should have ught, have foreseen, at the very outset, t the continuance in his profession was ompatible with the duties of such a ation; for it is manifest that a gentle- n could not sail across the ocean to ia and back again, and at the same e execute his duties in Broad-street: with regard to him the pretence of abandoning a profession after a few months of experiment, is frivolous beneath notice. Mr. Bowles was a lawyer, and, if I am not much misinformed as to the state of his practice, he might very easily have satisfied all his clients and executed all the duties of his commission without the smallest interference with their interests. But, Sir, I am not at all surprized that this gentleman should have abandoned his profession after a few months, for we see by the Report, that within a very few months the Commissioners had appropriated to themselves no less a sum than 25,000 *l.* Why, Sir, this must have been as unexpected to Mr. Bowles as the 20,000*l.* prize was to the apothecary; but he might sing with Mr. Lenitive,

> " My gown and my wig
> " I'll hang upon a peg:
> " I am all for the Publico Bono."

It may fairly be asked of these two gentlemen, why, when they chose that the public should pay for this relinquishment of their ordinary pursuits in life, they did not chuse to consult that body from whom they exacted such payment? There are two parties to such a bargain; and at least it became them to have asked that party which was to pay, whether the thing to be obtained was thought worth the price. Upon this the Committee have ably remarked, and I thoroughly agree with them in opinion, that, under this head, the two gentlemen in question are entitled to no remuneration whatever. —Sir, the history of the question put by Mr. Pitt to these Commissioners, respecting the balance in their hands, so early as the month of Feb. 1796, and the answer given by the Commissioners, is a strong exemplification of the neglect of the officers of the Treasury, and the unblushing effrontery of Mr. Bowles and his associates. At that period the Commissioners had no less a sum than 196,000*l.* in their hands; and yet, without stating what their balances were, they simply declare that they can afford no money for the necessities of the state, unless a sum to a very large amount is paid to them by the East India Company. Ought not the Treasury to have required an account of that balance which they fraudulently withheld? And ought not enquiry to have been made into the state of their accounts? It was evidently expected that a large sum would be found in their hands, and such a disappointment ought to have

led to investigation. But what shall we say to this Commissioner ? He was a life-and-fortune man : he was ready to spend the last shilling of his own money, and shed the last drop of his own blood, in the defence of his country : and yet, as a public accountant, in possession of public balances, he refused to the country the use of its own money, in order that he might convert that money to his own private advantage.—Very shortly after this, an appropriation was made of 25,000 *l.*, and within fifteen months from the period of their first beginning they had appropriated to their own use no less than 40,000 *l.* Unappalled by the magnitude of the sum, they made no enquiry, returned no statement, entered no items by which this imposition might be detected : they did not comply with the terms or the spirit of the act of parliament : they did not pay, as they ought to have done, their money into the Bank : they did not give any intimation of the wealth they were thus acquiring : and they presume to say, after all the statutes that have been made to remedy such abuses : after all the clamour which such abuses have created : after all the ferment into which the existence of these abuses has at different times thrown the public mind, of which they could not be ignorant: they had the effrontery to say that in using the money to discount private bills for their own advantage, they were following the example of all public accountants. Away with their paltry subterfuge with regard to the payments for which they expected to be called upon ! If they had placed the money in security at the Bank to their own joint and private account, they might have called for it at any moment for the service to which it was destined, and they would have complied with the spirit of the act of parliament. If they had paid it in according to the terms of the act of parliament, and any unexpected payments had arisen, they might have done that, which they did in the first instance, apply to the privy council for an issue of money, which issue could not have been refused. —Sir, the detection of such scandalous practices must be of public advantage ; there is only one shadow of reason why it should not, and that reason I will give in the words of Mr. Bowles himself : —“ There is indeed just cause to fear lest our administration of justice, pure as it is in itself, should, on account of the foulness of the transactions which are
“ brought before it, serve rather to inj
“ than improve these sentiments, the c
“ ruption of which denotes the last sta
“ of depravity.”—Still the exposure of su
transactions, carried on by such a m
amongst others, must be of public utili
Sir, this author has calumniated men
character in this country. He and his
sociates, the Anti-Jacobins, have done
the honour to notice me by their abu
In two pamphlets addressed personally
myself, he has thought proper to cha
me with a want of proper attention to
cause of religion. He I suppose must
in his own estimation, a great religion
Does he live according to the strictest s
of his religion, a Pharisee ? of whom
is said, “ that they were whited walls, a
painted sepulchres : are cleanliness wi
out, but all hollowness within : bl
guides : persons professing and preach
good doctrine, and pursuing bad co
duct.” Some persons he has more p
cularly designated as enemies to
state, and he has ventured to consult
historical knowledge for the character
Clodius, which he has applied to a me
ber of this house : thereby designati
him, and indeed in express terms, in
Note which he has appended to his wo
as a person who wished to overthrow
state, and to be accessary to the murd
of a magistrate. I shall take the libe
of comparing him to that Athenian me
tioned by Horace, whom the comme
tators have named Timon : of whom
is said, *Populus me sibilat. Populus s*
labit, but Mr. Bowles will not have
satisfaction of contemplating his m
ney in the chest, as a salve for the ridic
of the populace, for I am persuaded,
will be made to refund “ the utterm
farthing.”—Sir, I do hope that the cha
which will be produced in consequence
the discovery lately made, in what M
Bowles terms the hitherto ‘ Terra inco
nita of morals,’ will be productive
great public advantage. The whole
our public system will partake of the
fects resulting from such discoveries.
these gentlemen are treated with mo
severity in this house, than some of th
that have lately appeared before us, t
reason is obvious. They surrender
at discretion : but the Dutch Comm
sioners fight upon their very stump
and not contented with the attacks th
have made upon the Committee, wh
labours we ought to uphold, have had t
modesty to canvas the members of th

se, for their votes and interest. The
ence upon which we can proceed,
n regard to them, appears to me to be
clusive. There is no possibility of
ling the charge of a gross fraud upon
public. Indeed, I should be sorry
t the house should proceed upon that
of evidence, on which Mr. Bowles
ght proper to invade the sacred si-
e of the tomb, and to charge the
duke of Bedford with a want of re-
n, merely because his eulogist had
mentioned religion in the speech
which he paid the tribute of honour
affection to his memory. Mr.
les was then dragged forth, the re-
nt champion of public morals: he
r would have been disposed, he said,
publish one word respecting the late
of Bedford, if he had not felt that
unqualified eulogies which were pass-
upon him, had had a tendency to
upt the public sentiment. But such
nemy was he to corruption of all kinds,
he found himself compelled to be
reluctant attacker of the memory of
luke of Bedford, upon a subject, which
during life, might be deemed to be
liarly a man's own, and upon which,
death, when it cannot possibly mat-
o the world; when the great account
osed, and there is no correction to be
of the errors which have been com-
ed, and no change of sentiment can
place, it does appear to be an act of
nost wanton and deliberate cruelty to
e such an attack.—Sir, I am not afraid
tering the lists with Christianus Laicus
this subject: although with the ad-
n of two syllables, to express myself
Mr. B.'s own words, "I know that
who will fairly enter the lists with
nti-Jacobinism, must be prepared to
counter the utmost vengeance of the
ost implacable malice." The utmost
geance of attack was directed against
duke of Bedford on political matters,
st he was alive, and the implacable
ce of Mr. Bowles was not satiated by
death. The evidence upon which he
ceeded to establish a fact, which to him
of no importance, and with which,
ner he, nor the world had any thing
o, was very different from that upon
ch the frauds of the Dutch Commis-
ers can be most incontrovertibly
ed. He propagated the calumny of
irreligion of the duke of Bedford
n this slender foundation. He had
d from a person, who said he had

heard from another, who was the parish clerk of Woburn, that the duke of Bedford employed his labourers on a Sunday. The parish clerk, however, who was stated to be the author of the information, which a reverend gentleman of the Church of England gave to Mr. John Bowles, and which Mr. Bowles has declared to be a calumny so foul against the noble Duke, if not true, that it was impossible to suppose a clergyman of the Church of England could have fabricated the whole story; yet that parish clerk, when referred to, roundly asserts, "that no such fact ever existed: that he never could have said so, because it was not true, and whoever said so, was a villain for bringing up his name with so infamous a falsehood." When called upon to retract that poison which he had so maliciously circulated in the world, Mr. Bowles, modestly demanded the proof of a direct negative, to enable him to do justice to the memory of the Duke, and to quote his own words, said, "he should be very happy to find by clear, precise, and indisputable evidence, that no such fact ever existed." The proof of a negative is difficult: in this case, however, it so happened, that the proof could be afforded to him. When it was afforded, he denied justice to him whom he had so calumniated, and when his correspondence with Mr. Adam was published to the world, he commented upon that correspondence, in a way to leave the impression which he had endeavoured to create still existing on the public mind; at least, as far as depended upon himself. At that time, he was a gentleman in high repute, of great estimation, a man receiving the reward of his literary labours, an unblemished servant of the public, a person who was writing to accuse others of not having made proper and just returns of their incomes, upon which the tax might be levied: holding his head high in society, the censor of morals, and unsuspected of such a flagitious course of proceeding against the public as has now come to light. These were piping times with the Anti-Jacobins. One was fighting his way up to be an ambassador; another was preparing to govern the country in the shape of a secretary of state, and Mr. John Bowles, their supposed associate, who prepared the heavier parts of the composition, while the budding diplomatist and secretary were relaxing from their severer studies, in those humourous, political effusions, which adorn the page of the Anti-Jacobin, was reclining in the dignity of his office in Broad-street, and dealing out his anathemas against all those who opposed that administration, which had so amply rewarded his past, and secured his future labours.—Many literary characters, of somewhat higher reputation than Mr. Bowles, have sighed in vain for that ease and retirement which he found. Dr. Johnson feelingly laments the want of easy circumstances and uninterrupted leisure, which are so favourable to literary pursuits. Mr. Bowles found the blessings of retirement, ease, and patronage. Under these auspicious circumstances, he produced a vast number of publications all of the same tendency; and although the right hon. gent., Mr. Rose, assures the house he never read a syllable in one of them, I can assure him that the title pages to some contain the words fourth (nay I believe fifth), edition, so that the doctrines and sentiments contained in them were pretty widely diffused: or an imposture was played off on the public. I had rather the latter should have been the case. But numerous as the writings may hereafter be, from this time forth they will be bereft of all venom. The Virgin is Unmasked, and can no longer be palmed upon the public for that which she is not.—Surely, Sir, the house will agree to all the Resolutions which have been proposed by my hon. friend! Will they accept of the course proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; especially, after the line he tells you he means to adopt for the payment of these Commissioners? For what, are they to be remunerated? Not for their services, but for their cheats. Does he seriously mean to take a step beyond that which the Committee has pointed out, and which, I confess, I think one step too far? Does he recollect a passage in the Report, in which the Committee say, that "the magnitude of the charges on the vessels and cargoes sold, which manifests itself in the difference between the gross and the net proceeds, and in the excess of the charges above the whole proceeds in the case of many vessels, appears to demand attention"? Has he adverted to that passage, I say: and having adverted to that passage, (which excites something more than suspicion in my mind, and must in that of the public, that there was fraud in the way of making up their accounts), can he venture to call upon the house to pass it by? Will the house not take it into its consideration? Will the house allow him to fulfil his intention of leavi in the hands of the Commissioners a grea share of their ill-gotten spoil, than t Committee would have awarded ther Is that possible? Sir, I think not. I sp with real confidence when I declare, t I do not think the Chancellor of the E chequer will be able to persuade the hou to adopt the mode of proceeding whi he has suggested, and to come to a previ question upon all the Resolutions mov —Sir, let the house recollect, that t real services performed by these Comm sioners were very short. That for the l years they have been doing nothing; a that, according to the confession of one the present Secretaries to the Treasu theirs has, latterly, been only a legal e istence, for the purpose of prosecuti claims; at least, ever since the year 180 when enquiry was made why the Boa should not be broken up. Up to th time, palliative reasons may be stated the non-interference of administratio but from the moment it was known th the existence of such a Commission w only necessary for legal purposes, it is ve surprizing that the number of Comm sioners was not reduced to the lowest lim prescribed by the act of parliament, whi was three, and the obvious saving to t public by such reduction would have be considerable.—I cannot admit, on the pa of the public, of those excuses to their f extent, which are made on behalf of the d ferent administrations, which have succee ed to that under which this Commission w instituted. It is very well for an admini tration to say "we were in office only f a very short time, and therefore you ha no right to call us to account for not ta ing up the matter, which in the multiplicit of the business, thrown before us, whic we had scarcely time to arrange, migh escape our notice." On the part of m noble friend, and even of the prese administration, (if it was not for one pa ticular circumstance, as it regards them such excuse might be urged. But th present administration have amongst them that very Secretary to the Treasury whos attention was called during his forme official situation to this matter; and which upon his return to office, ought he n to have forgotten: and therefore they a without excuse. But are we to be defraud ed with impunity, because the king ha appointed a succession of ministers in vir tue of his prerogative? Sir, as a membe of parliament, I can accept of no suc

use: and the king's ministers, without
wing who they are, have not done
ir duty in suffering these frauds to pro-
d. I hope the house will do its duty,
that now they are detected, and ex-
ed, it will mark its reprobation of their
duct, and not suffer the conduct of mi-
ters even to go without hints of that
me, to which all of them are, in their
erent degrees, obnoxious.—I will not
sent, for one, that a single farthing
ll be paid to the Commissioners until
whole of the public money shall have
n restored. I do not believe what
y say, that they cannot give an account
he interest they have made upon the
lic money. I cannot believe men,
, from their superior attainments in
eness, method, and knowledge of fi-
es, have been selected to conduct intri-
matters of account for the public, when
y come and tell me that in the ma-
ement of their own private transac-
s, they have kept no account at all!
l them, that if they do not render an
urate account of every farthing they
e so made, in the most circumstantial
ner, they shall not receive any recom-
ce; and they will produce you every
n of the account.—Sir, the Chancellor
he Exchequer and his colleagues may
e some feeling for Mr. Bowles and his
eagues, some wish to palliate their de-
uency: for Mr. Bowles, amongst other
his labours, has given to the world his
timents on the side of No Popery (Oh!
support of No Popery Bowles and
Popery Beazeley!) but it is most ma-
al, that the house should not be supine
noticing these transactions: for, I find
ruly laid down in a quotation inserted
ne of Mr. Bowles's pamphlets, "that
reat danger arises from the supineness
f long-established power, and the want
f estimating, truly and in time, the ef-
ect of those arts now employed, sys-
ematically, for the overthrow of estab-
shments of every kind."—Sir, I agree
h that gentleman, in saying "that per-
aps, it may be impossible more accu-
ately to describe our moral character,
han by representing us in that middle
nd most critical state, which retains so
uch goodness, as to be capable of re-
ormation, while it is so fast verging to
omplete depravity, as to afford just oc-
asion to fear, that it will soon be too
ad to be corrected, except by a mira-
le." And, I cannot conclude more
cibly, than by quoting another passage from his voluminous writings, wherein he says, "that these primary causes of corruption operate in a most alarming manner in this country: at home, it is impossible to deny that an inordinate love of pleasure, and an insatiable lust of gain, have produced an alarming indifference to every relative duty, and to every social feeling: a sensible increase of fraud, perfidy, knavery, and peculation, and a rapid approach to that state of selfishness, which involves a total disregard for the rights and advantages of others." The following, which are the last words of the sentence, I cannot but suppose, he amply feels, and that "by a just retribution," he has "completely sacrificed his own felicity."

Mr. *Huskisson* spoke in vindication of the Treasury. The Dutch Commissioners, he said, were parliamentary commissioners; and it was considered, that, as in all similar cases, their remuneration was to be considered at the termination of their labours; but he never did conceive them entitled to deduct any per-centage for their own remuneration from the money passing through their hands, nor that they were entitled to poundage as prize agents. When the immense increase of business in the department of the Treasury since 1793, was considered, and the inadequacy of the number of persons allotted to transact that business, it was morally impossible that some things should not escape attention. He could appeal to the noble lord opposite him (lord H. Petty) for the truth of this observation; and the cause he could fairly assert existed in the backwardness of those at the head of affairs to increase the number of officers, and thereby add to the public expence, by which they would also expose themselves to the imputation of extending patronage. Notwithstanding the addition of an Assistant Secretary, and the indefatigable labours of himself and his colleagues, it was impossible to prevent the business from going into arrears. Under such circumstances, then, it was not surprizing if some omissions occasionally occurred.

Mr. *H. Thornton* explained, that although the Commissioners were not absolutely required by the act under which they were appointed, to put the money in their hands out at interest for the public advantage, yet they had put it out for their own emolument, and had put thereby a sum of 44,000*l.* into their own pockets.

Mr. *Ponsonby* thought it impossible that the negligence of government for fourteen years could be passed over in the way proposed. But, if so, what should be said of the conduct of the Commissioners, who had been guilty of concealment and of making false statements, for the purpose of fraudulent advantage to themselves? Was it to be endured that at the worst they should only be called on to refund? It was not intended to charge ministers with any crime; but when inquiry was proposed into abuses, it would be very injurious in every sense to pass it by. Besides, the blame imputed was not to the government, but to the Dutch Commissioners. Did the right hon. gent. then invite them to pass over this, and by so doing, encourage other defaulters to persevere in their pursuits, with the hope of impunity; and this in a case where it was acknowledged that the Commissioners had helped themselves to a sum of no less than 25,000*l.* without any authority whatsoever? Was this the way in which the public was to be served? Would their constituents think they did their duty, if they shut their eyes against conduct such as was here developed? The Resolutions to his mind were mild, and only called on the house to do what imperious duty desired. It was said that one of the gentlemen (Mr. John Bowles) had published 32 pamphlets. He had seen one of them, and as the title was tempting he had looked into it. It was termed "A Moral "View of Society at the end of the 18th "Century;" and he should have been happy if at any time he could have presumed to possess that pure morality it professed to inculcate. Some of the passages he found peculiarly applicable to the present case. In one paragraph the writer observes, "Conscience has now not only "lost its power to restrain men from "crimes themselves, but even to excite "indignation in others; and crimes not "formerly tolerated, now find advocates "in persons laying claim to religious and "virtuous characters." Odious as hypocrisy was, the right hon. gent. could not but regard this as a tribute to his conscience. There was another passage, almost written one would suppose for the Commissioners: "A more convincing "proof can hardly be conceived of the "disregard of our duty than the growth "of peculation; and that so far from rendering to Cæsar the things which are "Cæsar's, every person must be shocked "at the gross defalcations which every

"where come within their view." Aga
"Nothing can without a sense of relig
"duties get the better of temptatic
There must indeed have been someth
about this Mr. Bowles, but surely it co
not be a sense of moral or religious du
which rendered him not proof aga
temptation. It was clear that this gen
man, whatever might be the case of
other Commissioners, was at least not
norant of the public duties imposed u
him by his situation. The right h
gent. submitted, that the house could
pass over this business, without leav
some trace on their Journals of the se
they entertained of so gross and scanda
a transaction.

Mr. *Marryatt* rose and said:
Speaker; I am aware, Sir, that I am ab
to volunteer upon a most arduous serv
for I really rise with the view of offerin
few words in behalf of that arch A
Jacobin, Mr. John Bowles. In so do
it is right I should premise that I can
influenced by no consideration of a p
sonal nature; for my acquaintance w
Mr. Bowles is so slight, that I never
in his house, nor he in mine: but I am
fluenced by those feelings, of which ev
man of a liberal mind must partake, w
he hears such outrageous abuse lavis
on a person who is not present to def
himself. This abuse has come with
worst grace imaginable from the h
gentleman who has most indulged in
for, if party zeal and party spirit be a
he may well exclaim with Falstaff, "
help the wicked." The hon. gentle
kept his temper perfectly well till
touched upon the 30 pamphlets which
attributes to the pen of Mr. Bowles;
at the mention of these pamphlets all
wrath was awakened, and I am justifie
presuming that he means to visit the
of the pamphleteer upon the head of
Dutch Commissioner. I maintain,
that Mr. Bowles has as much righ
publish his sentiments on any polit
topics, or on the public conduct of
public men, as the hon. gentleman h
self. If the hon. gentleman disappro
the sentiments contained in those p
phlets, he was at liberty to answer th
Nay, for what I know, he may have
swered them, for he also is a pamphlete
and this perhaps, accounts for the extr
dinary asperity in which he has indul
against Mr. Bowles, for two of a tr
they say, can never agree. Wits are ga
cocks to one another; and the hon. g

really crowed most outrageously loud,
sidering that his antagonist was not
hin hearing. He accuses Mr. Bowles
aving invaded the silent retreats of the
d, in his reflections upon the character
he late Duke of Bedford. I am no
d, Sir, to reflections either upon the
l, or the absent, but I must observe to
hon. gentleman, that he was at the
e moment committing that very fault
hich he accused Mr. Bowles. He, too,
ded the silent retreats of the dead;
calumniated the memory of Mr. Pitt,
n he charged him with having ap-
ted Mr. Bowles one of the Dutch Com-
ioners, as a reward for his having
ten these 30 political pamphlets. No
ser anacronism, Sir, was ever commit-
y a man who suffers his resentment
et the better of his reflection; for a
parison of dates will immediately
, that Mr. Bowles's appointment took
e years before any of the pamphlets to
h he alluded were written. I have
d Sir, and that from authority on
h I can rely, that Mr. Bowles was
introduced to the notice of Mr. Pitt
onsequence of the appearance of an
ymous Answer to Mr. Tom Paine's Age
eason. This work attracted Mr. Pitt's
tion, and led him to inquire the name
he author; he then sent for Mr.
les, and told him that he should be
y to serve him, whenever a fit oppor-
y offered, in consideration of the es-
al service which he had rendered to
cause of Religion and Government by
publication. I am persuaded, Sir, that
y gentleman who hears me will think,
to provide an antidote for the poison
ained in the Age of Reason, was a
torious office; and I mention this anec-
to the honour both of Mr. Pitt and
Bowles.—An attack of a different kind
been made upon Mr. Bowles by the
hon. gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) who
ust sat down. He has performed the
of a reviewer, and entertained the
e with a very ingenious critique on
us passages from one of Mr. Bowles's
phlets. From this specimen, Sir, I
ld not be surprised to see a new Re-
start up; and the Parliamentary Re-
may perhaps rival even the Edin-
h Review; but, in that case, I fear
hould have a schism among the gentle-
opposite to me, and that the house
t be split into more parties than it is
dy divided into.—Dismissing Mr.
Bowles in his literary character, I

shall now say something of him as a Dutch Commissioner. It appears by the Report of the Committee that upwards of 400 claims were referred to the decision of those Commissioners. Several of those claims were under my management, as agent for various correspondents of mine in the United States of America; and my negociations respecting them were principally carried on with Mr. Bowles, who, as a professional man, had the direction of that department. From the observations which I had then an opportunity of making on the conduct of Mr. Bowles, I can bear witness to the zeal and ability with which he managed that part of the concern; and I am persuaded, that by his indefatigable attention, and legal discrimination, an infinite number of litigations were rendered unnecessary, and much expence saved, both to the parties concerned, and to the public. His professional exertions continued to be necessary long after all the mercantile exertions of the Commissioners were at an end, in consequence of the law-suit with the Underwriters, which was only decided last year. If, therefore, particular consideration be due to any one of these Commissioners, more than to another, that particular consideration is due to the services of Mr. Bowles.—With respect to the general conduct of the Commissioners, as a body of men, I think it cannot be wholly justified; and my sentiments upon it accord very much with those of the Committee, whose report is now before the house. The Accounts, however, have not yet been fully examined; nor is the case fully before us. I think, therefore, that the whole matter ought to be referred to the Auditors of Public Accounts, in order that the investigation may be completed, before we undertake to pronounce our judgment. The object of the interference of Parliament ought to be practical good; which will not be promoted by voting theoretical propositions, containing reflections upon government in general, such as form the basis of the Resolution now proposed. I therefore concur in the amendment moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and shall vote for the previous question.

Mr. *Peter Moore* condemned the conduct of ministers in attempting to stifle inquiry and censure on this, as on other occasions; and considered the proceedings of the Commissioners as a compound of fraud and peculation, for which the Attorney-General ought to be directed to prosecute, Mr. *Henry Smith* was sorry to see the government coupled with the conduct of the Commissioners, which he considered such as the house was bound to mark their indignation against.

The *Solicitor General* for Scotland contended, that his right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had no wish to veil the conduct of the Commissioners. He only wished to avoid passing an unmerited censure on government. If on examining the accounts of the Commissioners to the bottom it should turn out that fraud had been committed, parliament might then direct criminal steps to be taken.

Lord *Henry Petty* contended for the Resolutions of Mr. Ord. He could not perceive any impropriety in what was called the general censure upon government, as the Resolutions only stated facts. He commented in strong terms on the misconduct and prevarications of the Commissioners. It was not enough to appoint Committees. Their opinions and decisions ought to be followed up by the house so as to give the public the advantages they ought to derive from their investigations and reports. If the house shrunk from its duty, the public would entertain and express its opinion on their conduct.

Mr. *Barham* observed that the public mind had been disgusted with what had happened in that house in several recent cases. He alluded, as we understood, to the fate of the Reversion Bill, the cases of the Duke of York, lord Castlereagh, &c. &c. and now he feared the minister wished to complete this terrible climax, by refusing his assent to a mark of reprobation on a transaction, respecting the nature of which no man could doubt. He beseeched ministers and the house not to degrade parliament in the eyes of the country. It was impossible that the present system could go on much longer. If government set its face against public justice, the worst consequences might follow.—He begged of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to open his eyes to what he was about. This was the moment in which it was possible to restore confidence to the people. He begged of him to pause before he carried through a vote of so painful a nature as that now proposed by him.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* maintained, that the executive was acting with the most scrupulous minuteness in giving effect to the Reports of the Finance and other Committees. The import of the present I solutions, however, was to confound conduct of government with that of detected Commissioners. If the h gent. who opened the business had proposed the two first Resolutions, right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) wo not have moved the previous questi He saw no objection when the ho should come to the third Resolution agree to the substance of it. But, unl circumstances arose to call the attent of a Board so occupied as the Treasu was to the existence of such abuses those now complained of, he did not mit that government could be to blame not detecting them. The noble lord (Petty) was of a contrary opinion, and expression of such sentiments by him the more unobjectionable, because being a species of self-sacrifice, gave i particular air of candour. He asked noble lord if he saw no danger in a dec ration of such sentiments, and if it nor go to infer a malversation in the vernment which did not exist? T right hon. Secretary then animadvert with considerable wit and severity, on observations which had fallen from an h member (Mr. Whitbread) respecting connection, as a fellow-labourer, with M John Bowles in a publication some ye back. He declared that he had never a acquaintance with Mr. Bowles. His terary taste, he believed, might be dif rent from that of the hon. member. I had seen the hon. member's sixpen pamphlet, and he must in truth say, t in that sort of department Mr. Bow beat the hon. member out and out. P haps, however, in point of honesty a sincerity, the hon. member might be su rior. He (Mr. Canning) thought himself more amenable to the hon. member for h share in the work alluded to, in whi Mr. Bowles co-operated, than Mr. W. f his oratorical exertions in Westminste hall was amenable to him in that hous where he had the good fortune and hono to sit with him.

Mr. *Tierney* spoke with much force an animation on the duty the house owed its own character, and to the public, come to a decision on the merits these Commissioners. He thought th object of ministers was to do any thi that might suit their purposes, not prevent that house from doing any a that might gain them credit with th public. The Attorney-General, or th ry Council, might do something, but house of commons was to be deprived ne opportunity of acquiring or reviving public estimation in which it ought to neld. He hoped and trusted that he ld be that night in a majority.

lr. *H. Thornton*, in order to obviate the tctions to the several Resolutions, prod to consolidate them in one, and in terms as should meet general appron. The Resolution he proposed to titute for them was as follows: " That Commissioners appointed in the year 5 for the disposal of captured Dutch erty, taking advantage of the *neglect* of government to enquire into their proings, have, without authority, approed to their own use large and unreable profits; that they have privately n interest on large balances of money ch ought to have been lodged in the k of England; that they have refrainom giving correct and explicit inforon respecting the interest so taken to Committee appointed for enquiring into Public Expenditure; and that they thereby been guilty of a great violaof their public duty."

r. Stephen supported ministers, and Ellison supported the Resolutions.

r. Ord, in a short reply, declared his ntion of taking the sense of the house all his Resolutions.

he house then divided upon the first lution, when there appeared,

or the Resolution - - - -	77
gainst it - - - - - - - -	102
Majority against it - - -	—25

hile strangers were excluded, we erstand the other Resolutions were drawn, and Mr. Thornton's motion ted; after a division upon the ques for substituting the word " omission" " neglect." The numbers upon the sion were as follow:—

or the original Resolution - -	78
or the Amendment - - -	98
ajority for the word " omission"	—20

List of the Minority.

rcromby, hon. J.
ms, C.
orp, visc.
nie, W. L.
ey, sir J. H.
am, J. F.
ng, T.
ng, A.
ard, Scrope
ulph, R. M.
erie, hon. G.
Brogden, J.
Carew, rt. hon. P.
Cavendish, Wm.
Cocks, J.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Combe, H. C.
Cooke, Bryan
Creevey, Thomas
Cuthbert, J.
Ferguson, general
Fitzpatrick, rt. hon. R.
Folkestone, visc.
Grattan, rt. hon. H.
Halsey, Joseph
Hamilton, lord A.
Herbert, H.
Horner, F.
Howard, H.
Hussey, Wm.
Johnes, T.
Knapp, G.
Lambe, hon. W.
Lambton, R. J.
Leach, John
Leycester, H.
Lloyd, sir E.
Lloyd, J. M.
Lyttleton, hon. W.
Mc Donald, James
Manning, James
Martin, H.
Maule, hon. W.
Maxwell, W.
Milton, lord
Moore, Peter
Mosley, sir Osw.
Mostyn, sir Thos.
Newport, rt. hon. sir J.
O'Hara, C.
Ossulston, lord
Parnell, H.
Pelham, hon. C.
Petty, lord H.
Ponsonby, rt. hon. G.
Power, R.
Prittie, hon. F. A.
Pym, F.
Romilly, sir S.
Saville, A.
Sharpe, R.
Shipley, W.
Smith, S.
Smith, G.
Stanley, lord
St. Aubyn, sir John
Symonds, T. P.
Talbot, R. W.
Taylor, C.
Taylor, M. A.
Tierney, rt. hon. Geo.
Vernon, G. V.
Walpole, hon. G.
Western, C. C.
Wharton, J.
Whitbread, S.
Wynne, C. W.

TELLERS.
Ord, Wm.
Calcraft, John

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 2.

[DIVORCE BILLS.] Lord *Auckland* said, that the question which he rose to bring forward related entirely to the discouragement of seductive adultery; a vice, which carries a sense of disgrace and distress into the families both of the seducer and of the victim of seduction; depriving the innocent children of the affections and protection of their parents; and exhibiting in the higher classes a depravity which lowers them in the public estimation, and at the same time tends to corrupt the minds and morals of the inferior orders of society.—It had long been matter of regret to many, that a vice of such malignity and mischief is not yet considered by our laws as a crime. We provide rigorously and industriously for the punishment of a long list of trivial offences against the persons and properties of individuals: but we totally overlook the assassins of domestic happiness. Adultery is subject only to the feeble coercion of the spiritual courts; in other words, it is left to its full range unrestrained and unheeded. The adulterer, indeed, may be compelled by a civil action to pay a pecuniary compensation, which in many cases the injured husband is ashamed to receive, and which in no case has the effect that a solitary imprisonment of two or three years would have for the purposes of reform and of example. Under these impressions, he (Lord Auckland) had inclined to propose once more to their lordships, the bill which they had passed nine years ago to make adultery punishable as a misdemeanor: but he had been discouraged by a recollection of the many long debates to which he had then subjected himself, and must be permitted to say:

> "Non eadem est ætas, non mens."

He had also wished for a provision (which had been suggested to him by his noble and learned friend on the woolsack) against the practice, in prosecutions for adultery, of suffering judgment to go by default, in order to adjust privately at a tavern, such damages as may best suit the purposes of a profligate collusion.—Hitherto the interference of Parliament respecting seductive adultery has been confined to bills of divorce, given to the injured husband, "to annul his marriage and to enable him to marry again." That interference had been practised about 140 years, and in the latter part of the period had become scandalously frequent.—The practical construction of those bills of divorce has been, that the adulteress, though not specially enabled by any of the clauses, is at liberty to marry again, and even to marry the adulterer; and in many instances it is notorious, that the offending parties have intermarried accordingly. And thus it is that the faithless wife, by a special interference of Parliament, receives hire and salary instead of punishment, and becomes an encouragement to others to pursue the same course, in order to arrive at a similar gratification.—Parliamentary bills of divorce are liable to another glaring objection. Every remedial act of legislature should be equally within the reach of every class of the community. But bills of divorce, grounded as they are required to be on various expensive processes (amounting in some instances to 3 or 4,000*l.*), in the courts of common law, in the ecclesiastical courts, and at the bar of the two Houses, are confined to the opulent. And thus the interference of their lordships was employed to bring under the public eye the vices and excesses of the higher classes exclusively.—With these views, he (lord Auckland) would not be sorry if parliamentary divorces were altogether discontinued; but at all events it must be the duty, and therefore the wish, of their lordships, not to allow

collusion and abuse, nor to be made
instruments of encouragement to conju
infidelity.—As the law of England n
stands, the divorced husband and wife
prohibited, by the ecclesiastical canons
1603, from marrying again in the life-ti
of each other; and a bond to that effec
required accordingly.—By the law of Sc
land the adulterer and adulteress can
no case intermarry after sentence of
vorce. The evangelical law on th
points had been variously interpret
but it was not within his province a
powers, nor indeed was it necessary to
purpose, to attempt to discuss it. His
ject was to adopt the principle of t
Scotch law, as being proper, just, and e
pedient.—It notoriously and frequent
happens, that adulteries take place on t
unprincipled calculation that a change
husbands is desirable and attainable. T
new compact is understood between t
parties, and becomes a sort of honoural
partnership of eventual dishonour, in so
degree sanctioned and guaranteed by t
surrounding society. The human mind
such a mixture of weakness and reasonin
that a woman can sometimes frame to h
self an apology for the breach of her ma
riage vow, in the hope and speculati
that she may contract a new engageme
at the altar with the partner of her crim
By the prevention of such marriages, th
code of seduction will be deprived of o
of its principal allurements. But ho
will the prohibition operate on the s
ducer? It ought, if he possesses one late
spark of generosity, to deter him from a
injury, for which all pretence to r
paration is precluded; and undoubtedl
in many instances, it will have that effec
—We are told, however, by some, that
would be a more effectual discourageme
to adultery, if the offending parties we
compelled to intermarry. This sugge
tion, taken as an epigram, is not remar
able either for its novelty, its truth, o
its wit; taken seriously, it would be
monstrous system of state policy to en
able women to change their husbands a
often as vice, caprice, or interest, migh
dictate. The process would be shor
and simple, and would of course be con
summated, by the special interventio
of parliament, on the very day of th
royal assent to the bill of divorce.—Bu
how will the prohibition operate on the
unfortunate objects of seduction? Ther
is a phrase of hackneyed levity, that "th
woman who deliberates is lost?" but i

been well said by a noble earl (Buck- hamshire) when this subject was de- ed heretofore, that when the prohibi- . in question shall be established, every nan who deliberates will be saved. trievable ruin will present itself to her v.—It is no objection to the measure it will not extend to the case of a rried seducer. If he can contrive to k the heart of his deserted wife, the ibition will eventually apply.—Still is it an objection, that a standing or- is less extensively binding than an act arliament. It will be equally binding urselves as a rule for our proceeding, ss special cases can be imagined in ch we should think it right to make exception. And this mode is con- nt to evident reason, and to the tice of both houses of parliament, in ect to each other. A reference to the nals (from which lord Auckland stated ral precedents) would shew the un- oted truth of this assertion. The pro- ion itself was not new. It had been ght forward first by the duke of Athol, e form of a bill, in 1770: and again he present bishop of Durham, in ; and for the third time in 1800. r lordships' house had always passed bill; but it had not received the con- ence of the house of commons.—In lusion he trusted that he had shewn measure in question to be right in its ciple, expedient in its tendency, and ect in its mode. He did not seek to sh excesses, but to prevent them. It not his wish to aggravate the suffer- of the unfortunate victim of adulter- eduction; but in the words of the poet

To teach the unblemish'd to preserve with
care
That purity, whose loss is loss of all."

then made the following motion: dered, that no Bill, grounded on a ion to this house to dissolve a mar- for the cause of adultery, and to le the petitioner to marry again, shall ceived by this house, unless a provi- be inserted in such bill, that it shall not wful for the person, whose marriage the petitioner shall be dissolved, to in- arry with any offending party, on ac- t of whose adultery with such person, it be therein enacted, that such marriage be so dissolved. Provided, that if e time of exhibiting the said bill, such ding party or parties shall be dead, provision as aforesaid shall not be ted in the said bill."

The Earl of *Radnor* expressed himself as having no inclination to oppose the motion of the noble lord, but was rather disposed to have gone still further in any measure, which might tend to the prevention of so many breaches of the conjugal vow. At the same time he could not refrain from noticing that one injurious consequence would result from that proposition becoming a standing order. It would eventually happen that cases would arise when it might be absolutely necessary or desirable that the order should be dispensed with. This would produce a very unpleasant inference, that favour was shewn in particular cases. He would rather have wished, that some general law could have been adopted, from which it would in no instance be necessary to deviate.

Lord *Mulgrave* entertained the same sentiments on this subject as he had before expressed. His lordship could not perceive how the great cause of morality could be effectually promoted by such a measure. The sum of 4,000*l.* seemed enormous in such a case; but if it were necessary to incur such expences, he should rather say that something should be done to make the matter more equal to the lower classes. He wished as much as any noble lord to diminish offences of this description, which had such baneful consequences, and was willing to do any thing in his power to carry into effect any measure for that purpose, as far as the mild and benignant spirit of our laws could be kept in view. But would morals be promoted by taking away almost the only chance of reforming and amending the life of the female? If noble lords would look at the instances of such persons divorced, who did not marry, and compare them with those who subsequently married, they would find a very great difference. Some unfortunate ladies had displayed, after their faults, a character that might even be called exemplary. He thought such a measure rather encouraged seducers, by taking away all remedy for misconduct. It certainly tended to make the woman a mistress in future and not a wife, and to shut up the door to repentance and reformation. He had a sincere desire to repress the evil, but he had a firm conviction that the prohibition had a tendency rather to increase it. He hoped to see something better proposed than a measure which, in its operation, might become so severe and cruel.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after some prefatory observations, said, that though he was not so fortunate as to hope by this measure to extinguish this great crime, yet he was happy to adopt any practical mode of preventing the facilities to the commission of adultery. It was, he lamented to say, very seldom that he could see their lordships' table pure and clean from the pollution of divorce bills, now becoming daily more frequent. So common indeed were they, that, to use the words of an old author, they seemed to be considered as the proper fruits of marriage. There was, he feared, hardly a pedigree that was not stained and broken by this sad frequency of crime. It was impossible that such things could last long. Marriage was, in fact, the basis of all our relations and duties in social life. It began with the creation, and it remained in the rudest elements of society. Its importance and sanctity were recognized by the universal consent of mankind. In this country, indeed, we did not exalt it into a sacrament; but we regarded it justly as a sacred institution. It was both a civil contract and a religious rite. His grace reviewed the state of matrimonial obligations among the Romans, and shewed, from a variety of illustrations and quotations, the immense importance of guarding them from the intrusions of licentiousness. The misery that the crime of adultery caused to families was of the most serious nature. There was one result of such criminality, which it was the highest duty and soundest policy of any state to prevent; he meant the neglect of children, which was its natural consequence. His grace would not take upon himself to say how far, in ancient times, the barbarous practice of the exposure of children might have arisen from this offence; but he was sure that its frequency might be fairly considered as leading to the greatest indifference, and most shocking carelessness and neglect of our offspring. His grace then proceeded to the religious view of the question, and entered into the history of the customs of the western world on the subject of marriage, which until the Reformation, were considered here indissoluble. After that great event, persons were set at liberty in cases of adultery; and subsequently the marriage of those divorced by act of parliament, took place. With respect to his opinion, and that of his learned and reverend brethren on the bench, his grace observed, that by the divine law there was a liberty to marry again, or else unque tionably that reverend bench would, b fore now, have interposed. He quot passages from Holy Writ, in the o ginal Greek, and in the vernacular tongu expressive of the scripture doctrine this subject, and made a variety of r marks, and used many arguments whi we are sorry we are unable to detai He concluded a very argumentative a eloquent speech by declaring that thought the measure an act of mercy. It was to take out of the mouth of the s ducer his specious, delusive, and fat arguments and temptations, to preve him from recommending himself to th weak by saying he meant nothing di honourable, and pointing out a future ma riage as a source of future and augmente felicity; the means by which female vi tue was but too often and too successfull assailed. He felt it to be his duty, i the hope of attaining some good, to sup port the motion now before their lord ships.

Lord *Erskine* supported the motion. H highly complimented the right reveren prelate for the sentiments he had uttere and dwelt with much eloquence on the i stitution of marriage, the vast influence had on society, and the innumerable an inestimable duties and benefits that flowe from it in all our relations, hopes, and pros pects. It was most extraordinary tha the legislature could permit the founda dation of such a connection to exist in th commission of a crime that struck at it very root, and should enable those to ente into all its advantages, who had treated i with contempt and scorn by the non-ob servance and violation of all the duties i imposed. The adoption of the propose standing order did not prevent their lord ships from acting in particular cases a might seem to them fitting: but the dif ference was abundant between the rul and the exceptions. What greater mis demeanor could there be than seductive adultery? A misdemeanor was a pri vate wrong, but a wrong that injured the peace and happiness of society; and sure ly nuisances and assaults were inferior in the comparison. His lordship painted the picture of a family ruined by this afflict ing offence; the woman degraded and forbidden; the children neglected and despised; the husband made a mark for the finger of scorn to point at. He had voted formerly in a minority in the house of commons on this question. He had, in r thirty years practice at the bar, been cerned in, or conducted almost every of this sort in the chief criminal court the kingdom. Much came to his wledge that could not come before the rt, and the result of his experience , that the prospect of the intermarriage he offenders was a very great facility he commission of the offence. He ght the passing of the motion would memorial of their lordships' wisdom.

he *Lord Chancellor* argued in favour of motion on various grounds, but rejecthe opinion that the offence was much eased of later years. As to the exces of a suit, that must depend upon circumstances of the particular case. lordship reviewed and explained the as it stood, respecting divorces. The rmarriage of the parties could not been in contemplation when divorces *inculo matrimonii* were first granted. stated the difference between such a rce, and one merely *à mensa et thoro,* noticed the circumstance of the bond red into in such cases. He did not ugn the marriages that had occurred r such circumstances as divorces *à ulo matrimonii,* but thought that the of their lordships' proceedings on subjects required amendment. This no undue stretch, since the house aly demanded in the first instance, the eedings of the ecclesiastical court, the nination of witnesses, and the verdict jury for damages. He admitted that were cases which men of feeling generosity would be inclined to re-, but it was impossible to look at a lative measure with such feelings. egislators, what they were to do, was he general benefit.

ord *Grenville* thought nothing more y to corrupt the female mind than prospect held out of an after-marriage the seducer. Punishment he considd intended entirely for prevention: the sort of punishment proposed he ght necessary, for the sake of wives nselves, as well as for the happiness of lies. He exposed the futility of any ment drawn from an anticipated diffee of opinion in the house of commons, e, if that were admitted, it would go rove the impracticability of two disand independent bodies carrying on work of legislation. He thought the ences mentioned in a suit of this kind h larger than any circumstances seeme warrant. On the present footing, it was impossible for any limitation of such expences to bring relief to the lower classes of society. The present system was a wrong one. It proceeded entirely on the principle of granting a private favour by act of parliament; and the man who could devise a good remedy for the inconveniences attending the present system, would confer a great benefit on the country. He supported the proposition with much force, but considered that more good was still to be accomplished.

Earl *Stanhope* rose, he said, not to teach divinity to my lords the bishops, but chiefly to oppose the Lord Chancellor's law. He declared that he would lay his lordship flat upon his back, and make him unsay what he had said about the intermarriages of the criminal parties, before he had done with him. His lordship had questioned the validity of those marriages. Why, then, were all the children bastards, and to lose their estates? As for the people at Doctors'-Commons, they were the absurdest fellows in the world. What did they mean by a bond not to do that which they had no right to do? As to pecuniary penalties, if the lawyers did not like to learn some law from him, he should give them a little from Mr. Dunning, who was a very good lawyer. He was once speaking to Mr. Dunning about pecuniary penalties for offences, and Mr. Dunning gave him a sort of definition of a pecuniary penalty. He told him that a pecuniary penalty was only the payment of a sum for doing that which was illegal. A man paid the penalty (say 20,000*l.*), and then he had done no more than he had a right to in breaking the law. If the commons rejected the clause proposed to be inserted, would their lordships be so unjust as to refuse the relief they thought proper to give at first, merely to save their standing order? Would not this be individual injustice for the sake of a general theory? He had heard his noble relation (lord Grenville) make one of the finest speeches he ever heard in his life against the slave trade, which the noble lord with the star opposite, (the earl of Westmoreland), thought was very beneficial to mankind, and then his noble relation confuted that practice, which by his speech this night he actually supported. Besides, could not that house pass the bill without the clause? He should not speak at length because there was so thin an attendance on so important a subject.

The *Lord Chancellor* with great good

humour explained his former observations, and shewed the misconceptions into which the noble earl had fallen. He was very sorry that the noble earl had misunderstood him; but was much afraid they should not soon understand each other any better.

The Earl of *Liverpool* supported the bill, and lord Darnley entertained a different opinion. His lordship disapproved of the practice of the courts, so much recommended by a late noble and learned judge, of giving heavy damages in cases, where, to any honourable mind, money could be no compensation.

The house then divided,

For Lord Auckland's motion	28
Against it - - - - - - -	12
Majority for the Standing Order	16

PROTEST entered against the Standing Order moved May 2, that in all Divorce Bills that are brought in in future there must be a clause to prevent the intermarriage of the criminal parties.

DISSENTIENT,—1st, Because the Resolution which has been moved this day, with respect to Divorce Bills, appears to us founded merely on a speculation that some good may be produced by it, when no reasonable hope of success has been held out, from the exampe of any other country where this has been tried. And it appears to us, that instead of diminishing the evil complained of, the utmost that can be expected from it is, that it may tend to conceal adultery.

2dly, Because we consider it to be unwise in this house to arrogate to itself the sole right of legislating on this question, and not to allow the other house of parliament the power of deliberating upon so material an alteration in the laws of England.

3dly, Because the right of making a Standing Order upon a public question on which great diversity of opinion prevails, should be exercised with great caution, and must excite jealousy in the other branch of the Legislature.

PONSONBY, BERKELEY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 2.

[INSOLVENT DEBTORS BILL.] Sir *Thomas Turton* rose, agreeably to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of certain Insolvent Debtors. A bill of t description having recently passed Ireland, the hon. baronet saw no reas why the same indulgence should not granted to the unfortunate objects of it this country. He was sorry to say that t number of persons suffering from impriso ment for debt at present were not l than one third more than that which terested the humanity of the legislatu upon the last Insolvency bill. Those su ferers, indeed, including the wives a children, and prisoners, amounted to abo 18,200 persons; many of whom were e during a degree of misery which cou hardly be imagined by those unacquaint with their situation; many of whom we in fact, actually starving. But no man a quainted with the world could be qui unaware of their circumstances, and man susceptible of a generous or just fee ing could be indifferent to their claim A conception had, he understood, pr vailed, that the act of last session, to fac litate the relief of persons confined f sums under 20*l.* would have the effe of an Insolvency act. But nothing cou be a greater mistake; for that act exten ed to but a very few indeed. For instanc of 389 prisoners in the King's Bench, ther were only 33 confined for a sum und 20*l.* Therefore, that measure was calculated to afford very little comparative relief.—The hon. baronet stated, that h meant to propose an alteration in the Committee upon this bill. Hitherto the benef of an Insolvency act was confined to thos whose debts did not exceed 1,500*l.*; bu he hoped when the difference in the valu of money, combined with other circumstances connected with public distress were taken into consideration, it woul not be deemed inadmissible to extend th limit to 2,000*l.* It was also his intention to introduce a new clause, extending th advantages of the act to privileged places such as the Isle of Man. Indeed, he coul see no reason why these places shoul not be included, if the persons confined in them would come forward and surrender their property in the usual way, to claim the benefit of the act.—After remarking upon some delays which he complained of having met with in preparing his bill in consequence of incivility and obstruction in certain offices of the house, the honourable baronet concluded by making his motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not rise to oppose the motion, but to observe to guard against such obstruction in progress of business as the hon. bart. dded to, it might perhaps be proper to e a person appointed to assist members in ing their bills into a regular shape and n; but before such an appointment uld be made, it would, of course, be per to institute an inquiry into the sub- by a committee of the house.

he *Speaker* stated, that it was the in- able custom for every member to pre- and bring forward his own bill; still y clerk belonging to the house should se to give a member any assistance in power, when asked to do so, such con- would be without excuse. Whether officer should be specially appointed id members in drawing up their bills, ould be for the house itself to consider. only stated the practice, and he would add, that every member must know his own experience, here and else- re, that it was not a thing of utter im- ticability for any member to write a sheets of paper.—Leave was given to g in the bill.

RISH BOGS DRAINING BILL.] Mr. *Fos-* se to move for leave to bring in a bill ontriving the means of draining and iming the Bogs of Ireland. That measure was desirable no man ac- nted with Ireland could hesitate to it, and that it was practicable must be ous from a consideration of the state e Bog of Allen, which was the largest in that country. It was ascertained ugh the locks erected upon the canals, the solid earth was not less than 180 above the level of the sea. Of course doubt could exist as to the practica- y of draining it. The object of his was to appoint commissioners who ld undertake without salaries to exa- the other Bogs of Ireland, and to est the means by which they might rained, and the interests of all pro- ors conciliated. The expence of such missioners was not to exceed an al- nce to surveyors, or the persons im- iately employed in exploring the Bogs. the benefits likely to result from this rtaking, the right hon. gentleman ght it unnecessary to say more, than half the ground of those reclaimed s, converted to purposes of agriculture, d produce in a year more corn than ever been imported into Great Britain ny one year, while the other half d grow more hemp and flax, for which ground would be peculiarly calculated, than would serve for the consumption of Great Britain and Ireland. With such advantages in view, he trusted that no objection could arise to this motion.

After a few words from general Tarleton, the right hon. gent.'s motion was agreed to.

[MILITIA COMPLETION BILL.] On the question for the third reading of this bill,

Sir *T. Turton* could not suffer this bill finally to pass through the house without giving it his reprehension. He could not consent to keep up a much larger standing army than the necessity of the times required, and he therefore saw no necessity for adding to it now, when there was no immediate danger of invasion. As for sending armies to the continent to contend against the armies of France, he thought that this country was in no situation to cope by land with France, and therefore that we should not attempt it. The annual expence of our military force was now prodigious, amounting to nearly 25 millions, while we had in arms near 700,000 men. He saw no reason for such a vast expenditure of money, or for tearing so many men from their ordinary avocations.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought that those general declarations against standing armies were very dangerous at the present times. Experience had abundantly proved that it was only by regular armies well supplied, that regular armies were to be effectually resisted. If we wished for security, we must not refuse to pay for it. He disapproved very much of the language which had been held out of doors, and which went to persuade people that this was an enslaved country. For his part, he conceived that it was the most free and happy country in the universe, and he was thankful to providence for assigning it as his lot to be born in this country, and in the present times. As to the conduct of ministers with respect to Spain and Portugal, he thought they were rather too forward than too backward in the assistance they gave. This was an error, however, on the right side, and agreeable to the general feeling of the nation.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* was of the same opinion, and could not agree with those who were against preparation, from the supposition that invasion was not to be dreaded, and that the deliverance of Europe, or any part of it, was absolutely hopeless.

Mr. *Windham* spoke in support of those

military opinions which he had so often expressed in the house. He could not allow that the Local Militia was worth the money it cost, or that it would be in any way better than the Training bill. There were always men enough in the country, and it appeared to him that if, without going to the expence of cloathing or training them, they were simply to be enrolled and incorporated with the army, they would be of more use than locked up in such corps as these under militia officers. He could not see why government now wanted so large an accession to the army as 24,000. Was it that we had suffered losses in Spain to any thing near that amount? or was it, that by their alterations in the system he had the honour of introducing, that the ordinary recruiting had now become defective? He hoped that ministers did not intend to send out expeditions to wage war against the yellow fever in the West Indies. Victories in that part of the world did not increase the confidence of our allies. He really did not wish to trust ministers with large armies, until he had some idea what they meant to do with them. The noble lord's conduct in the disposal of our military means, reminded him of a remark applied to one of his predecessors, that money must be employed, else it would burn him if kept in his pockets. Thus it was with the noble lord, give him an increase of the army, and he was ready to throw it away upon any trash. The right hon. member then took a review of all the military improvements introduced by the noble lord; and adverted to our idle attacks upon the West India islands, lately in the possession of France. Was it proper to make such an application of our means for Sugar Islands, at a moment when this country was actually gorged with sugar?

Lord *Castlereagh* saw no reason in the arguments of the right hon. gentleman to change the wise system which parliament had adopted. With respect to the expedition against Martinique, he should say that, independent of commercial advantages, the exclusion of France from any possession in that quarter of the world, must at least diminish the drafts of British troops to the defence of our colonial possessions.

Mr. *P. Moore* said, that little as he had made military matters his study, he could not help being struck with the case made out this night by the hon. baronet (sir T. Turton) and the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) near him. He had giv his best attention to the whole deba and they had perfectly convinced him th the present measure, as well as the Lo Militia bill, already passed, were both u necessary, and if necessary, incompet to their object, while they burthened t country with an expence of four millio per annum, and distressed its populatio The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windha had said, that, from the indifference which these bills had passed, the coun seemed dead to its true interests, M Moore said, that it was not the coun that was dead to its interests, but it w their representatives in parliament w were dead to a true sense of their du He saw the measure was wholly un cessary, and to justify himself in the o nion of his constituents, he would take t sense of the house upon it; they sho at least know that he was at his post, a doing his duty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, t bill had already been so fully and f quently discussed, that even the rich a fertile mind of the right hon. gent. M Windham had not that night been able advance any thing new upon it. It w not, therefore, to be wondered at, that t members of that house, who had listen to so many discussion, and made up th minds on the subject, should not think necessary to attend this last stage of It was that, and not any inattention to t interests of the public, that caused so t a house at that moment.

Mr. *H. Martin* said, he thought t great danger of the country at the prese crisis would arise from the enormous i crease of its expenditure. The hou ought, therefore, carefully to guard agai all unnecessary expences; and as the pr sent measure would, without any ju cause, add 1,200,000*l.* to the burdens of t people, who were already extremely di tressed, he should vote against the thi reading of the bill.

A division accordingly took plac For the third reading, 57. Against it, The bill was then read a third time a passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 3.

[Stamp Office.]—Mr. *Whitbread*, r ferring to the accounts laid before t house, of the incidental expences the Stamp Office departments in En and Scotland, particularly pointed some items in the accounts for Eng- which he thought required in- gation. There were a number of ng articles paid by the commis- ers of their own authority, which ought required investigation, such as nts wages to the house-keeper, and small sums amounting to between and 400*l.* There was also a consi- ble sum of upwards of 2,700*l.* yearly ged as allowances to stampers for hours at 6*d.* per hour. He under- that all the servants of the office paid for their time. If the salaries too small they ought to be encreased. only, and surely the most economical to have good servants, was to give adequate and liberal salaries. He rved also a sum of 50*l.* to the ware- e-keeper for an increase of duty. hese sums he conceived should be by public grant, and not at the dis- on of the commissioners. In Scot- the items granted in this way were to a greater amount, and there was item which appeared to him to be cularly objectionable. This was a for premiums for procuring good for remitting the Stamp Duties from and to England. He concluded by ng for an Account of the mode of aging, and Charges for managing the p Duties in Scotland for the last two s, distinguishing each particular ge. Also for the authority under h the different extra and incidental nces were paid in England and Scot- And also for an account of the pre- ns for procuring good bills for remit- the Stamp Duties in Scotland to this try.

r. *Huskisson* agreed that the premiums procuring good bills for the purpose ansmitting the Duties from Scotland ngland, were an unnecessary expence. rose from this circumstance, that the sent were at ten instead of forty fifty days. It was not necessary, ever, that the bills should be at ten date, and in future this expence d be avoided. To explain that, till the existence of this mode of con- ing the business was unknown, he ld move for a letter from G. Harrison, on that subject.

r. Whitbread's motions, and the ad- nal motion of Mr. Huskisson, were put and agreed to.

CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.] Earl *Temple*, agreeably to notice, moved for copies of all Communications to the Medical Board in England by the Medical Staff of our Army in Spain, as to the state of the Sick and Wounded of that Army subsequent to their landing in Spain; and for a Return of the amount of sick and wounded, who arrived in this country; also for a Return of the deaths among the sick and wounded in that Army after their return to this country. He grounded his motion on complaints said to have been made, that the same inadequate equipment was to be found in the Medical Department as in the whole of the other branches of that army.

Lord *Castlereagh* opposed the motion, on the grounds that there was no precedent to support it; that there was no occasion for it, as it could produce no public good; and that it could not afford any adequate information on the subject without a comparison with the sick in other armies at home. He had no wish to disguise, that from the great fatigue it had undergone, the army in question had had a greater proportion of sick than most other armies, and that a fever had prevailed on its first landing in this country. By the exertion of the medical men, however, this had been got under; and he was happy to say that the army was now restored to perfect health. He saw no reason, therefore, having never heard any complaints on the subject alluded to by the noble lord, for departing from the general rule, particularly where a deviation from it was likely to produce injurious rather than beneficial effects.

Mr. *Whitbread* was of opinion, that where the country incurred great expence in paying an Apothecary-General, and a great Medical Staff, it became the duty of that house to see that the business for which these gentlemen were paid was properly attended to. He understood that complaints had been made, not only of a deficiency of medical aid in this army, but also of a deficiency of medical stores. He admitted that our army was greatly exposed to disease, both in the course of the campaign, and also on its return home, and that the detail of such distresses would be disastrous to contemplate. But, on the other hand, if complaints were made that these disasters proceeded from a want of medical aid, or from a deficiency of medical stores, he thought it impossible for the noble lord to refuse compliance with the motion.

Lord *Castlereagh* declared, that no such complaints had ever come to his ears, either directly or indirectly, and that this was the first intimation he had ever heard on the subject. He pledged himself to enquire into the fact.

General *Tarleton* said, it was true that no such return was called for when the troops returned from Dunkirk or the Helder; but then they were by no means so numerous as those upon the expeditions to Portugal and Spain, who also had suffered much greater hardships. As a soldier, he rejected the assertion of the noble lord, that such an inquiry had a tendency to damp the ardour of the troops. On the contrary, nothing could more highly excite that ardour, or more firmly attach them to the service, than to find a strict attention paid by their leaders to provide for their accommodations, their comforts, and their wants. No evil could result from the enquiry in the present case. If the rumour was unfounded, the fallacy would be proved, and the country satisfied.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could not see that the papers moved for would throw any material light on the subject. The number of those killed and wounded in a campaign, or the number who died subsequently, either of their wounds, or the fatigue of a very rapid retreat in the midst of winter, would not, of itself, imply any charge against the medical board, or medical assistants. The house should be satisfied, or at least have reason to believe, that there was some loss occasioned by this cause, before they instituted inquiry. If, however, any regular complaint was made of actual loss from either of those causes, he would allow, that it would be proper that there should be an inquiry.

Mr. *Freemantle* thought the motion was proper upon other grounds. If any unusual number of men were lost upon any expedition, it was necessary to find out the cause. If, instead of the blame attaching to the medical board, it was found to have proceeded from bad arrangements in the transport service, and from the manner in which they were embarked; this also, though affecting ministers more than the medical board, was a proper subject of inquiry, and it was therefore necessary that the facts should be ascertained.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, he would not feel comfortable in negativing a motion which proceeded from an anxiety to inquire into any thing which concerned the lives or health of those concerned in expeditions. He knew that in the administration lord Melville, great improvements w made in the mode of embarking the troo which improvements he supposed we still in force. He hoped, however, tha the motion were withdrawn, it would perfectly understood that the subj would undergo a full inquiry out of doo

Lord *Castlereagh* said, if there had be no particular inquiry hitherto upon th point, it was because he had never hea such a complaint made before; and the was nothing on the face of the papers lead him to suspect any fault in this d partment. As the subject, however, h been mentioned in the house, he shou make it his business to inquire particular

Earl *Temple*, in consequence of this pr mise of the noble lord, consented to wit draw his motion.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 4.

[AMERICA— AFFAIR OF THE CHES PEAKE.] The Earl of *Selkirk* rose to ma his promised motion relative to the Affa of the Chesapeake. He had long wished hear the question brought forward by som person of more weight in the house; th hope had been disappointed, and circumstances did not allow the subject to longer delayed. In a former negotiatio to which this affair had led, ministers ha shewn a disposition to make improp concessions. A renewal of the negotiatio being probable, the interposition of th house became necessary, to prevent a sacrifice of our national honour, and with our first national interest, the maintenance of our maritime preponderanc Nothing, he trusted, was yet irrevocabl concluded, and an expression of the sens of the house might prevent the evil Under these circumstances, it was th duty of the house to offer its advice, as th hereditary council of the crown; and th house would not abandon that privileg and that duty, notwithstanding the nove doctrine lately broached, that no subjec of discussion was fit to be entertained by the house, unless ministers had given their consent to the enquiry.—It was the more necessary to bring forward this discussion on account of the misapprehensions which prevailed as to the real state of the case. It was a matter of notoriety, that admiral Berkeley having intelligence that certain British deserters were on board the American frigate, gave orders to demand their

oration, and in case of resistance to
ch for them by force. It was well
vn that our government had immedi-
y disavowed this act, and offered to
e reparation for it: Their conduct in
respect has met with little animad-
on. The attack had been considered
n unwarrantable aggression: but it
d only be considered in that light,
a total inattention to the circum-
es which led to it—circumstances of
h the public do not seem to have been
informed. The question has been
d as if it rested entirely upon the right
arching neutral ships, and it has been
down as incontestible, that this right
not extend to national vessels com-
oned by a neutral state. Admitting
however, on what does the distinc-
rest between national and private
s? It cannot be contended that to
ce away deserters, though a violation
ur national rights when done by a
te individual, is no offence from per-
in the immediate employment of a
rnment. But in this case the govern-
being answerable for the conduct of
rvants, is presumed to be willing, on
er application, to redress the wrong
punish the offender. It is because
is no such means of redress in the
of private offenders, that it must be
n by summary means. But if a go-
nent refuses to redress notorious wrong
mitted by their servants against the
s of another country, they are guilty
act of hostility; they have given
able cause of war; the grounds of
distinction in favour of the national
mission are done away; and redress
be sought by the same summary
s as in the case of individuals. The
rican government put itself decidedly
this predicament. The officers em-
ed in fitting out the Chesapeake fri-
received and protected men noto-
ly deserters from the British navy.
erous applications from their officers
refused or evaded; and the Ameri-
government, when applied to by our
l and envoy, would give no redress.
rd Selkirk entered into a detail of
in proof of these assertions. Rat-
one of the deserters seized on board
Chesapeake, was afterwards seized at
fax, when it was clearly proved that he
several others had deserted, under cir-
stances aggravated by mutiny, and had
received the very next day at Nor-
n Virginia as recruits for the American service. At the suggestion of the American officer, they entered themselves by false names; and this officer, when applied to by the captain and the British consul, pretended to know of no such men, though they had been seen parading openly under the American flag, in sight of the British officers, who offered to point them out. Every application was evaded with shameful prevarication; nor were these confined to officers of inferior rank. Two others of the deserters taken out of the Chesapeake, made voluntary confession at Halifax, in which they declared that commodore Barron had promised to protect them, "though they were deserters from an English man of war," and yet the answer of commodore Barron to captain Humphries of the Leopard, when he demanded the deserters, was, that he knew of none such being on board. Ratford was proved and acknowledged himself to be born in London; yet the president of the United States, in the proclamation issued after the attack on the Chesapeake, asserts, that "it had been ascertained that the men demanded were native born Americans." It was repeatedly professed that orders had been given to enlist no British deserters; and yet after the trial of Ratford had clearly proved that this order had not been obeyed, no inquiry was ever instituted into the conduct of their officers. This alone was sufficient to make the American government a party to the offence. But there was further ground to believe that they had all along connived at it. The British consul in Virginia had forwarded to Mr. Erskine a statement of the desertion of Ratford and his associates, with a description of their persons, by which Ratford in particular might have been identified with perfect ease and certainty. These documents must of course have been communicated to the American government by Mr. Erskine, which would appear if this correspondence were produced. Taking the whole circumstances together, nothing could be more absurd than to treat the attack on the Chesapeake as an unprovoked outrage. A palpable offence had been committed against our national rights, and all redress being refused, there was no alternative left, but to take it into our own hands. It is objected, indeed, that by the orders he gave, admiral Berkeley went beyond his power and his just province, taking upon himself to decide questions of peace or war. This, however, cannot affect the question be-

tween the two nations. Admiral Berkeley did no more than his government had a just right to order him to do; whether he acted by previous orders or not, could only be a question between him and his own government. Nothing had been done by Britain against America, more than the conduct of America had fully justified. That was not a proper case for the offer of reparation; if any were due, it would be from that government which had encouraged its officers in a voluntary infringement of our national rights. To make an offer of reparation, in the unqualified manner in which it had been made, was equivalent to an admission, that the Americans had been guilty of no offence; in other words, that their government might seduce away our men without question; or that, if such acts were covered with a sufficient coat of prevarication and falsehood, no other satisfaction would be required. To acquiesce in such conduct could only lead to further provocations: and if this needed any proof, it would be found in the circumstance, that at the very time when the American officers in Virginia were enticing away British deserters, the civil power in Maryland was employed to aid the officers of a French ship to recover some of theirs. Much has been said of the provocations given to America by the British government, yet what comparison can the utmost exaggeration make between those provocations which America resents so vehemently when coming from Britain, and those to which she has quietly submitted from France. The French government, however, has at least had the merit of being uniform and consistent; while the vacillating and unsteady policy of Britain, leading the Americans to expect the most extravagant concessions, is the real cause of their violence against us. The present ministers had shewn a more steady resistance to these demands, than on many former occasions; and so far at least their conduct had certainly been advantageous to the country. —Upon the facts already stated, lord Selkirk argued, that sufficient grounds had been laid for an address to the throne to state the opinion of the house, that satisfaction ought to be demanded from the American government, for the conduct of their officers, in seducing deserters from his majesty's naval service. That proposition rested on the acknowledged principles of the law of nations. But the question was closely connected with the general maritime rights of Great Britain; righ which were to be maintained on muc broader grounds. The claim of this kingdom to the dominion of the seas has bee treated by some of the highest authoriti on the law of nations, as altogether unten ble, and is still looked upon by many enlightened men as a fanciful creation of vu gar prejudice. But the circumstances of th world have so completely changed with the last twenty years, that the reasoning of Grotius and Puffendorf are no long applicable to the existing state of thing On the very principles laid down by the eminent writers, there is now ground f asserting, on the part of Great Britain, paramount right of jurisdiction over th ocean, founded on the same principles o which any other legitimate sovereignt can be claimed; on the principle that a legiance and protection are reciprocal du ties. The British navy is the power whic alone protects the freedom of the seas. gigantic usurpation has overpowered th continent of Europe, and pursues its law less course towards universal empire, se ting at defiance all the restraints of justic and morality; and were it not checke by the naval power of Great Britain would assuredly be as tyrannical at sea a at land. The former conduct of Franc towards America itself is a sufficient pro of this. The Americans cannot have forgot the rapine, violence, and insult of th French cruizers from the year 1797 t 1799. The French government, now th champion of the liberty of the seas, the set up against neutral commerce pretensions the most monstrous, and in a state o professed peace exercised unheard-of depredations on the American commerce Every vessel which contained a single article of British produce or manufacture wa condemned as prize, with all its cargo On this and other such pretences, withou a shadow of right, depredations were committed to the extent of 20 or 30 millions o dollars. In less than two years at leas 300 American ships had in this way been condemned, for all which no reparation has to this day been made. The American government submitted, without venturing upon one act of retaliation; and at length concluded, in 1800, a treaty with France in which the adjustment of the sums mutually due and claimed, is put off to a more convenient opportunity. These captures were accompanied by every species of cruelty and insult. American captains were confined in irons, flogged, and even

ured. These facts rest on no doubtful
nority. Mr. King, their ambassador at
don, himself attests the case of an Ame-
n captain, on whose hands he saw the
ks of the thumb-screws. To all this,
gh continued for several years, the
erican government was obliged to sub-
; and if they are not still under the
essity of submitting to such treatment,
the British navy which protects them.
other neutrals are in the same predica-
r. Not one of them would be able to
ntain their own rights against the power
France. While the splendid victories
ur navy have invested this nation with
er to dictate the laws which are to go-
the ocean, nothing is wanted but a
and equitable exercise of this power to
t on the same footing with any other
imate jurisdiction. It is no less for our
est than our honour to obviate every
ability of its being exerted unjustly.
dominion of the seas, for which we
nt to contend, is not the mere vague
ndancy of superior force—an ascen-
y which, being exercised without rule,
occasionally be absurd, but a regular,
ematic, organized sovereignty, under
h we ought to give to the commerce
ll maritime independent nations the
protection as to our own, but with
express condition of their concurring
us in the measures which are necessary
he maintenance of that naval power,
h is the last stay of the liberties of the
d. Upon these principles, the British
l power might be rendered the basis
grand maritime confederacy, under
h the commercial rights of the asso-
d states might be clearly defined and
red against all interruption. To such
ns as are disposed to enter frankly
these views, every commercial advan-
, which we can bestow, ought freely
communicated. Those countries, on
ther hand, which are under the con-
of our antagonist, ought not to be al-
d to navigate a ship. If it be not an
fancy now to think of peace with
ce, the only condition on which it can
concluded with any appearance of
y, is that of her absolute renunciation
l rights on the sea, the surrender or
uction of her ships of war, and the
ed renewal of hostilities when the first
is driven into a new one. On this
ciple, a system of foreign policy, wor-
of the British nation, may yet be built;
on this system alone, can we expect
rm a counterpoise to the overgrown power of France on the continent of Europe. Next to the establishment of an effectual system of military defence at home, this is the most important object of our policy; and one, in competition with which no commercial advantage deserves a moment's consideration. It is high time to act systematically on this view, to assert and maintain our maritime sovereignty, to lay down just and impartial laws, not to allow any nation in the world to navigate a ship except in compliance with them. With respect to America, we have no commercial interest that should be an obstacle to amicable arrangements; but if the great objects of maritime power and defence, involving the very existence of Britain, are to be sacrificed for paltry commercial advantages, disgrace will be our portion, and ultimate ruin will be the consequence. If America be inclined to enter into treaty in a spirit truly friendly, there is little to be settled; but let her embargoes and non-intercourse acts continue, till she explicitly recognizes the British sovereignty of the seas.—Lord Selkirk concluded with moving an Address:—"Humbly submitting to his majesty the opinion of the house, that in any arrangement which may be entered into, for the accommodation of the differences subsisting between his majesty and the United States of America, it is essential to the honour of the British nation, that full satisfaction should be made by the American government, for the conduct of their officers in receiving and protecting deserters from his majesty's naval service, and particularly those entered for the American frigate Chesapeake, in the year 1807."

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, he did not rise for the purpose of going at length into all the arguments of the noble earl who brought forward the present motion. He should occupy a small portion of their lordships' time, because the same reason which he had assigned for refusing the papers moved for by the noble earl, particularly applied upon the present occasion. The fact was, certain differences did exist between his majesty's government and the United States, and a negociation had been commenced for the purpose of their adjustment, which was not yet brought to its final issue. Now, the motion of the noble earl called upon that house to interpose and give advice to his majesty, pending the negociation, and they were called upon to do this, without knowing all the circumstances, or even the state in which the negociation existed. This was a particular province and department of the royal prerogative, and he would submit it to the consideration of the house, how far they would act properly or judiciously, in thus interposing their advice, without any clear knowledge upon the subject. He was not a little surprised that a motion of this nature should have been brought forward by any noble lord; for if any interposition whatever ought to have been moved for, it should rather have been that his majesty would inform the house with respect to the progress and state of the negociation. Unknown to the noble earl (Selkirk,) his majesty's ministers had acted in the very manner which he had thought proper to point out: they had made satisfaction to the Americans, by declaring the conduct of the English officer unjustifiable, but under certain conditions, that the American government should also make reparation for the conduct of their officers. It was his duty not to say how the affair exactly stood; nor was he disposed to go more at length into the merits of the question. With respect to what the noble earl had stated concerning our maritime rights, he should also decline embracing the discussion, because it was a field of considerable extent; at the same time, he could not refrain from remarking, that the doctrine laid down was new, and a great part of it very strange to his mind. He had only to observe, that the situation of the United States and this country was such as justly precluded his majesty from making any communication, in the present state of the negociation; and he was induced to believe their lordships would agree with him in opposing the motion.

Viscount *Sidmouth* thought it his duty to trouble the house with a few observations on the question under consideration; and in doing so, he should take up a very small portion of their time. He certainly concurred with a great part of what had been stated by the noble Secretary, but he could not accord with the proposition that it was unusual or unprecedented for that house or the other house of parliament to interpose their advice to his majesty pending a negociation. He could adduce several instances where such had been the conduct of parliament. Instances occurred in the reigns of William and Mary, queen Anne, George I., and George II. In 1707 such an interposition had been made to queen Anne, desiring her majesty not to make peace unless the Spanish monarchy and dominions in the Ind should be restored to the house of Austr Therefore he was well convinced it w agreeable to the constitution, to give a vice to his majesty pending a negociatio and in doing so they did not exercise t prerogative itself, but only gave their a vice that it might be duly exercised. regard to the present motion, he did n concur with the noble earl (Selkirk,) th the nature of circumstances called for required that house to interpose its advi on the present occasion. That noble e had spoken at considerable length up the maritime rights of Great Britain, a the opinions which he entertained doubt proceeded from a comprehensi and enlightened mind; but they did n warrant him in giving them his approb tion. He was not disposed to raise naval superiority into a Sovereignty of t Seas; he thought it was sufficient for us maintain that superiority, by recognizi the maritime rights of other nations. Th superiority would be best strengthen and the longest maintained, by exerc ing it upon principles of justice a equity; by attending strictly to whi we should be the best enabled to increa our own prosperity.

The Earl of *Liverpool* wished to expla that he had not meant to say, it was u precedented for parliament to interp its advice pending a negociation, but t it was unprecedented so to interpose advice, until the house had arrived a knowledge of the progress and state the negociation.

Viscount *Sidmouth* continued to be opinion, that there were instances wh parliament had interposed its advice wi out knowing the state of the negociatio

After a few words from the earl of S kirk in reply, the motion was put and gatived without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 4.

[COLONEL OGLE.] Lord *Folkestone* r for the purpose of stating to the hou that when he first moved for the Pap now on the table relative to colo Ogle's Levy, he had applied to the c duct of that gentleman some strong ter among others, that he had been guilty perjury, fraud, and forgery. Since th he, from further inquiry, found that he w in error, and that no such serious cha was attributable to colonel Ogle.

refore felt it his duty to declare to the se the error he had fallen into, parti- arly as colonel Ogle had expressed a y anxious desire that such an explana- should take place where the charge originated. As to the remainder of at he had stated, he did not mean now etract. He concluded by moving for copy of a Letter from Mr. Merry of War Office to Mr. Humphreys, dated October, 1808, respecting colonel e's levy.—This paper was accordingly nted.

Mr. Curwen's Parliamentary Reform l]. Mr. *Curwen* rose and spoke as ows: Mr. Speaker; the question of ch I have given notice, and am now ed on to submit to the consideration of house, is as important as any recently ght under their consideration. It is without the deepest regret I feel my- compelled to advert to the existence ractices derogatory to the honour and tation of this branch of the legisla- I shall not disguise my full convic- that heavy responsibility attaches to agitating unnecessarily, at such a cri- measures by which the feelings of the ple may be still more irritated: when nsider the dangers and difficulties to ch the country is exposed, I am ready wise to admit that the present moment, e choice was open to us, would be the t proper for such an investigation. In mon with other gentlemen, I feel it to the bounden duty of us all, whatever y be our political sentiments, to pro- ce union, and give efficacy to every asure calculated for the general safety defence of the country.

With this declaration of my sentiments, el that I am bound to make out such ase as shall show that greater danger y arise from neglecting to discuss the stions proposed to be laid before the se, than can arise from their discus- Is it policy, or wisdom, nay is it sible for us, to be inattentive or passive ctators of what is passing amongst our ow subjects? Can that be termed mag- imity which disregards the voice of people resounding from every quarter the empire? Are not the interests of nation deeply involved in the estima- n and respect in which this house stands h the people? Could there be a greater fortune to the country than the loss of fidence in the commons? To us, then, attributed the corruption, the prodiga- , and waste of public money: we are charged in participating in it: the defects in our representation are pointed at as the source of all these evils; and we are called on to reform these abuses.—If these charges be false and unfounded, ought we not to refute them? If true; ought they not to be corrected? Let us act betimes, whilst we have yet the power of fixing the time and the degree to which regulation ought to extend. If abuses have crept in amongst us; and in truth, they are too notorious and self-evident to be denied; let us proceed gravely and dispassionately to examine their origin and nature, and to apply effectual remedies. Whatever we now do, will be received by the country as a boon; and may restore unanimity. Wide as the field is, I promise the house not to occupy more of their time than is necessary to the faithfully discharging of an important duty.

My first object shall be to endeavour to prove the propriety of bringing forward the measure at this moment, as a justification for myself, as well as a ground to call on the house for their sanction. If blame does attach, it is imputable solely to myself: besides my worthy friend, one of the members for Norfolk, (Mr. Coke), whose absence I regret, my intention of submitting this question to the house was not communicated to an individual till I gave notice of it.—It will not be denied that it is at all times the duty of the executive government to pay particular attention to the temper and feelings of the people; and to note well any material alterations which may take place. To this important duty I am strongly inclined to believe that the right hon. gent. opposite, has not been sufficiently attentive. Prior to certain recent discussions, there was manifested throughout the country, an unusual apathy and torpid indifference to public men and public measures. Whilst such a deviation from British character existed, the people could not be considered in a healthy state. A calm so unnatural in the political world, ought to have excited alarm, as foreboding an approaching storm: the causes of it are however not difficult to develope. A general disgust and disbelief of the existence of virtue in all public men had taken root. Corruption had destroyed all public confidence. But at length, the discussions which have recently taken place in this house, have awakened fresh hopes in the people, and tended to revive their confidence. They perceive that there still exist in this

house, talents and numbers to contend against abuses.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer is not, I trust, among those who ascribe the general feeling which pervades the country to a Jacobinical plot to vilify and degrade the house of Brunswick. If he does, he libels the people of England. Much is it to be regretted that the decision pronounced by this house on the important subject alluded to, was so little in unison with that pronounced by ninety-nine out of a hundred of the people. The general opinion is, doubtless, that it was by the public voice the Commander in Chief was driven to resignation: but their exultation does not proceed from any idea of triumph over this house. No, Sir. This burst of feeling proceeds from a sentiment more worthy of the people. Despondency has now given way to more pleasing emotions: hope is again cherished (and may that hope meet with no disappointment) that a speedy Reform of abuses is approaching. On this house then, it depends to convert this feeling to the wisest and best purposes. Can it be pretended that these feelings, publicly expressed, are the effect of delusion, of artifice, or intrigue? It is well worth our attention to examine how the meetings have been composed; as well as the language in which their Resolutions have been worded. It will be found that they have consisted of the respectable part of the community; of men attached to the constitution, firm supporters of the throne; not hostile to the administration of the right hon. gent., or friendly to those opposed to him. In their expressions will be found nothing to justify alarm, except in the minds of those who profit by abuses. Invariably they point at these abuses, and at the defects in this house, as their source. By timely Reform you will turn the tide of popular feeling, and convert it into increased affection and attachment to the constitution. It is true dignity to resist, when right and justice are on our side: but it is obstinacy and madness to identify our existence with abuses which we can neither deny nor defend.—The measures, Mr. Speaker, which I have to submit to the house, are calculated to renovate, not to alter any thing in the existing establishment. I do not propose to dislodge one stone in the building; but to examine whether through the lapse of time its foundation may not have need of reparation; and to submit to your consideration, a mode of effecting that reparation, which if much longer neglected w
bring into danger the whole fabric.

Before I explain my proposition, I wo
beg the indulgence of the house fo
moment, whilst taking a rapid view of
circumstances under which former R
forms have been attempted. Nearly ab
the conclusion of the American war, M
Pitt made his first proposition.—The ag
culture of the country was then depress
our commerce stagnant; taxes augme
ed; and all rational hope of success in
contest, vanished. An opposition the m
respectable in character, talents, and wei
of property, failing in every attempt
convince this house, appealed to the p
ple: they succeeded in raising a gene
cry for Peace and Reform. By driv
the minister from the helm, they obtai
the former. Reform they would have
tained, had Mr. Pitt maintained his c
sistency. This house received his pro
sition with considerable favour. In
progress of time, however, the politi
horizon brightened; our difficulties w
removed; and the minister, finding
facility with which he could govern
the old system, fled from his promis
and abandoned his former supporters. U
fortunate was it for his country, that
thus sacrificed his reputation; and pref
red place with corruption, to measures
which he was pledged, and which wo
have secured us from the present, a
from future dangers!—I pass over mi
attempts which excited little sensatic
the next serious effort was made by "
Friends of the People." They sought
inspire the country with their own sen
ments: but the moment was unpropitio
Reform was neither called for nor wish
The events in France had astounded, a
created general alarm amongst all ra
of people. Mr. Pitt finding that he co
not avoid discussing the question, or defe
his apostacy, seized the moment to exc
alarm, and adopted measures to avert s
posed dangers, which, a short time previ
to this association, he had treated w
contempt. Great was the error of th
gentlemen, and not less that of the opp
sion of the day, in not paying suffici
deference to the feelings of the people.
Speaking for myself at least, on a revi
of that period, I lament the warmth
which I was occasionally betrayed. T
indiscretion of our zeal afforded oppor
nities to designing men to misrepresent
intentions. Here, Sir, may be found
strong example of the defect of politi

dom; in not attending to the temper
feelings of the people.—Contrasting
ner periods with the present, I think,
I am borne out by the fact, in stating,
now, for the first time, the people
out for Reform, without instigation, and
ly on their own persuasion of its ne-
ity. Such a call ought not to be repre-
ed as delusion; cannot be expected to
ide; or be safely disregarded.

low, Sir, allow me to remark on the
rence that lapse of time has occasioned
veen our present state, and that in
h we were at either of the periods to
ch I have before particularly alluded.
power and influence of the crown
e received considerable increase: our
y, navy, system of taxation, and ex-
liture, are at present on such a scale,
under such management, as material-
o augment that influence:—and next,
rve the effects which Mr. Pitt's pro-
creation of Peers has produced.—
hout much enriching that noble body,
as tended to impoverish us. This
ght of landed property and influence
been subtracted from this house and
ed to another, which may fairly be
osed to direct its views more towards
crown than the people. The argu-
ts then for restoring the purity of this
se, for adding to its respectability whilst
restore its integrity, are infinitely
nger at the present, than at any former
od.—Distant, however, as it is from
wish or intention, Sir, to say a word un-
essarily, that may be construed into
espect to this house, I shall touch as
ntly as may be, on the abuses proposed
e remedied. To our own Journals I
indeed refer, by which it appears, a
petitioner has told us, "that the
s are bought and sold in this house
the stalls in Smithfield;" and I may
ark, that to this insult the house thought
o submit in silence. For my purpose
quite sufficient to recall to memory
statement made by an hon. member,
he infamous traffic which on the dis-
tion of every parliament takes place
he Treasury, and the memorable reply
e to that statement by the Chancellor
the Exchequer. What was that re-
? Denial? No, no; Recrimination.
f the example of others, or as if any
ext, could justify a crime so atrocious
flagrant.—In some former parliament,
ercantile house in the city, for-
h, also speculated in this commodity.
y bought four seats: whether to vend
again, in retail; or to dispose of to some special customer, I am not informed.—In the quarter of England in which I reside, an occurrence, also in a former parliament, may be stated. A lady, whose influence in a certain borough was supposed to be considerable, was surprized by a visit from a person, naming himself Reding, or some such name. He proceeded at once to business, and offered her 10,000 guineas for the two seats. The respectable lady dismissed him with indignation. But the borough-monger, judging of others by himself, conceived that the rejection of his offer could not proceed from any other motive, than its inadequacy. He returns to the charge: bids 12,000 guineas! This drew from the lady a reply which does honour to her memory; "Never have I disgraced myself with such practices: it is now too late in life for me to begin them."—But, Sir, if I needed any proof of the existence of these abuses besides their notoriety, I might refer to the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, witnessed by the whole house. In a bill he has introduced to stop the sale of places, &c. he consented to accept a clause inflicting penalties on the traffic in seats in this house. Here, Sir, is an avowal of the existence of the abuse. It is no answer to say that he finds difficulty in framing a clause to correct it. May not another man attempt it? If the right hon. gentleman maintain that no such abuses exist, then let us adopt the suggestion of an hon. gentleman behind me, and examine into the fact in a committee.—The anxious care with which the legislature has guarded the purity of election is evinced by a mere reference to the Statute-book. From the 13th Elizabeth to the 10th of the king, various laws have been passed for this very purpose: my design is merely to further their operation, and extend their principle. The sale or purchase of seats has not indeed been directly forbidden, or even pronounced illegal; but I am persuaded, Sir, that this is because the question has never yet happened to be directly brought, either under parliamentary, or judicial cognizance.—Notwithstanding the precedents which seem to apply so strongly to my plans; still, Sir, I might have hesitated in proposing them, had not I found myself fortified by an authority to which every Englishman looks with veneration. During the present reign, the selection of persons clad in the ermine of justice, has certainly done

honour to his majesty's government. Both in point of talents and unimpeached integrity, our judges have been most eminent: and in no country, and at no time, has the administration of justice been more unblemished. From this body I draw my authority: I have, Sir, the direct sanction of sir W. Blackstone himself,* for the extension to the elected of the oath against bribery. Under such authority as his, I feel confidence in adopting this as a leading feature in the proposed measures of reformation.—Another measure, Sir, I shall beg leave to propose, will be to impose penalties on the sale, or contracting to sell a seat in this house: and next, to extend the bribery laws to agents or other persons attempting to corrupt electors during the whole period of parliament; to preclude their receiving a corrupt consideration for their votes, at any period, as well subsequent, as preceding the election.

To revert, Sir, to the first, in order, of the measures about to be submitted to the house, if the legislature has seen the necessity of guarding the purity of election by an oath administered to the elector, how much more strongly will every argument apply to the representative. To him, are entrusted the lives and properties of the people; on his faithful execution of that trust depends the preservation of all that man holds dear. The moral sanction of an oath by him being better understood, would be better observed, and in fact, considering the class of men from which this house is usually composed, I do not harbour the least suspicion, but that this measure will attain completely its object. When the question, Mr. Speaker, is brought directly before the house, whether or not they will require from their own members, an oath similar to that already imposed on their constituents, if that question be decided in the negative, in common fair dealing let them also exempt the great body of electors. Such a proposal would, I fancy, find few supporters. —But, Sir, the house has already agreed to the expedience of requiring from its members certain oaths. The principle is neither new, nor can be construed to imply any disrespect towards any of our number. To the immortal honour of the wise and virtuous statesman to whom this house and this country owes the obligation, and by whose respectable name the act will ever be distinguished, (Mr. Grenville,) the tribunals for the adjudication of contested elections, acting under the solemnity of an oath, have been found to execute their important trust with unsullied integrity. From tradition and from history we know what the evils were, which required this very remedy. It has been tried: it has been found effectual. No voice is heard, no sentiment is felt, but that of applause to the measure itself, and gratitude to its author.

On the subject, Sir, of the proposed restraint on the Sale of Seats, I shall content myself with remarking, that if the legislature in its wisdom has thought fit to forbid the corrupt disposal of a single vote, *à fortiori*, should they restrain the transfer of the seat itself on considerations equally immoral. The crime is of deeper dye: it brings on us ignominy at home and abroad. It is indeed high time that a practice so flagitious should be marked with our reprobation, and subjected to punishment.—The Sale of the elective franchise by the voters themselves, has, I fear, Sir, become too frequent. As it affects the state, and as it is accompanied among the lower orders with an increasing relaxation of morals, it demands imperiously a remedy speedy and effectual. These scandalous bargains are, it seems, often not completed till after the period is elapsed for petitioning. The Bribery Act, in these cases, becomes a dead letter.—One objection to my plan, Mr. Speaker, which I have heard taken, is that it would tend to exclude talent; that those who possess no other recommendation or means of courting public favour would find increased difficulties in procuring seats. In my own opinion, a great recommendation of this measure is, that the effect would be found precisely opposite. As things stand, place in one scale, Mr. Goodluck's five thousand guineas; in the other, modest merit; and which may be expected to preponderate?—That some men have found their way hither, solely from the reputation of their abilities, we may instance Mr. Pitt himself. To the credit of a man whose political opponent I was through life, I mean the late lord Lonsdale, he more than once returned Mr. Pitt to this house, gratuitously. Let this measure pass; and there is no ground for apprehension, but that patrons of seats would feel their honour as much concerned

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* "It might not be amiss if the members elected were bound to take the latter oath (viz. against Bribery and Corruption,) as well as the former; i. e. the Oath of Abjuration." 1st Bl. Com. p. 180.

in the due exercise of that patronage,
ney now do with regard to ecclesiasti-
preferments. How seldom do we hear
ne possessors of the latter species of pa-
ge being swayed by sordid motives?
ther objections which I have heard
m, seem all to resolve themselves into
that every means of corruption would
ut up by the roots, and every subter-
defeated. I am told that a Reform
ne Representation should precede such
easure; that when this is effected, we
place our guards for its preservation.
I question the sincerity of this advice.
commends the undertaking any thing
hat which is likely to succeed. By
y, I well know I shall be deemed to at-
little, if my object succeeds: by
rs, I shall be deemed guilty of pre-
tion in attempting too much. My
sentiments I never disguise:—the
sures I have this night submitted to the
se, do indeed fall short of what I
nt wish, or even think necessary; but
ve undertaken no more than what I
may be found practicable, and if
ed into effect, productive of real, per-
ent benefit to my country. For po-
r applause I care not, and look not;
earnestly wish, by the conscientious
harge of my duty, to deserve it.

shall now proceed, Sir, to shew what
d be the practical benefits resulting
the correction of existing abuses.—
first and the most important would be
re-establishment of this house in the
l opinion of the people; an advantage
cannot be too highly estimated. I
ld be unworthy of a seat in parliament
were disposed to give way to popular
our and delusion. But the just and
imate complaints of the people I would
ess; their reasonable petitions I would
ply with. The arguments urged against
rm in general, do not apply to mea-
of wise regulation; and least of all,
re the circumstances are found essen-
y different.

adverting to the next topic, Mr.
ker, I would, in the first place, wish
uard against misapprehension. In the
s of commerce I am well persuaded
e are to be found men of as high honour,
dependent minds, of as much general
rmation, and in every point of view as
ectable, as in any other. But there are
hed to every class in society a pecu-
character, and distinguishing habits:
ormer days, the mercantile character
marked by frugality and industry: Amidst all our changes, has there not taken place some change in these characteristics? Trade is commuted for speculation: a lucky hit produces the objects of a whole life. If unsuccessful, hundreds are reduced to poverty, and the principal consigned to a prison, and oblivion.

How few are there among us who can decide impartially and correctly when our own immediate interests are at stake? War produces loans, contracts, and not unfrequently an extension of commerce to those engaged in certain branches of it. Is it uncandid to suppose that those who contemplate war under this aspect, will not be as averse to it as the landed proprietor who knows and feels its miseries. He who spends a considerable portion of his time in the country necessarily witnesses the hardships that war produces to the lower classes. The power of interest over judgment and every patriotic feeling, was strongly exemplified by an occurrence which, I wish to God, could be erased from the memory of man, and the page of history. On the Royal Exchange, when the lord mayor communicated in 1806, the miscarriage of our negociations for peace, his auditors expressed their indecent, unfeeling exultation, by three cheers!

By the alterations I propose, a larger proportion of the landed interest would appear amongst us. The mercantile portion of the community would continue, indeed, to represent the metropolis and those boroughs where they have a natural interest. The very excellence of parliament consists in having a due proportion of all ranks in society: considering the importance of our commerce, I should be sorry if we had not of those who pursue it, that due proportion, as well as of the army, and learned professions. But the peculiar advantage of having the landed proprietor in this house, is that each individual brings with him the affections and the confidence of a portion of the people. Thus the united affections of each portion of the empire, concentre in parliament; and hence springs the moral power which it possesses. The infallible consequence, Sir, of increasing the numbers of our country-gentlemen within these walls, would be to make us more pacifically disposed. It would give a different tone to our councils. It would check the rage for foreign commerce, and the acquisition of fresh colonies. It would turn our efforts and our attention to domestic improvement; to the melioration of our internal resources and the happiness of our country. It would inspire greater moderation of conduct towards other nations, and dispose us not to imitate on the ocean those strides of power which we deprecate on the continent. We should then no longer be the objects of hatred and jealousy to every power in Europe. But, Sir, another and most important object would be attained, if this measure fortunately receives the approbation of the legislature. The times require a strong administration: measures of great energy must be resorted to. But how can an administration, not possessing the public affection and confidence, venture on such measures? No combination of talents can form a strong government unless this *sine quâ non* be effected. Some of the measures adopted by the right. hon. gent. have unfortunately had the effect of increasing the distrust, and lessening the respect of the people for this house. How shall we, for instance, reconcile to the country, the vote given recently in the case of a noble Secretary? The loss which might have been sustained by the retiring from office of a person possessing the noble lord's acknowledged talents and assiduity would have been ten-fold compensated by the effect that sacrifice would have had on the outraged feelings of the country. I am ready to allow that under the present system, ministers can hardly be deemed free agents. Those who support them think themselves entitled to the patronage most commodious to them: and the demands are so great, that I do believe many jobs are consented to by ministers sorely against their will. An opportunity now offers itself to the minister, of compliance with a measure which I sincerely believe will be grateful to the country. It comes from no concert: it is offered with no view of hostility to him, or favour to his adversaries. Anxious I admit myself to be, to learn the right hon. gent.'s sentiments. If hostile; to him, not to me, be the consequences. To opposition I would say, be cautious how you sanction this measure with your approbation, earnestly as I wish it. If it receives your support, you are pledged to act in conformity to it in the event of your return to power. The nefarious traffic in seats must then have an end. I beseech you therefore, not to delude the nation; and not to support me with your votes, unless the measure fortunately receives your sincere approbation.

No long time has elapsed, Mr. Spea
since we had an opportunity of witnes
the benefits which result to a minister
his sedulous observation of the temper
wishes of the people; and his compli
with these wishes, when reasonable.
waste and profusion, the harsh and
noxious acts of power, by which the
decessors in office of lord Sidmouth
disgraced their career, appeared to h
been little to the taste of his lordship w
minister. He adopted another line
conduct. Temper, mildness, and econo
marked his sway. The object before
eyes appears evidently and uniforml
have been, to rule in the hearts of
people: and he succeeded. Though
country was again plunged in war, tho
extraordinary sacrifices and privations
came necessary, yet we might then
serve a general coalescence of opini
when our voluntary services in our co
try's cause were called for, hundreds
thousands started to arms; our "pl
shares" were converted into "swor
Instead of finding difficulty in comple
our volunteer corps, the difficulty cons
ed in selecting among the too numer
offers. Could all this have been effec
under an unpopular minister?

Still, I admit, Sir, that the present
contents may in some degree be ascribe
our taxation: but not so much to its di
pressure, as to the imprudent aggrava
it receives from the mode in which
fiscal laws are administered. In the
fancy of taxation, as in the infancy of
to reconcile us to the pill, it may be
dent to gild it. But that system wh
might be suitable when five or ten milli
were to be raised in the year, must
departed from, when your wants dem
forty millions. The necessities of
times have taught us, that it is our inte
to pay direct taxes. Simplify the syste
levy a few efficient taxes: do not
means of multifarious unintelligible la
inflict on the people constant vexati
Do not summons a whole country to kn
who keeps a dog; or whether the pe
farmer who curries his own horse, a
plants his own cabbage, is to be s
charged with a groom, and a garden
Take what is wanted directly from
A less sum will then be requisite, and y
may dismiss from the service a legion
tax gatherers, inspectors, assessors, a
excisemen. You may then repeal a
such revenue laws as are pernicious a
oppressive: for instance, that affecti

Providence in its bounty bestows on
is boon inexhaustibly: Foreigners
it their interest to export it for agri-
ral purposes from our ports. But as
r own use of it for that purpose, and
e use of the manufacturer, the high
altogether preclude its application.
other, perhaps a greater source of
dissatisfaction, which the plans I
submitted to the house, may I trust,
elp in future to eradicate, arises from
esent wasteful profusion of the public
y in pensions, reversions, jointures,
other such jobs of infamy. When
services merit rewards out of the
purse, the people ought to have the
nable gratification of bestowing them
e hands of their representatives.
them the public wousd not require a
rdly policy. The gift itself would
ubled in value by its publicity, and
being the fair meed of brilliant
meritorious services. Different indeed
be a person's feelings on hearing, as
sent, that his name is thrust in at the
m of a pension list, to enter which merit
y forms no part of the recommenda-
and on receiving openly, for causes
ed, and with the applause of his
ry, the reward of merit. I wonder
at the relatives of a truly meritorious
r (sir John Moore), who lately glori-
fell in his country's cause, declined
confounded on a pension list, with
etainers of a court; though they
gladly and gratefully have accepted
mark of national munificence. A
cer who paid due attention to the
gs of the people would never sanc-
nd I trust, Sir, no minister of any
ption, will ever again sanction the
g out pensions of a few hundreds
g the relations of the most elevated
ulent of our nobles.—To aid the
nt illuminations of their mansions,
rthing candle of the industrious indi-
ottager must be sooner extinguished.
, Sir, that I would insinuate that by
ort of saving; by the cessation of
s of this description, any considerable
ation of the public burdens would be
But they indispose the public mind;
end to impeach all public character.
many are already inclined to view all
who hold public offices, as equally
ot. That opinion, I fear, is becoming
eneral; though none can be more fa-
more ill founded. Public character
strength of a country: and truly
s that country which possesses little
of it.—Should it be, for instance, our misfortune at any future time, to have a monarch incapable of distinguishing between firmness and obstinacy; who conceived it magnanimity never to yield to circumstances, would there not be an essential difference between one set of men willing to accept and to retain office, without possessing the power to judge, but bound to act as the tools of others; and another, who would only hold office so long as their judgment was permitted to direct their actions?

In a neighbouring country, Sir, if a strict examination were to take place of all the causes which have led to the total extinction of that liberty which at one moment there was a fair prospect of their obtaining; if the convulsions, which have accompanied the loss of this, the greatest blessing that man can possess, have been so dreadful as to lead many to abhor its very name; perhaps, the most prominent and the most active of these causes has been the want of character, and consequent want of confidence in their successive leaders.

How different, happily for us, is our prospect at home! Amidst all our divisions we can do justice to one another's motives:—However estranged by casual circumstances, and the inevitable discordance of opinion where thought and action are free, yet I trust such will ever be the conduct of our public men of all parties, as not to give real ground for the diffusion of that opinion to which I have just alluded. Though we may look askance at each other for the moment, yet we know not how soon, or with whom, we may again cordially unite. On the important question which lately rivetted the attention of the house, I for one considered myself as exercising a painful duty, and in the capacity of a juryman. Though the conclusion formed by others was in opposition to my own, yet I shall not doubt that it was on their part equally conscientious; that as the one deserves no praise, the other as little merits reprobation.

In the sincerity of our wish to uphold the just prerogatives of the crown, we are, I trust, all united. In distinguishing these, from the exercise of influence unknown to the constitution, though alas! too well known in practice, and attended with dangers not only to the subject, but to the prerogative itself, I foresee many struggles. But as to the just and fair prerogative, let it never be forgotten, that though this be the inheritance of the crown, it is a trust for the benefit of the subject, for purposes the most useful.

I shall no longer detain the house; but must conjure them, I must conjure the right hon. gent. to reflect coolly; not to mistake the feelings and the expressions of the people. They arraign us of corruption; they point at the disreputable manner, in which it is alleged that some persons find their way hither. To this accusation we must plead. No evasion, or special-pleading sophistry will stand us in stead. If we evince a disposition to reform, we shall heal our divisions and re-establish ourselves in the good opinion of the people. Then may the right hon. gent. proclaim to all Europe; it is not on the bravery of her troops, or on the unparalleled prowess of her navy alone, that our country builds her strength: it is on the hearts and the affections of her children. Possessing these, she can securely bid defiance to a world in arms. With increasing difficulties she can call forth increased exertions.—Her soldiers, are every man who can wield a musket.—Her resources, every guinea we possess. In her defence every arm will be uplifted; every danger despised: and no other object of emulation can then exist among us, but how each in his station can yield the best service to his sovereign and his country.—I move, Sir, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for better securing the Independence and Purity of Parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining Seats in Parliament by corrupt Practices; and likewise more effectually to prevent Bribery."

Mr. *Windham* said, he had no doubt but the house was willing and desirous to receive and discuss every question in a cause which ought to be heard; but there might be instances in which a party ought not to be heard at all, instances in which, as in the courts of law, the plaintiff should be nonsuited. This was peculiarly the case with respect to Parliamentary Reform, in which nineteen in twenty, or perhaps 900 in a thousand, held such different, wild, and extravagant notions, that it was impossible any man could form a just or fair opinion of what they would be at. There were some measures which ought to be rejected *in limine*, to prevent the evil consequences which might follow from giving them the slightest encouragement. Such was, in his opinion, the measure of Parliamentary Reform; and as he looked upon the present motion to be a measure tending
to that, he could not avoid opposing it
its outset. He begged the house to co
der the nature of the remedy, and the d
ger of a change, which he, for his o
part, was convinced would create grea
difficulties than those which were propo
to be redressed. It seemed to him that
particular object which his hon. fri
meant to correct by his proposed bill,
to lessen the influence of the monied in
rest, and to increase that of the landed
terest. Before he adverted to the first
last object, he thought this motion ou
to be rejected in the very first instance
had for many years been his opinion, t
the house ought strenuously to oppose
dangerous and mad, any proposal for
liamentary Reform; every system,
every feature of which that had hithe
been produced, was, in his mind, extra
gantly and even ludicrously wrong—b
practically and philosophically wron
and when his hon. friend described
unanimity of the people, and inferred t
it was to be obtained by this measure,
confessed he was totally at a loss to und
stand his meaning. They were then
issue, not on a point of theory, but of fac
would that measure satisfy the people?

Mr. *Fuller* rose to order. (Cries of
der! order! Chair! chair!)

The *Speaker*. Having called the ri
hon. gent. to order, the hon. member m
proceed to prove him out of order, oth
wise he is himself acting most disorder
(Hear! hear! from all parts of the hou

Mr. *Fuller*. I saw some gentlemen n
to the right hon. gent. interrupting him
whispers; and, Mr. Speaker, I disdain
do any thing wrong as much as you
(Universal cries of Chair! chair!)

The *Speaker*. It will become the h
member to be on his guard how he co
mits such an act of disorder, as to int
rupt, by a call to order, any hon. mem
on his legs.

Mr. *Windham* continued.—Among
various plans which had heretofore appe
ed of Parliamentary Reform, that of u
versal suffrage was the most predomina
The monied interest might then say, i
very well for you who have landed p
perty, but it won't do for us: other obj
tions would be raised by those who l
neither money nor lands, and it wo
eventually turn out just as the French
volution had done. Nothing could do
would be impossible to produce a plan
which one party or the other would
snap their fingers. Of late days he l

r heard any one who wanted to give onderance to the landed interest, and e who did so must have little attended e reforming out of doors. An hon. d complained that the people were rally discontented, and desirous of ge, and the great cause of this was existing corruptions. He wished to how far this doctrine was laid down. bill, it appeared, went to do away gh-mongering and corruption: would away the influence of property? n men laid down principles, they t to be able to explain them. If his friend had a greater fortune, he would urse have more interest than a 40*s.* older. We had an *argumentum ad em* and an *argumentum ad absurdum,* e had no *argumentum à rentali,* otherthe influence of the landlord over the t was equally corruption with what complained of. The law had laid a rule that after so many days for este of the writ there should be no ng; by having infringed that rule he ost the representation of the county orfolk; and yet he had done nothing immoral or wrong. He had inadntly acted contrary to the provision act of parliament on the subject, and d thereby lost his seat. Was not this ing against even the shadow of corn? One set of reformers say, We go so far; another set say, You shall rther; so that, once permitted to bethere was no knowing where, or at they would stop. His hon. friend oubtless proper sympathies, but he not expect others to have the same. n took bribes, it was not a corruption at house, but co-extensive with the e itself, coeval with the constitution; corruptions existed in times when the ry was most prosperous and the best ned, and therefore, unless his hon. could shew that the country was worse than it had ever been, he would onsent to a change. He denied that ansactions which had been brought t in the late Inquiry were at all to nsidered corruptions of government. at had been proved was, that such s as Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Beazely een trafficking for places and commisbut there was no proof of corruption government; and as to any hope of ing the people by this bill, it was exance itself to suppose it. If there corruptions in that house, they could e cured by Parliamentary Reform; but he would not countenance such an idea. If once we began, we could never stop, and if we once made a change to please the people, they would go on; they would never know when they had enough; and therefore he would oppose the general principles of Reform. There were two periods which the house ought to keep in remembrance; the American war and the French revolution. The former might in some degree be forgotten, but we had still the benefit of the French revolution fresh in our memory, and could not but recollect the manner in which the revolutionists had effected their purposes. Parliamentary Reform was of the same cast and character; and it was blindness, infatuation, and madness, in the people, to think of relieving themselves by pulling the government to pieces.

Lord *Folkestone* said, the question of the late inquiry had already been disposed of, and he should therefore limit his observations to the motion only. His right hon. friend who had just sat down had argued this as a measure of Parliamentary Reform, and that the house should therefore reject it as such. There was a notice of a motion on that subject on the books, and when it came forward, it would then be time enough to argue that question. He could have wished that his right hon. friend, before he exerted his influence to reject the motion, would have condescended to consider what it really was, and then he would not have had occasion to combat the phantom which he himself had raised. He would state his opinion of the motion, and the reason why it had been brought forward. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had lately introduced a bill to prevent trafficking in places. He (lord Folkestone) had stated that at the treasury there existed a market, where a traffic was carried on for seats in that house, and that in consequence thereof persons came into that house bound to vote as they were ordered. There was at that moment an appearance on the other side of the house, as if they meant to deny the fact; but on its being more roundly asserted by an hon. friend of his not then in the house (Mr. Creevey,) ministers reverted to recrimination. He (lord Folkestone) then declared that he would move a clause on this subject, to be added to the bill; but upon Mr. Curwen's giving notice of this motion, he gave up the idea of introducing that clause. His right hon. friend who spoke last, had said it was senseless to suppose men in office would traffic for such places: it was, however, clearly ascertained they did so, and having come under the cognizance of the house, it appeared to him impossible the house should refuse to countenance a bill, the object of which was to correct such abuses; and if the house refused to grant what was little for them to give, but great for the people to receive—if they refused to grant that relief which the bill held forth, it would be apt to drive the people to despair, and dispose them to look to other means than those which were nothing more than the real spirit of the constitution.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the manner in which the hon. gent. had brought forward his motion, made it necessary for him to trouble the house at greater length than he would have wished to do. The noble lord who had just sat down, had given notice of a clause which he intended to bring forward, to be added to the Bill which he (Mr. Perceval) had introduced and he had promised the noble lord to give such clause a candid and serious consideration. He did also mean, and still continued in the same mind, to give an impartial judgment on the merits of the present bill; but it was impossible he could do so at present, for he could not by any means form an opinion in what way or on what grounds the hon. gent. meant to obtain his object. There seemed to him to be an impracticability of doing it, but he would not oppose his bringing in the bill, in order that he and the house might be able to judge what the merits and demerits of it might be. But, in agreeing to the motion of the hon. gent. for leave to bring in his bill, he begged distinctly to be understood not to give any pledge to concur in the measure, or to consent to any project of alteration, regulation, or reform, such as that proposed by the hon. member. He could not, under the call of the hon. gent., pledge himself to support his measure throughout, though he should agree to its introduction, because as far as he was able to judge of it from the statement of the hon. gent. himself, he did not think he could put it into any practicable shape, which would entitle it to the adoption of parliament. The hon. gent. at the time he admitted that it was not right to hold out any language to the people, which might excite hopes that were not likely to be realized, stated in the same breath, that the people had a settled opinion that a reform in parliament was necessary. Then the hon. gent.
sought of him not to apply the charac
of Jacobinism to those who advocated
form. He could assure that hon. memb
that he did not mean to apply a jacobi
cal character to him or to any other
nourable member, who should supp
his measure. But in saying this, had
not a right to expect to enlist that hono
able member on his side, in imputing
jacobinical spirit to those, who by th
speeches and resolutions out of doo
from which alone the honourable mem
appeared to have collected his notion
the opinion of the people, endeavou
to impress upon the people the i
that a reform in parliament was necessa
to delude the public by statements m
chievous, false and fallacious, which w
the true characteristics of jacobinism;
to inflame the public mind with exagg
rated pictures of abuse, and imaginary
impracticable ideas of reform. It was
such conduct that the character of Ja
binism particularly applied; and if a
member of that house, not venturing
make such delusive statements in his pla
where they might be met and refut
should think proper to repeat them
other places, it would not be difficult to
preciate the mischief that might be
result. The language held to the pu
in these places was, that the house of co
mons was a sink of corruption; and th
that house was the only place wherein
sense of the people was treated with c
tempt. Throughout the whole of
speeches and resolutions to which he
luded, there were assertions in terms
literally false, but founded upon reasoni
delusive and fallacious. It was asser
that they who composed that house,
there contrary to that law which sea
the family of his majesty upon the thro
because it was enacted by that act, that
placemen or pensioners should have
seat in that house. What language w
that to be held out to the people with
any comment on the fact, or any illust
tion of the law? The act in question h
been passed in the year 1700, and w
repealed in the year 1704; it was not
have taken effect until after the access
of the house of Brunswick to the thro
and had consequently never been the
of the land. And yet, the persons
whom he had been called upon not to
ply the word Jacobin, had ventured
state with a view to inflame the pub
mind, that the members of that hou

sitting in it contrary to law ; with-
adding that the law they referred
d never been in force, was never in-
ed to have operation in the time of
framers, was only to have effect at the
ration of two successive reigns, and
actually been repealed four years af-
was passed, and many years before
uld pass into a law. The hon. gent.
cknowledged that he had been a re-
er in 1784 ; and though he admitted,
e same time, that he had then acted
mistaken grounds, he had in the same
h accused the late Mr. Pitt of apos-
from the cause of reform. The fact
that Mr. Pitt upon clearer facts and
accurate information, had anticipa-
nat conviction which seemed so tardily
me upon the honourable member.—
hould now proceed to say a few
s upon the plan of the hon. gent. It
ared that he proposed to subject the
ed member to an oath : to impose a
ty upon the seller of a seat though
upon the buyer, and to extend the
ry laws to a certain limit after the
on. The imposition of the oath
the elected member might be desira-
out it was impossible to judge, with-
aving the precise form of the oath
consideration. The hon. gent. had
ht to expect that the house should
him leave to bring in his bill ; but,
ing that, the house would not be
red to his plan, or any other to the
extent. The bill in its title was un-
tionable ; but in order to decide
the measure they should have the
before the house ; and he was
hensive that the hon. gent. would
imself involved in endless difficul-
The hon. member had deprecated
se of language that might tend to
ad the people, yet, without certainly
g any such intention, the hon. mem-
ad, in representing that house as too
xe, used language calculated to mis-
the public, as if a reform of that
would put an end to the war. Af-
e very able speech of the right hon.
opposite (Mr. Windham), it was un-
sary for him to shew that the mea-
proposed would not allay what the
mover represented as the disturbed
of the public mind. If the hon.
er took his idea of the state of the
mind from the resolutions and
nes to which he had before alluded
where could he have taken it but
them), could he suppose that this
measure would satisfy the persons who uttered them? If the measure had been proposed by government, it would have been characterized as the most delusive that had ever been projected to impose upon the nation. He should not oppose the motion for bringing in the bill, and trusted he should have the vigilant assistance of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) in watching every part of its progress. Whatever he might think respecting the inconvenience of any change at the present moment, he had no hesitation in saying, that there could be no inconvenience in discussing any project of reform. What was said to be the growing sentiment of the country respecting reform had arisen from the silence of parliament; and the only effectual mode of putting an end to the delusion practised upon the public, was to take up the discussion of such subjects in that house, and not leave them to be discussed in popular meetings and inflammatory papers out of doors. On these grounds, he should allow the bill to go to a second reading, but without giving any pledge to support it.

Mr. *Ponsonby* heard with satisfaction the intention of the right hon. gent. to support the motion of his hon. friend, so far as the introduction of the measure. This measure was simply an act of regulation, and, as it did not make any part of the question of Parliamentary Reform, he should abstain from making any observation upon that subject. The hon. gent. who proposed this measure to the house had said, that he would not value the support of any man who would not continue that support whether in or out of office. For his part, he had never given support to any measure that he did not continue to the end ; and he was then out of office because he would not abandon the support of a measure which he looked upon as essential to the vital interests of this empire. But in demanding such a pledge, the hon. member must suppose two things ; first, that his measure was such as a member could support ; and next, that it was practicable. As far as he could judge from the statement of his hon. friend, he looked upon the measure he proposed not only as right and practicable, but not likely to produce any of the dangers apprehended by his right hon. friend. It would be impossible, however, to give an unlimited pledge until the measure should be before the house, and they could have an opportunity of examining it in all its bearings. He agreed that it was particularly desirable for the members of that house, and most especially for those on the side on which he sat, not to give rise to any expectations on the part of the people, which there was no prospect of realizing. They should never resort to those base and detestable arts, by which such expectations were encouraged, when the persons exciting them must be sensible that they could never be gratified.

Mr. *Fuller* begged to apologize to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) for having interrupted him, which had arisen from the state to which his feelings had been excited, by observing an hon. member the third from him, interrupt him, whilst speaking so nobly to the subject. He could assure the Speaker on the honour of a gentleman, and his family had been for two centuries as honourable as any others in the kingdom, that he had not meant any disrespect to him. On the contrary, he had ever supported him, even against the miserable fellows who sometimes wrangled with him, (loud cries of "Question, question," and laughter). Well, he would come to the question. With regard to this same swearing, it was much beyond his comprehension, and so totally out of his way (loud laughter) that he would have nothing at all to say to it; and so he would leave them. (The hon. member then took his hat, made his bow to the Speaker, and walked out).

Mr. *I. H. Browne* disapproved of the measure, because it would have the effect of excluding a great portion of the wisdom and talents it possessed from that house. If the bill passed, it would not satisfy the persons at the Crown and Anchor that their charges of bribery and corruption were not well founded. The bill could not lead to any beneficial result, and in opposing it he trusted that he should not be considered as more a friend to corruption than any other hon. member. The bill he thought could not be rejected too soon.

Mr. *Bathurst* was of opinion that his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) had unnecessarily blended this measure with Parliamentary Reform. He was pleased with the candid manner in which the proposition had been received by his right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), when he admitted that the bill might be entertained. Many of the topics which had been introduced during
the discussion he was determined to
out of his consideration, as it was enou
for him to look at the measure as it w
presented to him. He was not to take
upon the grounds even of the hon. ge
who brought it forward. The measu
in his mind, would be productive of bene
though he was not sanguine enough to
pect that it would be attended with
the good consequences expected by
hon. mover. From the long examinat
which that house had lately been un
tunately engaged in, (not unfortunate
considering the importance of the subj
but unfortunately, as must appear to
those who wished well to the good gove
ment of this country,) it had gone abr
that that house and the present times w
peculiarly chargeable with corrupti
From all that he had seen he was c
vinced that the charge was groundl
The bill proposed would, however,
satisfy those persons who made t
charge. As to the expectation held
that the measure would make any alte
tion in the description of persons return
to that house, he did not think it wo
have any effect of that nature, because
was persuaded that as large a proport
of landed gentlemen, as of any other d
scription, procured their seats in t
house by the means objected to. He c
ceived the measure to be much m
practicable than it was supposed by
right hon. friend (the Chancellor of
Exchequer). The precise complaint
be redressed was, that the influence wh
individuals had in the return of memb
to that house, had been transferred
others for a pecuniary consideration.
it was desirable that this practice sho
not exist, then the next question was, h
it would be practicable to restrain it? a
this the measure proposed appeared
him likely to do. But his right hon. frie
(Mr. Windham), appeared to him to ta
the alarm too soon at the idea of Refor
If the practice was wrong, it was no re
son to urge against the adoption of a
medy, that it might lead to an expectati
of still further measures. The bill p
posed by the hon. gent. was a mere act
regulation, and had no connection wh
ever with the more difficult and more da
gerous question of Parliamentary Refor
The arguments urged against this b
would have equally applied against t
Grenville act, and all the other acts
regulating the conduct of parliame
which had been passed since the Revol

and he contended that the present tion had less reference to Parliamen- Reform than any of the other acts to h he had alluded. This bill was to ain a mere regulation, and was not in- ed to touch any existing rights of ion. It proceeded upon the assump- hat any individual might constitution- exercise the influence which his cha- r, his rank, or his property might ure for him in his neighbourhood, in ur of any body he pleased to recom- l, but was to prohibit him from trans- ng that influence for a pecuniary con- ation. It was perfectly proper, that individual so circumstanced should mmend whom he pleased to those might apply for his advice, from de- ce to superior knowledge, experience, haracter, but it was not right that he d transfer that influence for money. one, he should not pledge himself to measure, till it should be brought in, he should have an opportunity of ng whether he could give it his sup- But he was glad that the bill was allowed to go to the second reading, use the house would thereby be ena- to decide upon its merits.

r. *W. Smith* expressed his regret that rit like that displayed in the very able ch of the last speaker did not pervade house. He could not conceive what any man had to throw the smallest ction on the advocates of Parliamentary rm. The principles upon which they osed to proceed had the sanction of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, of the greatest men that ever appear- n this or any other country. Would of the puny mortals of the present day of setting themselves up against such ? Did any man mean to say that these ns were insincere? Would they have ght forward the subject, if they were cere? And now, Gentlemen,—[a roar ughter, which continued for several tes. Mr. Smith was one of the speakers he late meeting at the Crown and aor.] There was an opinion among people, that members of parliament t to be independent of all except their ituents. In that opinion he con- d, and that was his view of Reform. measure was so far connected with rm, that it went a certain way to secure ndependence which he had stated. erfectly agreed that no expectations t to be held out to the people that not be realized, but he totally differed from his right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) who considered that Reform would render the house of commons less disposed to rush into wars as a proof of Jacobinical intentions. It was his opinion that Reform would have this beneficial effect. Every one, at all acquainted with the history of the American war, must be sensible that it would not have lasted so long had it not been for the improper influence of ministers; and the same thing might be said of other instances. There were persons brought into the house by the present system who had an interest in protracting war. He concluded by observing, that in discussions of this kind, the gentlemen on the other side had always an advantage. They talked easily and fluently of the dignity and independence of parliament in general terms, while the friends of Reform were under the necessity of directing their observations to a particular class of men, or against individuals, which was always an odious duty. But as it was a duty, they must perform it in the best manner they could.

Earl *Temple* entirely agreed in the very able speech made by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Bathurst) on the bench below. He wished it to be understood, that the principle upon which he agreed to the motion was the principle which pervaded, what, by the courtesy of the house, was called the Grenville bill, a measure for which he had an hereditary veneration. It was upon that principle that he wished success to the bill of the hon. gent. He would support the bill also, because it took away one of the greatest arguments in favour of Parliamentary Reform. It would diffuse a salutary confidence in parliament throughout the country. With this retrospective view, and looking forward to the future, the motion should have his cordial support.

Mr. *Curwen* did not intend to trouble the house at any length. He was totally at a loss to account why the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not oppose the bringing in the bill, when he had expressed so determined a resolution to oppose it in its progress. Did he say, that the evils, which it was the object of the bill to remedy, did not exist? If he did, why did he allow the bill to be brought in? He was obliged to the right hon. gent. below him (Mr. Bathurst) for the qualified promised support he had given him: but he would not admit that he was in the smallest degree obliged to the right hon. gent. on the opposite bench. Was it for the purpose of putting him in a situation of difficulty, and thereby shewing his inability, that he would suffer him to bring in the bill? In answer to what had fallen from an hon. gent., respecting factious meetings, he would assert that there was not a man in the house who would more firmly resist the clamour of such meetings than himself. It was not to the inflammatory proceedings of a drunken meeting at a tavern that he looked for the opinion of the people. He abhorred such meetings, and he lamented that men of character, talents, and respectability, should be found to countenance them. Their proceedings betrayed a confirmed disposition to depreciate all public men, as well as a total disinclination to accept and pursue any system of Reform, having moderation for its principle and basis. But, as he said before, it was not from such meetings that he collected the sense of the people. It was impossible for him not to look round the country, and to hear the expression of public opinion echoed from every corner of it. With respect to the objection against the indefinite nature of his motion, he would say, that the form in which it was submitted to the house was not of his dictation. On that subject he had consulted some of the ablest men in the house, and particularly the distinguished character in the Chair. He must again disclaim for himself any connection with tavern meetings. The hon. member thought wrong of him if he supposed he thought differently of the late meeting at the Crown and Anchor from himself.—After the very able explanation given of the bill by the right hon. gent. below him, he should not trespass on the indulgence of the house by any further observations. He must, however, again repeat, that the object of the bill was to prevent the obtaining of seats in parliament by direct, flagrant, palpable corruption, and not to do away the operation of influence. He could not believe that any member of that house, any man in the country, would be capable of an act so immoral as the violation of the sanction he meant to propose. He knew that he had great difficulties to encounter, but he trusted, with the assistance of the house, he should be able to surmount them. His bill would have no reference to the act of William and Mary, commonly called the Treating Act.

The question being put, the motion was carried; and Mr. Curwen, Mr. Ponsonby, sir A. Pigott, sir S. Romilly, lord Folkestone, Mr. Windham, and others, w ordered to prepare and bring in the bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 5.

Lord Erskine brought in a Bill for t more effectual Prevention of Cruelty t wards Animals. The Bill was read a fi time, and ordered to be printed; and lordship gave notice that on Monday, if were then printed, he would fix a day the second reading.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 5.

[Mr. Madocks's Charge against M Perceval and Lord Castlereagh.] M *Madocks* rose to bring forward the moti of which he had given notice some da ago, relating to corrupt practices of t Treasury with respect to the return Members to Parliament. He observe that he was fully aware that he had claim on the attention of the house, b that which he derived from the very important nature of the subject that he felt his duty to lay before them. The tas he had undertaken was most ungracio and unpleasant; and nothing but a stron sense of public duty should have induce him to place himself in the situation of b coming the accuser of any man. It wou not be necessary for him to trespass lon upon the indulgence of the house. Th substance of the motion he meant to propose lay in a very narrow compass. consisted in a charge of corrupt practice against two of its members. He wishe only to be permitted to make one prefa tory observation, and it was this, that th facts that came to his knowledge were s dangerous, so prejudicial to the genuin spirit and principles of the constitution that he would have justly merited to b stigmatized as a traitor to his country i he had declined to lay them before th house. Before he proceeded further, h would move that the several entries on th Journals relating to the proceedings agains the two Shepherds, members of that house be read. [The clerk here read the entry dated the 13th of Feb. 1700, in which i was stated, that Samuel and Francis Shepherd, esqrs. members of that house, were ordered to attend in their places, on charges of corrupt practices respecting seats in parliament; also the entry dated Feb. 15, 1700, specifying, that corruption been practised on the electors of port, in the Isle of Wight, Malmsy, Wootton Basset, and other places; the entry of March 18th, 1700, stat that Messrs. Shepherds had been d in their places, and by their count the bar; finding the charges prov and ordering that Samuel Shepherd, or, be committed to the Tower, and agent to Newgate.] He wished to the attention of the house to the form e proceeding on that occasion. It ared first, that information of the cor practices was laid before the house; , that the two Shepherds were heard eir places; and thirdly, that they headed by their counsel at the bar. Charges he had to bring forward were nst two of his majesty's ministers; against the right hon. Spencer Perce for having, through the agency of on. Henry Wellesley, late Secretary e Treasury, and late a member of this e, and also by other agents, been y of corrupt and criminal practices, der to procure members to be elected this parliament: The other was nst the right hon. lord viscount Casagh, a member of this house, for si practices. He would take up the of the house no longer, but move that Charges be heard at the bar of the e, on Tuesday next.

e motion having been read from the r,

e *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (rising r evident agitation) said, that he v not what course was pursued in , the æra of the hon. member's prents; but through the whole of his aintance with the proceedings of that e, he never knew any instance when cusation was brought forward against mber, that the substance of such acion was not previously communicated m; and that, through the common tesy of the house, he was not allowed e heard in his defence. The hon. ber, however, was the best judge of course he meant to pursue. Under e circumstances, nothing remained for but to make his bow, and leave the tion to the decision of the house. right hon. member immediately left ouse].

J. Anstruther said, that the form of eding proposed by the hon. member one of the strangest he ever heard. house would pause before it came to traordinary a resolution. Whether the persons accused stood there as his majesty's ministers, or whether they were the lowest members of society, they were entitled, before they were called on for their defence, to be acquainted with the nature, at least, of the crime with which they were charged. What information, he would ask, had the hon. member given, to call upon the house to adopt so solemn a proceeding, as a hearing at their bar? What charges had he specified against Mr. Spencer Perceval or lord Castlereagh? Would any court, which deserved to be called a court, conduct itself upon such principles? Was it ever heard, that a person was to be set down as one under accusation, without the slightest information having been laid before the house? The hon. member told them, that he was informed a member of that house had stated in a former debate some instances of corrupt practices within his knowledge; and upon these grounds he preferred a charge, which had the effect of obliging the right hon. member to quit the house. If every member, against whom vague and indefinite charges of this kind might be brought forward must withdraw, as a matter of course, the hon. member might soon have the whole house to himself. He deprecated the scattering of loose and unfounded accusations. The hon. member was totally mistaken in his precedent. As far as his recollection served him, it did not sanction the form of proceeding he recommended. The charges against the Shepherds were the subject of long and frequent examinations before committees of that house. There was no precedent for putting a man on his trial on such slight grounds.

Sir *F. Burdett* observed, that his hon. friend had no objection to state the particulars of that information, which he meant to lay before the house. He always understood that a member informing the house that a report had reached him of corrupt practices, was held sufficient grounds to proceed upon. The house had often proceeded to hear evidence at the bar, upon even slighter grounds than the mere knowledge of members.

Mr. *Biddulph* thought it was the duty of the right hon. members against whom the charges were brought, to stand up and second the motion, if it were only for the purpose of clearing their characters. After what had been said in that house, respecting these corrupt practices, it was impossible not to take notice of the subject. The house could not, maintaining any regard for its character, pass over so extraordinary a circumstance. Some of his majesty's ministers were charged with being active agents in corruption. The tone and dignity of that house must be gradually falling, the feelings of ministers themselves must be wofully blunted, indeed, if they could sit in their places, and hear such accusations. The hon. member was entitled to the attention of the house, if it were only on account of the grave and important nature of the Charges he brought forward. It was, in substance, no less than this, that two of his majesty's ministers were accused of corrupt practices, to procure the return of members to parliament.

Mr. *Bathurst* conceived there was something extremely irregular in the form of proceeding proposed by the hon. member. It was a form of proceeding better adapted to the genius and spirit of one of the meetings that were so frequent, and so industriously promoted, than befitting the temper and dignity of that house. It would well become that meeting in which the extraordinary proposition was made and approved, that a man holding a place under government was not fit to sit in that house. Such propositions were not intended for the sober consideration of parliament. No; their object was to increase the popular ferment, to add fuel to fire; and to encourage and propagate that dangerous spirit that was circulated with a diligence the most suspicious.

> "Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas"—

seemed to be the grand principle of action of the leaders of these meetings. Their aim was to cry down all public men; to render them objects of distrust and suspicion. He could perceive no good, no substance in a motion grounded on undefined Charges of this kind. For his part, he must require something tangible, some statement that would enable him to determine whether the charge was fit to be entertained, and what were the grounds of suspicion. With respect to the precedent read, it did not stand upon the loose grounds that the motion of the honourable member did. It was not because one member should say that another did so and so, that that other member should be called upon to negative it. Where the charge was direct, the course of proceeding was plain. Instead of seconding the motion, the right hon. member could only do as he had done; and they were bound to support
him against a most unfair mode of
deavouring to implicate the house.

Mr. *Biddulph* thought it extraordina
that the right hon. member, with wh
he had not the least acquaintance, a
who knew but little of him, should cha
him with participating in factious me
ings, and ——

Mr. *Whitbread* rose to order. It
peared to him that the hon. member tota
misunderstood the last speaker.

Mr. *Bathurst* explained, that he certai
had no knowledge of the hon. memb
What he said relating to factious meeti
was meant to apply to the honoura
member; but he now understood that
never attended any of those meetings, a
he therefore begged pardon for having
alluded to him.

Mr. *Madocks* said, that when he ga
notice of the motion which he brou
forward that evening, he stated the su
stance of it as fully and explicitly as
could. He conceived that he would b
do his duty by resting his proceedi
upon precedent. If, in pursuing t
course, he could be supposed to have act
uncandidly towards the members agai
whom his charges were directed,
begged to apologize to them. It ar
from ignorance; for he could assure th
hon. members, and he trusted the assert
would be believed, that he was anxious
bring the subject forward as fairly as p
sible. He was ready to adopt any mo
of proceeding the house should reco
mend. It never was his intention, inde
it would be unfair, to send out a story
the country, without being prepared
prove the fact.

Here the *Speaker* interposed, and sa
that after what had just fallen fro
the honourable member, he felt it i
perative upon him to submit to
house his sentiments on the course of p
ceeding. If it was fit that a member shou
be heard in his place, it was also fit th
he should hear the charges against whi
he was to defend himself. No charg
could be stated against any absent me
ber. In respect to the notice, the ho
member would allow him to tell him, th
any notice against ministers applied to t
whole of the administration, and that
was not the practice of ministers to wit
draw, except the charges were person
The notice the hon. member gave w
against ministers generally. With respe
to charges, the house always received the
with great strictness and deliberatio

ought to be brought forward in the solemn manner. There were two of proceeding; either by impeach- in which case they were decided by er tribunal; or sometimes oral charges heard, against which the parties ac- defended themselves in their places, equently by their counsel at the bar; pon the whole matter the house came h conclusion as it thought proper. respect to the precedent that had read, there was, to be sure, no speech Journals; but there was enough to that the substance of the motion had previously given to the house. With- emises, no opinion was to be expect- A charge implied that the person ac- was to be heard; that there was hing on which he must be heard. hearing the person accused, it be for the house to say aye or no, er they should proceed further. ting, therefore, to the subject, it was inion that no particulars of charge now be stated. This opinion, er, if adopted by the house, shut out rther inquiry; shut out no hon. mem- rom proceeding at any other time. motion of the hon. member came as by surprize upon him as upon the ; so much so, indeed, that he was le to afford him that assistance he d. If it should be the sense of the not to proceed, as he thought it , it would be his duty to take its aye or no, on the motion.

Madocks said, that he would be the erson to state any thing to the house he conceived to be improper.

. Secretary *Canning* thought there be but one sentiment in the house e subject of the present motion. Con- ng the mode in which it was brought rd, and the mistake in the case of the dent referred to, he was convinced he house ought to mark its opinion in ided a manner, as not to render it- able to a recurrence of such a pro- ng. He rose, therefore, to advise the not to agree to the withdrawing of otion, but without intending any per- disrespect to the hon. mover. He l consequently oppose any motion of nature, and call for the marked opi- of the house.

r. *Whitbread* rose to offer a few words. ommenced by noticing the curious n assigned by the right hon. the Se- y of State for refusing to permit the n to be withdrawn, and then negativing it; namely, that the house would thereby prevent the recurrence of similar errors. But it was for all that right hon. gent.'s ingenuity to find out how such a result as that was to be produced by the naked entry on the Journals of a proposition made and negatived. How could the negativing of the motion prevent any future misunderstanding of Shepherd's case. But the hon. member had not shewn any desire to withdraw his motion. As to the motion itself, notwithstanding the able exposition from the Chair, given with all the knowledge which characterized the right hon. gent. who was at all times so ready to give his assistance to every member of parliament, yet it appeared to him that any person might be misled by the Entry. There was no record of any, or what information was given in the instance of Shepherd's case, and therefore we were quite in the dark on that point. Shepherd protested his innocence, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have protested his innocence in this case. The Secretary of State himself had not been backward in proposing a resolution without a previous notice. The hon. member behind him had made a general charge, and had declared his readiness to tell his story to the house. He had, in his opinion, a perfect right to do so. The house had been warned against the effects of what had been termed "wide-wasting motions," which were inconsistent with the duty of members to each other, and to the state. To avoid such objections as were made against the activity of Committees, the hon. member had preferred a general charge of corruption, in the first instance, and had selected and specified two individual ministers of state, as parties against whom he declared himself ready to enter into the case, taking upon himself the responsibility and peril of the task. A right hon. gentleman had stated, that this charge might appear to be a trifling matter, when examined, and therefore, that it was necessary to know its nature beforehand: in short, to have it brought before the house in a 'tangible shape.' A tangible shape, he (Mr. W.) thought rather an aukward expression at present. The house had recently had pretty strong calls upon them for tangible shapes, and these tangible shapes had not turned out exactly as they were wished and expected to turn out. For his part, he thought the moment for putting the present charge into a tangible shape would be precisely that, when the

witnesses were called to the bar of the house to be examined upon the subject. This motion, it appeared, was treated by honourable gentlemen opposite as one part of a general system organized for the attack of all public men. This he must deny. Where was such a systematical plan to be discovered? What was to be expected from the feeling of the public, when they saw lately such an instance of the judgment of that house in a case where the accusation was brought home to the accused person, who confessed the commission of the offence, and whose confession was upon record; and yet that house, (always so watchful of its privileges and its dignity,) took no notice of what was proved, and saw no necessity of coming to any criminating Resolution? A right hon. gent. had thought proper to make some remarks upon gentlemen's attending certain clubs and societies existing for the purpose as he supposed, of exciting the public mind and inflaming popular passion. What had, in fact, excited the public mind? What, but the results of recent investigations into transactions of public importance! What, but the refusal of the house of commons to do justice on a member and a minister who did not deny his offences! What, without imputing such a design to ministers, would be the consequence of an attempt to stifle the expression of the public voice? He readily avowed, that during the whole of his political life he had been in the habit of attending meetings of the people. Every word he had said on these occasions he considered himself responsible for. He would not retract one word that he had used on such occasions. He was not one of those who would say they were sorry for having been at public meetings. He thought it fair to speak out, whatever marks of displeasure or censure he might observe on the countenances of gentlemen opposite, for he was neither afraid nor ashamed to avow that his not having been present at one meeting in particular, recently held, which gave great offence, did not arise from any thing he disliked or thought improper in the object of that meeting. He thought, indeed, that advantage might be taken to excite and inflame the public against the persons and principles of the friends of Reform. He professed himself to be strenuously for a Reform in the way in which it was defined last night, as an alteration in the constitution of that house. In noticing the remarks of the right hon. gent., he applied
to the tendency of part of his speech
quotation he (Mr. Bathurst) had used—

“ Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas.”

That right hon. gent. supposed that the
sults of such a Reform as was propos
would be to exclude all public men fr
sitting in that house. He did not think
He was not himself of that opinion, for
did not think that the Chancellor of
Exchequer, or the First Lord of the Tr
sury, or the Secretary of State, or any
the great and efficient officers of the cro
should be excluded from seats in t
house. He would not go to the same
tent as the Act of Settlement; but he m
say, that he did see many before him ho
ing places, who, without meaning a
thing personal to them, he did think ou
to be excluded. When a cry was rai
against public meetings, because two
nisters were charged with corruption,
felt desirous to ask the Chancellor of
Exchequer a few questions with resp
to the means of inflaming the public mi
Was it meant to say that the few perso
who were at the recent meeting could
so extremely dangerous? Was it true
not that gross corruptions existed?
would admit not so gross as in form
times, but yet gross enough. Were
so purified? Had we really done enou
in the progress of Reform? No, we cou
never do enough; if the work of Refor
ceased, while human nature was hum
nature, corruption would succeed a
triumph. We know that members we
formerly paid by the crown so man
pounds a year for their votes and suppo
in the house of commons. Corruption w
not now so gross; but in those times the
had the benefit of arguments against R
forms similar to those used at presen
Could any man arraign the conduct of h
hon. friend who made the motion, an
venture to say, that there was no corrup
tion in the election of members to parlia
ment? He had never been in office, an
therefore had not the means of such pa
ticular knowledge of these things as som
others; but he could speak from that so
of general knowledge that he had acquire
on the subject, and was desirous that
should pass under close examination. H
thought his hon. friend might fairly stan
on the question of form, and take the sens
of the house.—It was improper now t
enter into particular observations while th
parties accused were absent; but he con
tended that cases might occur, in which
member might not have a quarter of a

s notice, to bring general charges. Secretary of State wished a negative put upon this motion, to serve as a of land-mark to prevent future at- ts at encroachment. He, too, wished ense of the house taken, to serve as a mark of the privileges and duties of ers of that house. Corrupt conduct mputed to Mr. Spencer Perceval and astlereagh. The responsibility was e mover, and let the house decide ; the withdrawing of the motion carry the appearance of mistake in over. It might have been more pru- to consult the opinion of the Chair; e motion being made, he thought the ple of the right ought not to be ed. This was an attack, not upon all men, but on their corrupt practices; f defeated in the question now, he l it would be brought on again al- immediately. They all knew of practices, and they had recognized The house of commons had passed a case proved before them, and the remained a minister of state. Did at transaction shew that abuse was orrected or checked? and those men lid not wish for a Parliamentary Re- should look well to the remedy of was practically wrong, and for which ers might be sent to Newgate. A er offers to prove the existence of terial corruption, and up jumps some gent., and charges him with attacking blic characters, and endeavouring to y the constitution from the founda- and to build up some new edifice. enied again the truth of such charges. w no proof or just suspicion of such em as was alluded to. If the house not give the people the right of investigation into abuses, the people be quiet; but they would see, that who refused inquiry, refused to them ritish constitution.

John Anstruther explained, that he ot state that the attack on lord Cas- gh was part of an attack on all pub- en, whatever opinion he might enter- n that subject.

Yorke spoke with great animation robation of the motion. He consi- it as unjust and ridiculous. Were rable gentlemen so ignorant of the y of their country, of the forms and eges of that house, in which they he honour to sit, as to encourage a n so unjust and unprecedented? man who was conversant in the proceedings of the house, who had the smallest ideas of justice, of liberty, of the laws under which he lives, must give to it his decided negative, and not allow a refuge to this unjust, this ridiculous motion.

Mr. *Gooch*, noticing the observation, that attempts were made to throw a slur on the conduct of persons attending public meetings, said, that if the speeches attributed to particular persons were literally so, they went near to destroy what was the most desirable of all things in the present state of the country; he meant the unanimity of the public mind; and tended to more mischief than all their authors could retrieve, if they lived to sit in the house for a hundred years to come. He would give his feeble assistance to the prevention of real abuses, but not to those general attacks of abuses, never known as such till these pure days. These public meetings could only do mischief. He did not impute improper motives to individuals, but as to voting public thanks to a gentleman for his patriotism, he would as soon vote them to Mrs. Clarke for her virtue. (A laugh. Hear! hear!) He would not be deterred from his opinions by the sentiments of any set of people. The expressions he had heard imputed to an hon. gent. did him no credit as an Englishman. He hoped always to see respectable persons opposing government. They were the guardians of the public interest; but there was a power behind those benches (the opposition benches) greater than those benches themselves. That power looked not to parliament, but to a faction who would get rid of all parties, and represent themselves to the country as the concentrated essence of political purity. (Hear!) The hon. baronet opposite (sir Francis Burdett) with whom he was once in friendship, acted, he believed, honestly and conscientiously in public life, or else his nature must have changed since he knew him; but his political proceedings had his total dissent, and he trembled at the consequence of his enthusiastic conduct.

Mr. *Lyttleton* had never heard of such charges, unsupported by proofs, as were made from the opposite side of the house. The benches below him were, it seemed, the guards of the public purse. What then, became of ministers, and of all the rest of the house? The most severe remarks had been introduced upon public meetings. He had happened to attend at one of them for the specific purpose of celebrating, in common with all the nation, the conduct of that minority of 125, of which one gentleman in particular was the leader. The nation had expressed its sentiment of that minority in a strong and audible voice, and he thought that gentlemen ought not to hesitate to treat that voice with respect, though an honourable member might charge such celebrations as attempts to create confusion. The object of the meeting he attended was definite and honourable. He did not go to the Crown and Anchor, for reasons similar to those already stated (by Mr. Whitbread). If the house adopted a moderate and just Reform, he believed that the public meetings would be fewer, and less alarming to government. They were the natural consequences of the misconduct of the house, and there was no prevention of them by absolute force, but by timely Reform. As for misrepresentations of the press, which were complained of by gentlemen opposite, had not others, and particularly an hon. baronet, been treated to the full with as little ceremony. He could not believe that the nation would impute to the advocates of Reform what the press imputed to them. Indeed, such reports of public meetings would be trampled upon, if the grievances themselves did not actually exist. He thought, after what the Speaker had said, it would be more regular to withdraw the motion; but not to withdraw it so as to yield a privilege. He concluded by declaring his opinion, that the ministers of the crown possessed an undue influence in that house.

Mr. *Brand* expressed his astonishment to hear accusations and censures on gentlemen for an ancient, acknowledged constitutional practice of Englishmen, in attending public meetings. This, he had been always taught, ignorant as perhaps he was of the history of the country. Meetings of the people for the attainment of a moderate Reform, conducted with regularity and order, did not lead to public mischief, but to open the eyes of the country and of the house. He avowed that he was a steward at one of those meetings, and joined in recommending to the counties to petition parliament for the desired Reform, temperately, yet urgently. That embraced the entire object of the meeting. He was ready at any time, to defend his conduct on the principles of our forefathers, and should continue to be guided by those principles. He rose chiefly at present to repel unfounded aspersions.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* said, that no disti charge had been proposed against eith of the two parties accused. He nev knew any motion more contrary to just in that house, or elsewhere. He was ev surprized to hear it defended by an hono able member opposite (Mr. Whitbrea versed, as he was, in his favourite chara ter of a public accuser in the British hou of commons. Was a charge of person corruption to be treated like a gene charge against an administration? He w proud that he was no party to such reso tions as those lately published, stating clause in the Act of Settlement as the e isting law of the land, which never w law. [Here it was observed that it w four years before it was repealed.] Nev till lately had it been seen in this coun that bodies of people, not present during judicial examination, had met to arrai the conduct of those who found it th duty to acquit one who was accused. never till now heard of condemning t house of commons in this manner, for t exercise of their duty in an acquittal. I could not conceive how those who call themselves the great friends of the cou try could reconcile it to their feelings degrade the character of the house commons.

Mr. *Hutchinson* had not attended any the public meetings, and from his habits life it was not likely he should atte them; but he joined in expressions of su prize at the language he had heard. such language was correct, he should su pose that the house of commons had n thing to do with the people, but were their own creation. If the tendency the doctrines he had lately heard were en couraged and acted upon, he should b adieu to the liberties of the country, an should account his being sent to parli ment not an honour but a degradation. it were thought just and expedient to a tack the meetings of the public, it woul be better at once to vote the constitutio at an end. He conceived it to be a public duty to obtain reform in every consti tutional way.

Mr. *C. Wynn* thought the motion irregular, as it contained no specific charge, no had been introduced with any detail circumstances or statement of facts.

The question being put, the motion wa negatived without a division.

[Chelsea Hospital—Colonel Gor don.] Sir *Oswald Mosley* began by say ing he anticipated some opposition to th on of which he had given notice. The of building the infirmary in an airy tion was suggested first by Dr. Mose- and the lands in question, of which Yarborough was then tenant, were hased for this purpose. Very shortly ed after the purchase had been made overnment, and before the surveyors made their report, application was e by col. Gordon to become tenant to of the lands. The report of the sur- rs was, that the annual value of the taken by col. Gordon was much di- hed by having an infirmary built so it. If this nuisance, however, was so , he would ask, why col. Gordon was arly in his application, or why he e that spot? He must object to the e transaction upon two grounds. The was, that he thought these lands ought o have been leased at all to any indi- l: and his second objection was, that were let on terms very inadequate to eal value. As to his first objection, lieved that it would now be confessed ersally that a saving of *55l.* per annum no object to be put in comparison the health and comfort of our vete- The situation that had been fixed for col. Gordon's house, would cer- y never have been altered, if it had een for the notice which had been taken of the subject in that house by on. baronet (sir F. Burdett.) It had stated, somewhat inaccurately, that whole of this ground had been pur- ed from lord Yarborough, whereas, ct, part of it had belonged to the hos- and had been much dilapidated hat was called the improvements of Gordon. When the surveyors calcu- in their report that col. Gordon was led to get at least six pounds per on the 4,500*l.* he was found to ex- , it did not, however, appear to him, the surveyors had taken into their lation what it was that the public to gain upon this transaction. By papers that were circulated by the ls of col. Gordon, it was stated, that as at a most immense expence in ng up a wall, which he was bound by ontract to keep in repair, and that this was to him like a pit that swallowed he whole produce of the land. He however informed, that as to the vast nce of keeping up this wall, there many builders in this town that d be very ready to keep it in repair n pounds per annum. If col. Gordon was really to be annoyed at the sight of old soldiers taking the air, he could not conceive why he chose to take those premises. He had made inquiries at Chelsea about the value of ground, and he was informed that many gardeners would have given 20*l.* an acre for such ground, even if it had not the advantage of being on the river. It appeared therefore that any common gardener would have given 80*l.* a year for what col. Gordon gave but 55*l.* Col. Gordon might, as soon as he got the lease, have let it out at a profit. If the value of the land was said to be so depreciated from the contiguity of the infirmary, was not that a reason for not separating the land from the building? At present the building gave more the idea of the damp vaults of a secluded prison than of an airy and comfortable dwelling for invalids. He should much rather see the old soldier walking about these grounds and smoking his pipe there, than see all the improvements which col. Gordon could make. As to col. Gordon personally, he did not mean to say, that he, from his long services, was not as much entitled to any favour as another officer; but he would say that these grounds ought not to have been taken away from the infirmary to be given to any individual. He was ready to prove at the bar, that most of the officers at Chelsea remonstrated against this transaction, but that the governor persisted. He should only wish to call a few witnesses to the bar. The honourable baronet here mentioned the names of sir David Dundas, Dr. Moseley, Mr. Fordyce, and nine or ten other gentlemen, being medical men, surveyors, or architects. He concluded by moving "That a Committee be appointed to investigate certain transactions respecting the building of the new Infirmary at Chelsea."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that whatever wish gentlemen might have to proceed further in this inquiry, he could hardly suppose them serious in proposing to call witnesses to the bar, and to consume much of the time of the house on a business of this nature. If it were necessary to leave the further consideration of such a business to a committee, the inquiry should be left to a select committee, and the time of the house should not be wasted by a long examination of witnesses. He hoped, however, that they would not think any further proceeding necessary when they should hear the statement he had to make. The case had since been inquired into, both by the governors of Chelsea Hospital and the Treasury; and on a communication with colonel Gordon, he expressed himself very ready to extend the space towards the infirmary. The governors of Chelsea Hospital had afterwards thought that it would be advisable to make other additions to the infirmary, and that perhaps they might want the whole of the ground, and they therefore wrote to the Treasury to know whether the contract with col. Gordon was so concluded as to prevent this. The Treasury wrote back to them in answer, that the contract was in such a situation, that they conceived col. Gordon had an equitable title to a lease from them. He was convinced that if such a contract had existed between individuals, a court of equity would have decreed the performance of it, and that a lease should be executed. It was, however, now settled that other surveyors and other physicians should be called upon to give their report; and if their report should be, that those grounds were necessary for the infirmary, government would certainly endeavour to prevail on col. Gordon to give them up. There could certainly in this case be no sort of blame attached to ministers for judging, not with their own eyes, but with the eyes of men who knew the value of lands, and were sworn surveyors. The inquiry was certainly one that would be beneath the dignity of the house to maintain at their bar. The hon. baronet had said, that the examination would be very short, and yet he had given in a list of ten or eleven witnesses. It would be evidently wasting the time of the house to have all those witnesses examined at the bar.

Mr. *Biddulph* was astonished at the report of the surveyors, who estimated the value of this ground, as he knew many members of that house who would give 2,000*l.* more for it than it was let for to col. Gordon. For himself he would say, that he was ready to give more for it, and he was certain that he could make a profit by the purchase.

Lord *Milton* agreed with the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it would be beneath the dignity of the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, and hear witnesses at their bar on such a subject as this. The principal object of his rising was, that a noble friend of his (lord Yarborough) had felt himself excessively hurt at the representations that had been made of his conduct. It would be thought by so people that his lordship had made a s of Jewish bargain with the governme The fact was, that being in possession those lands as tenant of the crown, lo Yarborough applied to government, the year 1805, for a renewal of the lea but was told that the ground would prob bly be wanted for an infirmary. Lo Yarborough felt the force of this objectio and never applied again for the renew but offered it to government immediate there being seventeen years of the lea unexpired. It was then left to surveyo to estimate the value, and those surveyo differed very much, one valuing it 2,000*l.* and the other at 8,000*l.* At leng a surveyor valued it at 4,700*l.* which, though it appeared too small a valuatio both to lord Yarborough and to his frie sir Joseph Banks, who advised him not take it, yet his lordship resolved to gi it to government on those terms. No it appeared hard, and something like job, that the lease of those grounds, whic could not be renewed to lord Yarboroug for the reason then assigned, should b so soon after the surrender by him, give to col. Gordon.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, that in whatev observation he had made with respect lord Yarborough, it certainly was nev his intention to throw any sort of refle tion on the conduct of that noble lor but merely to vindicate the govern ment from the imputation of having ob tained those grounds from lord Yarbo rough under false pretences. The fac was, that the bargain was fair on bot sides. If the surveyors differed so widel in their report, the one valuing it 8,000*l.* and the other at only 2,000*l.* th reason was, the surveyor who set th larger value on it, conceived that lor Yarborough had a right to let it out o building leases. From all the informa tion he had upon the subject, he mus deny that government had made an conditions about what they were to d with the ground when they bought it and the only condition that he knew o was paying a fair price for it. As fo the application of lord Yarborough t government to get a renewal of the lease there was not in the Treasury any evidence or trace of such an application ever having been made.

General *Tarleton* spoke at some length on the propriety of granting every comfort and indulgence to old worn-out sol-

, who only got admittance into Chel- lospital from their long services, their ads, and their constitutions being out in the service of their country. e nation chose to build palaces for discharged veterans, ornamented ens should go along with the palaces; he old soldier should not be prevent- om walking in them. It would be a ing sight to the young as well as to ld to see the worn-out soldier enjoy- ll the comforts which the liberality is country designed for them. He ght the hon. baronet (sir F. Burdett) herefore great merit in bringing this ct before the consideration of the

lonel *Wood* bore testimony to the services and professional merits of Gordon, who was, he was confident, f the last men in the empire, who l appropriate to himself any thing ever that could interfere with the ort of a British soldier. Whatever gentlemen might think of the value situation of this meritorious officer, gged it to be understood that it en- ed the whole of his time and his and left him scarcely leisure to en- e ordinary comforts of life.

l *Percy* observed, that col. Gordon or this ground as any other man t have done; and if any blame be- d to the transaction, that blame did ppear to attach to that officer.

Francis Burdett said, that with re- to the bargain, so far as it affected ublic, it was an absolute job. The oners were to be immured to give tage to colonel Gordon's pleasure- ds; and though, according to the h of the hon. gent. who had just sat , that officer would not take advan- f the soldier, he seemed to have no ion to take advantage of the ground. was, in his opinion, the only spot in nd fit for the purpose of an infirmary e hospital, and he would be happy e double the sum col. Gordon was for it, and secure it on any of his s, for the sole purpose of giving it the hospital, rather than this monu- of national munificence should be ured. He thought this the greatest e had ever heard of; it was a job of os, and ought to be distinguished by ame of *the Job*. We heard every f barometers, thermometers, and ometers, and this should be called obometer. As to the papers, he would not go into them. Dr. Moseley desired the whole of the premises. Mr. Aust, in his letter, says, part may be granted; and in that division col. Gordon got about sixteen parts out of nineteen. Some gentlemen had talked of the expence of a wall; but they did not mention, that if it was not for col. Gordon, that wall would not be wanting. He thought the pensioners were very ill used in many respects. There was a very fine large public terrace, but the old soldiers were never suffered to set a foot on it; they were totally excluded from it: and as to the garden, not a single leek were the poor pensioners permitted to take to make their porridge with. He could not see such transactions going forward without taking notice of them. He felt it to be an imperious duty which compelled him to aim at their correction. He had no doubt, but, in these demure times, the cry would be raised against him. He did not know by what name he should be assailed; jacobin, he supposed, was grown too stale and worn out, and gentlemen began to be ashamed of it; but it signified not to him what it was; he would wear any name that went along with the reformation of abuses. With respect to the motion, he had no doubt but his hon. friend who brought it forward, would agree to take a select committee, instead of an open committee of the whole house; and as there were further papers to be produced, they might be referred to the said committee.

Mr. *Yorke* contended, that the hon. baronet had misrepresented the fact; though, he had no doubt he had done so from misconception. No idea had been formed of making the Infirmary for the poor invalids to resemble a prison.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, that in looking over the papers, he thought government must have been imposed on. He would not suppose they were capable of making such a disposition, as to give it the colour of a job, and yet from the whole of the valuation of the surveyors, it certainly bore something of that appearance. The house of Mrs. Aufrere, which was to be converted into an infirmary, was valued, with the small piece of land adjoining it, at 6,380*l.*; and the remaining land, which was four acres, was let for 55*l.* a year. It was with considerable astonishment he had read the Report, and he never could have supposed it to be one drawn up on the part of the public but on the part of a lessee, who was stating every thing he could for his own interest. Respecting what fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to prevailing with col. Gordon to give up the grant, if any fraud or delusion had been practised on the Treasury, he thought it would be like the case of a minor's estate, in which, where fraud or delusion was used, a court of equity would set aside the agreement made by trustees; so, in this instance, if fraud or delusion by any one appeared, the house might interfere, and prevent the completion of the grant.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained, and said he never supposed there was any fraud or delusion; but that if on inquiry it should be found a desirable thing, and that, on the new plan of Mr. Soame, the hospital would be benefited by it, the Treasury would endeavour to get the grant relinquished.

Mr. *Long* said, the board never heard a word of complaint on this subject till the 13th of April, till the morning of the very day on which the hon. baronet first brought the matter before the house; and they immediately began an investigation of the subject, and had continued their inquiries ever since. It had been said no individual ought to have this ground, but that it should be converted to the general use of the hospital. He thought so as much as any one, and no man would be more ready to put it to that use, if proved to be advantageous to the hospital. He wished the Minutes of Evidence taken before the board since the 13th of April should be laid before the house. They would then see what had been done. As soon as this motion was negatived, he should move that those Minutes of Evidence be laid before the house, and if, after they had seen those and the other papers which his right hon. friend meant to bring forward, the house should not be satisfied, they might then have recourse to a select committee.

Mr. *Wortley* said, the hon. baronet opposite (sir F. Burdett), who was always loud against abuses, had characterised this as being of all jobs the worst; that indeed it should be called *the Job.* In that case he thought we might take credit to ourselves for more than an ordinary share of virtue. The veteran soldier was here said to have been robbed of his convenience, but he maintained that the case had not been made out.

Sir *O. Mosley* in reply, agreed that the case was not made out, because the house had not all the necessary evidence befo it: But, he pledged himself to make out by the *viva voce* evidence he had fered to produce, and which he shou bring before a select committee, if th mode was thought the most preferab way of proceeding. He understood co Gordon had already been offered 4,00 profit on his purchase, and was of opini the Treasury had better give him th sum than complete the transaction. I agreed that since the question was fi before the house, the site of col. Gordo house had been changed, but to what p it had been transplanted he did not kno access to the premises having since be denied him.

The house then divided,

For the Motion - - - - - - 73
Against it - - - - - - - 170

Majority against the Motion 97

[Papers relating to Spain.] Mr. Ca ning presented to the house, the followi

PAPERS
RELATING TO SPAIN.

No. I.—*Copy of a* Dispatch *from t right hon. J. H. Frère, to Mr. Secreta Canning, dated Aranjuez, Nov.* 24 1808.

Sir; The inclosed Note which I to occasion to send yesterday to M. Gara the secretary of the Junta, contains th recapitulation of a conversation which had with him the evening before, in con sequence of a very urgent representati which I had received from Sir John Moor complaining of the inattention and neg gence which the army under his comman had experienced from the Spanish gover ment, and declaring that in case of th continuance, he should conceive it h duty to withdraw a force, whose safe was exposed to imminent hazard, witho the possibility of rendering themselve useful. This Note contains so exact statement of what passed on this subjec that it is hardly necessary to add an thing, except that M. Garay deprecate in the most earnest terms, the retreat our troops upon Portugal, as a measu which must ensure the ruin of their cause an opinion in which I could not hel agreeing with him; but which (having n means of obviating such a step) I coul only press as an additional reason for de sisting from a line of conduct, ruinous an absurd in itself, and obviously leading the result which he most dreaded.—M

ay likewise informed me, that an en-
y was to be instituted into the causes
he disaster at Burgos. I have the
our to be, &c. (Signed)
J. H. Frere.

ranslation of a Note *from the right hon.
J. H. Frere, to M. de Garay, dated
Aranjuez, 23rd Nov.* 1808.

r; I have thought it incumbent on me
ldress to your excellency, as member
secretary of the Supreme Central
a, a representation which appeared to
oo important not to be communicated
at assembly by one of its individuals,
nguished by its confidence, and
ged with its most important functions.
tters which have reached me from
ohn Moore have occasioned my re-
tulating to you the complaints which
ddressed to me, and which he re-
ed, he said, it was not in his power
onally to make at Aranjuez.—He
plains first of the state of uncertainty
hich he finds himself as to the num-
and positions of the enemy, and even
the projects and events of the cam-
n, to such a degree, he says, that at
ime of the unmilitary evacuation of
dolid by general Pignatelli, that of-
did not think proper to send him in-
ence of it. The details of the flight,
of the effective state of the army of
madura, were likewise long unknown
m; the defeat of general Blake, and
etreat upon Reynosa, were likewise
own to him, until at length he re-
d an account of it from Madrid.—
roceeds in these terms: "I have no
nunication with any of the Spanish
es, neither am I acquainted with the
tions of the Spanish government, nor
those of any of its generals. Casta-
with whom I had been directed to
spond, is deprived of his command,
moment when I might have expected
accounts from him; and Romana,
whom I am now, I suppose, to enter
a correspondence, is absent. In the
while, the French are only four days
h from my army, which is but now
bling; and I cannot yet learn the
of their force; no channel of infor-
n has been opened to me, and I have
et been long enough in the country
d them out myself. I acquaint you
these particulars; I wish it were in
ower to go to Aranjuez or Madrid,
ler to make a representation of them
rson; for truly, if matters remain in this state, the ruin of the cause of Spain, and the defeat of her armies, cannot fail to take place; and it will become my duty to look to the safety of the British forces alone, and to take measures for extricating them from a situation, where, without the possibility of being useful, they are exposed to certain defeat."—In answer to these observations relative to general Castanos and the marquis de la Romana, your excellency informed me, to my very great surprise, that it was about ten days since orders had been dispatched to the marquis de la Romana, that he should take the command of the army of the centre, leaving that of the north and of the Asturias under the orders of general Blake.—A secret, common to an assembly of thirty-two persons, might, it seems to me, have been confided to the minister of his Britannic majesty, even though there had not been an interesting fact in question, the knowledge of which was necessary towards carrying on that correspondence on which the safety of the English army might depend. I conceived that your excellency would not be insensible to the justice of this remark; to which I might have added, that the news of the entry of the French into Valladolid was concealed from me.—The intelligence of the defeat of general Blake (which might have occasioned the total defeat of the two divisions, which were beginning to form themselves under generals Moore and Baird) was indeed communicated to me, but not till the evening of the day after that on which the courier had arrived.—I am very far from feeling the least sentiment of personal resentment towards those respectable persons, who have only followed a system which has been prescribed to them, as well with regard to their answers as to their silence; but it is my duty loudly to protest against the continuance of a system, which, without ensuring secrecy with respect to the enemy, establishes distrust and mystery, instead of that confidence which should serve as a basis to those combinations on which the fate of the present war must depend.—I have learnt, with much pleasure, the recal of the commission sent to the army of the centre, as well as the account of the nomination of M. de Morla, with full powers to confer and conclude with our officers, on all subjects relative to a system of efficacious co-operation; and I hope that these powers will be augmented, as well in what relates to execution, as deli-

beration.—The courier dispatched to the marquis de la Romana will, doubtless, have conveyed to him, agreeably to the intentions of your excellency, an order to open a communication with general sir John Moore. I cannot conclude without thanking your excellency for the attention with which you listened, in my first conference, to the details of a representation necessarily irksome. I entreat you at the same time to accept the assurances, &c.

(Signed) J. H. Frere.

No. II.—*Extract of a* Dispatch *from the right hon. John Hookham Frere, to Mr. Secretary Canning; dated Aranjuez, 26th November* 1808.

I send inclosed a Note from M. Garay, in answer to the one which I addressed to him in consequence of the verbal remonstrances, which I had made, founded upon the representation of sir John Moore.

Copy of a Note *from M. Garay, to the right hon. John Hookham Frere; dated Aranjuez, 24th November* 1808.

(Translation.) Most Excellent Sir; I have laid before the Supreme ruling Junta of the kingdom, the Note your excellency was pleased to address to me yesterday, relative to the complaints made to you by sir John Moore, with regard to the state of ignorance in which he was kept with respect to the number and positions of the enemy, and to the events and operations of our armies.—Of the evacuation of Valladolid, which was not a military movement, the Supreme Junta knows nothing, neither of the particulars of an action in which one of the divisions of the army of Estramadura was concerned; the same was the case with regard to the details of the operations of general Blake, who states that he has had two engagements, the one of which was in favour of our arms, and the other, though of no great advantage to the enemy, obliged him to retreat to Reynosa.—Each of the generals had received positive orders from the Junta, which are now reiterated to them by extraordinary couriers, to communicate with the English general, and to act in concert with him. His majesty would receive the highest satisfaction if sir John Moore could appear personally at Aranjuez, or at Madrid, to make such observations, and to adjust those points which he thinks might conduce to the removal of those circumstances which appear contrary to good understanding, and which might produce all the effect that may be expected from our union with the gre power, which with such generosity affor us assistance, and which the Junta cou not see disappointed, without the greate regret, This however could not happe if, acting in concert and with a perfe harmony, we avail ourselves of a speed union of the forces, to complete the destru tion of the enemy and of his plans; if, t English troops forming a junction with t left of our army, we compose a formidab body of seventy thousand infantry and s thousand cavalry, a force with which w should be certain of the blow, and whic we never could be by any different co duct. Then the generous efforts of o ally, England, would complete the wor under whose happy and auspicious co mencement the eternal friendship and al ance by which the two nations are for ev to be connected, began; so that neith interest nor policy shall ever break t bonds by which they are united.—When spoke to your excellency with regard general Castanos, I had the honour to e plain to you the strong political motiv that existed for acting as we had don Your excellency was convinced, and it w then determined, that he should not qu the command until the arrival of the ma quis de la Romana. In this there h been no secret, nor should there be an however important it may be, with rega to the minister of a friendly nation, towar whom the Junta feels the greatest person esteem and consideration, independent his official character.—The Junta kne of the enemy's entry into Valladolid, an afterwards of the evacuation of that cit by the French troops, who made but very short stay there.—General Morla appointed to treat with the English gene rals, to agree upon the necessary plans an operations, and to give information of them to the Supreme Junta: proceeding imme diately to the execution of those measur which are urgent and necessary.—I hav now only to assure your excellency of th particular satisfaction and pleasure I de rived from hearing your remarks upo those matters, which led to this our fir conference. I shall be ready to repeat i with pleasure, as often as your excellenc may think proper, either at your house, o wherever else you may choose to appoin In the mean time, I am, &c.

(Signed) Martin de Garay.

No. 3.—*Substance of a* Communicatio *from lieutenant general Sir John Moor*

to Charles Stuart, esquire; dated Sala-
manca, 29th November 1808.

had determined to unite the army if
ble, and to try what could be done
the Spaniards; though I own, I saw
ittle chance of doing much good. I
ordered Baird, though all his corps
d not be at Astorga until the 4th, to
ch with such part as already was
e, to Benevente on the 1st December;
on that day I was to march myself
a corps from this to Toro; and to send
her to Zamora. Hope was to have
ched to Tordecillas; and we should
have taken up a line upon the Douro,
ver the arrival of our stores, &c. and
to have acted according to circum-
ces. But this destruction of Castanos's
, announced by your letter, which
Vaughan brought me yesterday after-
., changes the case. My junction
Baird is no longer practicable. But
was, the little resistance made by the
ish armies gives no hope of our doing
good. We should soon have the
test force of the enemy to encounter
e handed, and this we are not equal
I have therefore come to the deter-
ation to retire. I have ordered Baird
ll back on Corunna. I shall endea-
to unite with Hope, and retire upon
frontier of Portugal. I shall be at
to return, if affairs take a more fa-
able turn; or the army may be trans-
ed by me to some other point, where
may still be useful, if this govern-
t be overset, and another rises up di-
ed by men of more ability.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 8.

COTCH JUDICATURE BILL.] On this
being reported from the committee,
ord *Grenville* rose, and expressed his
rize at the silent manner in which it
been introduced into the house, and
ed through its stages. It was a bill of
greatest importance, and one that
t not to be smuggled through the
e. The object of the bill was to ex-
the period already fixed by parlia-
t for the report of the commissioners
nated to inquire into and report to
house the amendments practicable in
dministration of justice in Scotland,
particularly to report upon the great
tion of extending the benefits of Trial
ury in civil as well as criminal cases in that part of the island. These commissioners were bound to report from time to time, and to make their final report by the 12th of November, 1809. But as yet he was in perfect ignorance of their proceedings, as their lordships had received no report whatever from them. It was of importance to know what was the great difficulty that stood in the way of the duties parliament appointed them to perform, and whether they had really been negligent or indisposed, or whether it was the fault of the king's secretary of state, who had not laid these reports from time to time on their lordships' table. A noble and learned lord, who was the predecessor of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, and whom his majesty had been advised to appoint one of the commissioners, and whose great talents were an ornament to that house or any other place, and whose assistance in every instance must be great and beneficial, that noble and learned lord, notwithstanding his particular connection with, and knowledge of, the northern part of the island, did not, till yesterday, know any thing of this bill which had come so unobservedly and strangely into that house. He was sure that that noble lord would do his duty as a commissioner, and so he could say of another person named in that commission. The great majority of the commission his lordship was not acquainted with, nor even knew their persons. But it was desirable and necessary to know what they had done, for if this bill were passed without comment, they might come next session very probably requesting farther delay. He thought that those who had taken an active part in the proposed ameliorations in the administration of Scottish jurisprudence, were not treated with all that respect which was the usual courtesy of one noble lord to others, when they had no notice or intimation whatever of such a bill being about to be brought forward. He desired, therefore, to know what proceedings had already been had by those commissioners, before he could consent, in the very teeth of the conditions of their appointment, and without a single reason assigned, to this dangerous delay. It was desirable to know what disposition the commissioners had to perform their duties. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack gave hopes to the house that reports would be presented from time to time; but the house did not stand, towards those commissioners, upon the mere assertion or

promise of the noble and learned lord. On the contrary, the house had embodied its wishes into the very legislative measure from which the commissioners derived their existence as such.—After many other observations delivered with considerable animation, his lordship intimated his intention to move something on the subject, in order to learn what the commissioners had done, and the real state of their inquiries.

The *Lord Chancellor*, after some comments upon the manner of the noble baron in making his remarks, stated the reasons for the delay proposed. When he advised the nomination that took place, he was acting in the way which he thought best for the purpose. He had recommended the names of those who were judges, or else barristers of great practice in Westminster Hall. The same course he had pursued with respect to the lords and the advocates in the court of session. Now, it happened, inevitably, that these persons resided at a great distance from each other, and that they had not those facilities that ensued from meeting all together in one common place; hence their communications must be much less prompt and frequent, and as so much must take place by written correspondence, it was absolutely impossible to be so quick as some persons might wish or expect. A great deal of information was wanted on a subject where the question was of the changing a part of the ancient laws. The noble and learned lord alluded to, and who was not in the house (lord Erskine) he had known so long, that he was sure that he would not have thanked the noble baron, for the censure he had pronounced on his (the Lord Chancellor's) conduct. The noble and learned lord made some observations upon the noble baron's charge of smuggling in the bill, which his lordship denied; as also upon the want of attention to himself, of which he appeared to complain. His lordship believed that he was not likely to be accused of shewing a want of attention to any noble lord, and he could hardly have imagined the possibility of such a charge.

Lord *Redesdale* stated various reasons for the prolongation of the existence of the commission, and commented in strong terms upon the imputations thrown by the noble baron on some of the most respectable characters of the country. It was not fair or just to condemn the commissioners, and to assume that they had no wish to discharge their duty.

The Lord Chancellor and lord Grenvill explained mutually several times, aft which the bill was ordered to be recommitted for Friday next. Lord Grenvill moved, first for an address to his majesty praying that the proceedings of the committee might be laid before the house which, after some conversation, was changed for a resolution, agreed to, *nem. con.* tha the commissioners should inform the hous what progress they have made up to th present day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 8.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING TH PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.] Mr. Secretary Canning brought down a Messag from his majesty, which was read by th Speaker, as follows:

"G. *R.* His majesty thinks it right t acquaint the house of commons that hi majesty's ally the Prince Regent of Portugal, has requested his majesty's assent t the raising of a loan of 600,000*l.* in thi country, the produce of which to be applied in part to the liquidation of advance made by his majesty to the Prince Regent on his emigration from Portugal; and fo services connected with his establishment. A Convention has been entered into between his majesty and the Prince Regent by which the latter secures to his majesty the revenues of the Island of Madeira, for the payment of the interest, and for the gradual reduction of the principal of this Loan; a copy of which Convention his majesty will order as soon as possible to be laid on the table of the house; but as it may be necessary to provide for raising this Loan, in the Supplies of the year, and as his majesty has engaged to recommend to parliament to guarantee the payment of it, he has thought proper to make this communication to the house, and his majesty relies on his faithful commons, that they will enable him to fulfil the engagements which he has contracted with his allies."

His majesty's Message was ordered to be referred to the Committee of Supply on Friday.

[FAMILY OF GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE.] Lord *Morpeth* rose and observed, that it was a matter of public regret that the female part of that gallant general's family were not provided for in such manner as could be wished; and requested to know whether any measures had been taken for that ose, in consequence of what had fallen the noble lord (Castlereagh) on a for- ight.

e *Chancellor of the Exchequer* answered, t was certainly the intention of go- ment to make the kind of provision lluded to by the noble lord; but on eing intimated to the female part of al Moore's family, they expressed a hat any provision intended for them be transferred to a male branch of family; and it was therefore the in- n of his majesty's ministers to recom- that the provision be made for the er of sir John Moore, whom the rest family wished to receive it.

HIRD REPORT OF THE FINANCE COM- E.] Mr. *Henry Martin* rose, in pur- e of his notice, to call the attention e house to the contents of the Third t of the Committee on Public Offices. h aware, that in bringing this sub- nder the consideration of parliament, s but barely doing a duty, yet, if the gent. (Mr. Bankes) who had taken so a part in framing the Report in the ittee, had shown any disposition to p the question, or if his majesty's lers had, since the commencement of esent session, manifested any inten- bring forward any measures with a to act upon the suggestions of the t, he should never have thought of ering with the subject. He should, ore, be exempt from the odium of ng forward the subject unseasonably, se the Resolutions which he meant to se would have a tendency to assist in ng the Resolutions of that house into and to comply with the recommend- given by his majesty in various hes from the throne. The house, in g the Resolutions to which he ad- , and in appointing the Committee had made this Report, had given a e to the public to prosecute a reform e public expenditure, so far as was tent with the public service; for he not suppose, that the only use, for Committees were appointed, was to reports to lie on their table, without g to any practical reform of the which might be detected. The ap- ment of the Committee, therefore, pledge on the part of the house, that reform would be promoted which be effected without detriment to the e expenditure. It would be for the then, to see what the Report con- , and to judge how the suggestions it recommended could be acted upon for the public service. The Report referred to pensions, sinecures, offices performed by deputy, and compensations for pensions, the annual amount of which exceeded one million and a half. This was the state of the fact, as appeared from the Report; and as several other offices had not been returned, and the sum inserted in the Report was exclusive of the duchy of Lancaster, which, in the language of Mr. Burke, though not affording a revenue of more than four or five thousand pounds, gave rise to a patronage of fifty thousand pounds, it would be obvious, that this aggregate was under the real amount. He was not prepared to state, that by any measures he could propose, any considerable portion of this sum could be reduced. But when they were hourly called upon to augment the public burthens, when they reflected upon the enormous increase of the public debt within the last six years, they would be convinced that the subject was deserving of the most serious attention, and that it was most desirable, if possible, to make every practicable retrenchment in this expenditure. Of the whole sum, about six hundred and ninety seven thousand seven hundred and forty seven pounds, appeared to him actually necessary; but as to the remainder, he conceived it to be the bounden duty of the house, to inquire what reduction could be made, what retrenchment effected in every part or branch of it. Whatever was necessary for the support of the royal family; whatever was requisite for the comfort and splendour of the different branches of that family; whatever had been secured by parliamentary grant for eminent public services; all this, so long as it was possible to raise it, he considered not only unexceptionable, but actually necessary for the well-being of the state. But when the house recollected, that the whole of the sum so expended was raised by public taxes, or indirect means of revenue, it would feel the propriety of examining into the amount of saving that could be procured on the aggregate amount of this branch of the public expenditure, without injury to the public service. He was ready to admit, and it would appear by the Resolutions with which he meant to conclude, that no great immediate saving, no very sensible alleviation of the public burthens was to be effected. But an essential benefit must result from the effect that would be produced on the public

mind, by shewing that there existed a sincere disposition in that house, to make all the retrenchments that were compatible with the public service. He was not one of those who regulated their public conduct, or would resort to any particular measure, "arbitrio popularis auræ;" but when the wishes of the people were directed to a rational reform of existing abuses, he thought they ought to be attended to. What the wishes of the people were in such a case, when they tended to such a Reform, Mr. Burke had described to be a just and salutary warning to that house.—The right hon. gent. opposite would recollect what had taken place in 1782 on this subject. From that period to the present time, scarce a session had elapsed without the attention of the house having been drawn to the subject. They had had reports regularly from 1786 to 1791, referring to the various branches of the public expenditure; and they had since the Reports of the Committee appointed in 1796, in which the person (the Speaker) whom he had the honour to address, had presided with so much credit to himself, and exerted his talents with so much benefit for the public service; reports drawn up with so much ability, and containing throughout so much political knowledge and sound sense. The Reports of 1797 recommended an enquiry by that house, what retrenchments could be made in this particular branch of the public expenditure. But what had been the consequence? He was ready to admit, that a few offices of the customs had been abolished, yet how much had the remaining suggestions of this Report been neglected, when not a step had been taken to carry them into effect? The Report of 1796 referred to the offices and sinecures in the Courts of Justice, and as it appeared by that Report, the Committee recommended the abolition of offices of that description to the amount of 26,879*l.* per annum. It was curious, too, to remark that lord Hale, that most eminent judicial authority, had also long previously recommended the abolition of such offices. Yet, so far were the suggestions of the Report from having been attended to, that he observed by the return of places granted in reversion, that even since the Report had been presented to the house, one of the offices of the description recommended to be abolished, had been granted in reversion, after the demise of the person at present in possession of it. Parliament, however,
had a good opportunity for carrying i
effect the recommendations of the Rep
by the abolition of such offices, when t
made a provision for retiring Judges a
Chancellors. The provision so made mig
well have been made the purchase of
patronage of the Judges in the appointm
to those offices which were recommended
be abolished. Whoever recollected that t
situations of the Judges had been forme
held during pleasure: whoever called
mind that the salaries of the Judges h
been, from time to time, increased (thou
it was not his intention to disapprove
such increase, or to state, that the increa
was even sufficient, yet) whoever look
to either of these events, must be sensi
that the abolition of these offices might
either occasion have been provided f
The sale of offices in the courts of justi
was really a disgrace to the institutions
the country; and, though no abuse h
arisen from it, as far as the administrati
of justice was concerned, yet it was a pra
tice which had better be discontinue
And, therefore, he most earnestly hope
that the labours of the Finance Committ
would prove more effectual than those
any former Committee. He was not va
enough to suppose, that the remedies
had to propose would be effectual to h
object; but he trusted that it would
admitted on all hands that some remedi
were necessary. One thing was clea
that wherever an abuse was pointed out,
remedy ought, if possible, to be applie
He should, therefore, hardly have thoug
that there could be any objection to th
Resolutions which he was about to subm
to the house; so obviously proper upon th
bare statement of them, and, though n
exactly borne out by the very words
the Report, yet in every respect conforma
ble to its object and spirit, had he n
heard that it had been said out of door
(he begged pardon for the irregularity
the allusion) that these sinecure places an
pensions were so intimately connecte
with the prerogatives and rights of th
crown, as to form the palladium of th
British constitution. When gentleme
considered the enormous increase of th
public taxes since the year 1786; whe
they considered that the army and th
navy had been augmented nearly tenfold
when they looked to the existing state o
the continent, and contemplated what wa
likely to be the state of Europe hereafter
when even in the event of peace, we coul
not return to a small peace establishment

they contemplated all these circum- s, it was impossible for them to be nion, that the influence of the crown be materially diminished by the ion of sinecures. It appeared by the t, that the whole of the expenditure year in 1791, including the militia ishment, (but he admitted upon a establishment,) amounted to fifteen ns nine hundred and sixty nine nd pounds. The expenditure of the ear was 77,800,000*l.* The influence crown, in consequence of such an se of expenditure, could not there- be much affected by the abolition of res. There would still remain to the the legitimate patronage in the ap- ment to all situations, naval, military, and judicial. It would still have the tments connected with the collec- the revenue, and many others which unknown in former times. Surely, it could not be seriously contended e appointment to these sinecures was essential to the stability or the dig- f the regal power. The appointment ecures had been represented by Mr. , as "the perennial spring of all gality and disorder, which loaded us than millions of our debt." It was part of the Report, that the house articularly called upon to attend.— g already stated the amount of the diture in sinecures, pensions, &c. he sed next to consider it under two , the one unobjectionable, the other onable, though it was not his wish understood to consider what he re- nted questionable as altogether ob- nable. According to his view, what- ensions were settled on the different nes of the royal family; whatever ons were charged upon the consoli- fund, and secured by act of parlia- ; whatever pensions were charged the civil list, and regulated by Mr. 's act, should be left altogether out nsideration, as unobjectionable. Of ame description he considered the ons to officers' widows; the provision perannuated artificers; and for men g from office after long and faithful e; and he should leave them also view. The whole amount, under various heads, was 697,740*l.* in nd. As to the sinecures and allow- by way of pensions, and pensions gulated by Mr. Burke's bill, he con- d them as *primâ facie* questionable, roposed to take a view of them as they existed, first in England, then in Scotland, and afterwards in Ireland. The first of this class of pensions, which he regarded as questionable, came under the head of pensions to foreign ministers. In the year 1787 the amount of these pensions was 9,185*l.* but it was now, as appeared by the Report, as high as 51,689*l.* besides some contingent pensions and others not included in the Report; but whether any others had been granted since the Report was presented, he could not take upon him to state. A great increase had, therefore, taken place under this head. By Mr. Burke's bill it was proposed to reduce the aggregate amount of the pension-list to 60,000*l.* but that limit was afterwards extended to 95,000*l.* so that the pensions to foreign ministers had encreased to more than one half of the whole amount of the pension list, according to the provisions of Mr. Burke's bill. This was a subject which called for the serious attention of the house; and upon this branch of the public expenditure it was his opinion, that a most important retrenchment might in time be effected.—Another class of pensions to which he felt it his duty to call the attention of the house was, that of the pensions arising out of and charged upon the four and a half per cent. duties; with respect to the pensions arising out of those duties, it was not his intention in that instance to submit any specific resolution to the house; but at the same time, if his calling the attention of his majesty's ministers to that part of the subject, should be productive of no measure on their part for applying a remedy in that case, he should then feel it his duty to submit to the house at some future period, the propriety of sending up to the throne, an humble and dutiful Address upon this subject, considering that to be the most respectful mode of proceeding, in all cases where the application related to any interference with the royal prerogative. He would here recal to the house's recollection, the rise of those duties: It would be recollected that, in the first instance, these duties upon the four and a half per cents. had been granted by an Act of the Assembly of the Island of Barbadoes in the year 1663, but at that time those duties were appropriated to colonial purposes, the payment of their civil list establishment: and the internal benefit of the island itself. After the Revolution the application of those duties was extended, and appropriated by parliament in the reign of queen Anne to the civil list ser-

vice of this country. On referring to the 14th volume of the Journals, it would be found that a Petition had been presented to that house from the colonists in Barbadoes, stating the original ground of granting those duties, praying their due appropriation, and for relief, against the pressure occasioned by their recent appropriation. In consequence of that petition, it would appear from that volume of the Journals, that that house sent up an humble Address to her majesty, praying that those duties might be placed as nearly as might be, upon their original grounds, and that they should be omitted in the civil list; and to this address her majesty had graciously replied, "That these duties having been granted specially for particular purposes, should make no part of her civil list." But to prove that the house had a right to interfere on the subject, he referred to the Army Extraordinaries, where they would find provision uniformly made for those services to which these duties had been formerly appropriated. The public had a right, therefore, to these duties as purchasers, having defrayed the expenditure to which they were applied. When the four and a half per cents. had been originally granted, the salaries of the governors and other officers in the government of the island of Barbadoes, were then paid out of those duties, as appeared from the Accounts laid upon the table between the years 1701 and 1740, and not the salaries only but the expences resulting from keeping the respective fortifications, &c. in repair: whereas at present all those estimates were included in the Army Extraordinaries for each year. There was also another ground upon which the application of that house to his majesty upon this subject could not be considered an interference with his royal prerogative. Originally the grant of a pension in 1765 to the late duke of Gloucester, was paid out of the four and a half per cent. duties, but parliament afterwards transferred this grant, amounting to 9000*l.* a year, to the consolidated fund, and it was paid during the remainder of his life, for a number of years, not out of those duties, but out of the consolidated fund, which saving to the four and a half per cent. duties gave parliament a proportionable claim upon those duties, by diminishing in that proportion the charges upon them.—The next class of Pensions which he considered as questionable, and to which he proposed to call the attention of the house, was those issued out of the Treasury
Fee Fund, out of the establishments of t
different offices, and those created by w
of addition to the establishments. Th
he considered not only questionable b
suspicious, not alone from their nature a
amount, but from the manner in wh
they originated ; and consequently p
per objects of constitutional jealousy, a
parliamentary superintendance.—Anoth
head of Pensions which he looked u
as questionable was, that of those gran
in the shape of pensions or allowan
out of the ordinaries of the navy to reti
civil officers and wives of living naval o
cers. No man could contend that a p
vision should not be made for officers u
der such circumstances, but it was t
manner in which the thing was done th
called for attention. That house had nev
proved backward to remunerate meri
rious officers; they had never refused a
application for that purpose. But it w
the manner in which that object was no
attained that he complained of, as direct
leading to abuses ; because it enabled t
heads of departments to superannua
whom they pleased ; not by an order
his majesty in council, not by warra
under the sign manual, but by virtue o
power exercised by the heads of depar
ments, to grant pensions to whoever th
thought proper. To correct this practic
therefore, could not be to interfere wi
the king's prerogative.—There was also
class of pensions granted under the sig
manual, which, because greater in amoun
was a greater grievance. This class w
supported out of the funds produced b
the sale of Old Stores. It was impossib
that when naval stores had been grant
by parliament for the public service, th
should ever cease to be the property
the public, or become a source of rev
nue to his majesty. Upon this head ther
fore, it was his intention to propose a spe
cific Resolution, in order to prevent
future such a misappropriation of a publ
fund. It would be quite another questio
how the persons now provided for fro
that fund should be otherwise provided fo
but the practice was unconstitutional, an
should be put an end to.—There was on
head, denominated allowances in the natu
of Pensions, which so much resemble
pensions, that he could not distinguis
them; and if this denomination had bee
adopted with a view to get rid of the limi
tation of the pension list imposed by Mr
Burke's bill, he was sure the house woul
feel the necessity of putting a stop, or a

of establishing some limit, to the tice. The amount of these pensions, of the royal bounty, out of the Fee ds, out of the Ordnance allowance, out of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, eded 56,700*l.* whilst the allowances in nature of pensions, of the same descrip- charged upon the civil list, amounted 42,000*l.*, making together nearly 0*l*; being more than it was possible e granted under the provisions of Mr. e's bill.—It was barely necessary for o state the nature and extent of this h of public expenditure, to con- the house of the propriety of an ry how far retrenchment might be icable.—He came next to a most rtant head, that of Sinecures and es executed by Deputy, which in and alone amounted to 242,355 *l.* per . In the colonies particularly taken from the enemy, there were al which had not been returned, consequently it was evident that im stated in the Report must be less the actual expenditure under this This sum included all the offices the head of sinecures of offices exe- by deputy, and those of the courts w.—But here he must observe, that s not his intention to submit any Re- on upon the subject, that could im- tely affect the interests of those who these offices. He could not, how- avoid calling the attention of the to a passage of a Report which had made by a Committee upon offices is description, towards the close of North's administration. The pas- stated, that where *bona fide* duties attached to an office, it became a old to the possessor if he held it for ut if he derived a stipend only from fice, without any duty to perform, it not be considered as a freehold. Report, too, added, that it was the n of our ancestors that when an of- ecame a sinecure, it was in fact va- The Report then went on to state, n such times (a time when the whole expenditure of the country did not d fifteen millions) it was the duty of ment to make every possible re- ment in the public expenditure. ever reasons could apply to such must apply with double force to resent times.—Thus he had gone gh the principal heads to which it is wish to call the attention of the upon the subject of Sinecures, Pensions, and Offices executed by Deputy, so far as related to England, and had only to add, that the aggregate of this expenditure, which he classed under the head "objectionable or questionable," amounted to four hundred and twenty-four thousand and seventy-three pounds, thirteen shillings, and eleven pence, annually.—With respect to Scotland and Ireland, the amount under the various heads to which he had adverted was of less value, but unquestionably not less deserving the consideration of parliament. The amount of pensions in Scotland was at present 39,704*l.*, but with a view to enable the house to judge of the extent to which it had been carried, he had to state, that at the accession of his present majesty it was of little value, the payment of pensions in that country, not originally exceeding 5,940*l.* He did not find, however, that the increase had been applied to the personal benefit of the sovereign; but still thought the very great increase under this head worthy the attention of that house. The amount of sinecure offices and of offices executed by deputy, was not less than 29,300*l.* Of these he was aware, that some were preserved by the Act of Union, but these were few in number; and every thing he had said with respect to places of that description in England, was applicable to those in Scotland. He did not mean, however, to move any Resolution upon this head, any more than with respect to the pensions out of the four and a half per cents. His wish would be to propose at a future period, an humble Address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant pensions to a larger amount than 600*l.* in any one year in Scotland, until the whole should be reduced to 10,000*l.*, at which it should remain, being double what it was originally; whilst the remainder he should propose to be carried to the Civil List. The total of exceptionable or objectionable charge for Scotland, therefore, including 8,575*l.* for Miscellaneous Services of a doubtful description, amounted to seventy-seven thousand six hundred and nine thousand pounds a year.—As to Ireland, that country was far more fruitful in the amount of pensions and allowances secured by act of parliament. By the Papers on the table, it appeared, that the present amount, under the head of Pensions, exceeded the amount limited by the act by 10,000*l.*; but as it appeared, that by a clause in the act his majesty was authorised to grant to the amount of 1200*l.* in each year in pensions, he feared there could be no remedy for that excess, until an act should be passed to amend the former act. The sum granted as compensation for those who lost offices by the Union was ninety-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-three pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. This was well worth the attention of the house, because many of those thus compensated must have held offices during pleasure, and could not have the same claim to compensation with those who held offices for life.—The sinecures and the allowances in the nature of Pensions to those superannuated, had been much increased in Ireland on account of a false interpretation having been put upon the act of parliament; and to such an extent was this carried, that persons who had served for twenty-five years, thought themselves privileged to retire, though then perhaps in the prime of life, in their 45th or 46th years, when they had become fully acquainted with the nature of their office, and were at that very time better able to discharge the duties of it, than they had been at any former period, thus superannuating themselves after they had, as it were, served a sort of an apprenticeship to the duties of the office.—Another circumstance of which he had to complain, with respect to the indiscriminate allowance of compensations was, that they were given not only to those who retired from places and offices held by patent, but to those also who retired from places they had held merely during pleasure; this was not in unison with the true and original principle of such grants, for they were intended to prevent injustice; but what injustice, he would ask, was suffered by the man who holding a place at pleasure was removed at pleasure? He thought it wrong, therefore, so to misapply the public money, by giving it to those who had no claims whatever upon public justice. Hence he thought that the best possible remedy against all such misapplications, would be the publicity of the grants themselves; if they were all publicly given. If no compensation could be given without every circumstance of the grant, nature, and object of it being laid upon the table of that house, they would not have to complain of so many improper grants, and indeed in general, the best remedy against the evil they so often heard complained of in that house under the term *Jobs,* would be publicity in every thing relating the disposal of the public money.—T whole amount of objectionable or qu tionable charge for Ireland (includi pensions 120,846*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* compensatio for Union 97,663*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sinecures a reversons 102,104*l.*) amounted to three hu dred and twenty thousand six hundred a fourteen pounds six shillings per annu He had now mentioned the evils, and should next state the means by which proposed to come at the remedies. had in his hand a series of resolutio which he would submit to the Committ in case the house agreed in appoint it:—Here the hon. gent. read those Re lutions, which stated in substance, the gent necessity at such a period of strictest economy in the disposal of public money. That it was not so m the object to abolish certain offices as t the amount of those charges should not ceed the just estimate of the services r dered thereby to the public. That it desirable that the emoluments of off appertaining to courts of law should be permitted to fluctuate or to go bey their estimate at their first institut That Mr. Burke's bill had wisely st lated against the unnecessary creatio places and offices, and that it would be pedient to follow up that stipulation providing for the annual publicity of grants of such Places. The learned hon. gent. then concluded with mov That his Resolutions do lie upon the ta and that a Committee of the whole h be appointed to take into further consi ation the third Report of the Comm of Finance on this day se'nnight.*

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* The following is an Abstract of the sions, &c. from the Papers on the table, a ferred to in Mr. Martin's Statement:

ENGLAND.—Pensions.

Royal Family, and paid by Act of Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund - -	£. 133,000
House of Orange, Ditto - -	16,000
Royal Family, out of Civil List, by Letters of Privy Seal and Sign Manuel - - - - -	162,000
Ditto, out of Consolidated Fund, by Act of Parliament	72,000
	£. 383,000
Floating Pensions for the Princesses, to commence on the demise of his Majesty, 30,000*l.*	
Other Pensions, paid out of	

r. *H. Thornton* rose to second the mo- He concurred most cordially in all Resolutions proposed by the hon. gent.; and, indeed, he was disposed to go beyond the hon. gent, and even the Committee on one point, namely, that relating

Consolidated Fund, by t of Parliament (only ,00*l.* of which contingent)	75,990	14	10
„ on Civil List, under the gulations of Act 22 G. 3	89,067	13	4
	£.165,058	8	2
ing Pensions which will come a Charge on the il List, 8,471*l.*			
ARMY, &c.			
fficers' Widows - - -	34,926	6	2
NAVY.			
perannuated Officers, in- ding those who have re- ved Wounds in the Ser- e, and the Widows and ildren of other Officers, yable on the Ordinary timate of the Navy - -	62,884	0	0
Master Attendants, &c. tificers, and persons em- yed in the Yards - -	6,306	0	0
ORDNANCE.			
fficers' Widows, &c. -	45,572	17	11
	£.149,689	4	1
Unobjectionable Pen- ns, 697,747*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*			
IONS OBJECTIONABLE OR QUESTIONABLE.			
ions called Allowances m the War-Office - -	5,640	6	9
by Pay-master General, yal Bounty (Officers' Wi- ws not here included) -	5,163	6	8
of Man - - - - - - -	560	0	0
altar - - - - - - -	692	10	0
of Treasury Fee Fund, vil List and Law Charges, ducting for persons who ve died - - - - - - -	2,990	0	0
wances out of Fee Fund d Messengers' Fund, Fo- gn Office - - - - - -	2,495	0	0
tions to the Establish- ent of the Foreign Office -	150	0	0
out of Civil List or other nd (600*l.* of which is con- gent) - - - - - - -	1,625	0	0
wances out of Home De- rtment - - - - - - -	2,172	0	0
ions and Allowances out the Ordinary Estimates the Navy to retired Civil ficers and Wives of Living val Officers (exclusive Master Shipwrights and her Working Officers em- yed in the Yards, and t including those lately ad). These payments are ely increased - - - -	12,316	16	0
Floating Pensions in the Ordinary of the Navy, 1182*l.* 10*s.* of which is now in a course of payment - - - - -	182	10	0
Out of Old Stores (not including Widows and Children of Officers, or Pensions for Wounds) - - - - - - -	6,828	10	0
Floating Pensions out of Old Stores, 3,851*l.* 10*s.*			
Note—The Payments out of Old Stores, by Sign Manual, amount, exclusive of Bills assigned on the Treasurer of the Navy (which are 43,432*l* 18*s.* 4*d.*) to 29,083*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* of which 7,059*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* was in payment of Pensions.			
Payments in aid of Salary to First Lord of the Admiralty	2,000	0	0
Pensions or Allowances at the Tax-Office - - - - - -	1,900	0	0
Compensations, Pensions, and Allowances in the Offices of Master of the Horse and Lord Steward - - - -	7,454	19	1
Pensions out of Transport Office - - - - - - - - -	1,100	0	0
Pensions out of Excise and Salt Duties - - - - - -	1,696	6	0
Allowances to suppressed Commissaries - - - - - - -	1,966	14	3
Lottery Office Pensions - -	100	0	0
Pay Office ditto - - - - - -	1,100	0	0
Post Office - - - - - - -	591	0	0
Stamp Office - - - - - -	3,080	0	0
Annual Payments from Civil List to Rangers, &c. - -	10,168	3	3
Allowances out of Ordnance, deducting for Officers' Widows, &c. - - - - - - -	15,232	13	0
Pensions added since the Account of those made up to 5th Jan. 1807 - - - -	3,766	0	0
Allowances under the name of Compensations in the Departments of Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Robes - - - - - - - -	2,685	10	0
In the Customs - - - - - -	807	0	0
In the Pell Office, for Places abolished - - - - - - -	280	0	0
Deputy Surveyor of Woods and Forests, in lieu of an Office in Chatham Barracks	500	0	0
Small Pensions to different Churches and Parishes formerly paid by Paymaster of Pensions, transferred to Exchequer by Act of Parliament - - - - - - - -	1,758	5	4
To Foreign Ministers - - -	51,689	0	0
(22 G. 3, § 18, Act not to ex-			

to Sinecures; for it would be in the recollection of the house, how the original Report had been altered upon that head. The learned gentleman had adopted the language of the Report, but it was his opinion, that the house ought rather to revise the system, than to content itself with acting upon a principle which had already been recognized. It would be proper to revise the whole question respecting Sinecures, in order to ascertain which it might perhaps be desirable to retain. With a reservation respecting this point, he heartily coincided in all the other Resolutions of the learned gent. The learned gent. had however fallen into some inaccuracies which he rose to set right. The Committee was now employed in correcting some inaccuracies into which it had fallen, by having inserted in the appendix to Report the gross instead of the net salari From the documents he possessed, he co puted the gross amount estimated in first broad and general statement, by t learned gent. at one million and a ha to be 1,400,000*l.* one hundred thousa pounds less than the hon. gent. had ma it. But out of this sum of one million fo hundred thousand pounds, there were lik wise to be deducted various sums, which t hon. and learned gent. had not included his statement of questionable expenditu viz. a sum of 34,000*l.* to Officers' Widow one of 45,000*l.* to the Ordnance Servic and a third of 57,000*l.* towards the Nav Estimates; there was also to be deducte a sum of 8,000*l.* to the First Lord of th Admiralty, and his office, and 13 or 14,00

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tend to those Pensions, provided the persons receiving them do not enjoy some place of Profit from the Crown to the amount of the Pension usually allowed in those cases)			
Contingents ditto, 3,900*l.*			
Paymasters' Poundage out of Army Pensions - - - -	1,746	6	3
(Qu. Whether this Office be not executed by Deputy? and if so, might not a small Salary be allowed in lieu of Poundage?)			
	£. 150,437	16	7

OFFICES SINECURE, OR EXECUTED BY DEPUTY.

Twenty-two out of 36 Sinecure Offices or executed by Deputy (of the Emoluments of the remaining 14 no return has been made) - - - -	18,791	0	0
Alienation Office and Hanaper, also Sinecures - - -	3,407	11	6
Apothecary General (sinecure) average of 3 years - - -	12,158	5	4
Thirty-six other Offices executed by Deputy in the Exchequer, Customs, Excise, Navy, Pay Office, and Privy Seal - - - - - - -	80,814	0	0
Ditto in Courts of Justice -	97,367	0	0
Note—Marshal of the Admiralty and other Offices omitted, and no Returns from the Courts of Vice-Admiralty abroad, 12 in number.			
Offices of the same nature held for joint lives (Naval Offices of Jamaica not included) but may be subject to some small Deductions - - -	29,818	0	0
	£. 242,355	16	10

No Return of the Offices in the West India Islands taken from the enemy.			
Four and a half per Cent. Duty	10,331	0	
Paid by the Husband of the Duty - - - - - - - -	20,949	0	
	£. 31,280	0	
Contingent and floating ditto, 5,730*l.*			
Pensions Miscellaneous - -	150,437	16	
Sinecure Offices held by Deputy, or for Joint Lives -	242,355	16	1
Total Objectionable or Questionable for England -	£. 424,073	13	1

SCOTLAND.

Pensions paid out of the Civil Establishment - - - -	39,704	16	
Payments for Miscellaneous Services which may be doubtful - - - - - - -	8,575	0	
Sinecure Offices - - - -	1,230	0	
Ditto executed by Deputy -	28,090	0	
	£. 77,609	16	

IRELAND.

Pensions - - - - - - - -	120,846	12	
Compensation for Union, &c.	97,663	13	
Sinecure Offices held for two or more Lives, or granted in Reversion - - - - - -	102,104	0	
Total Ireland -	£. 320,614	6	
England -	424,073	13	11
Scotland - -	77,609	16	6
Total Objectionable or Questionable - - - - - -	£. 822,297	16	5
Unobjectionable - - - -	697,747	12	3
Grand Total -	£. 1,520,045	8	8

fraying the expences of government
ches, besides other charges which
the aggregate of deductions amount
,000*l.* So that altogether a sum of
00*l.* ought to be deducted from the
road statement of the hon. and learn-
nt. From the remaining 1,200,000*l.*
should likewise be deducted those
es which having been granted by
f compensation for loss of office or
rminable periods, would cease with
es of the grantees, or the expiration
terms for which they may have been
ed. Upon the best consideration he
give the subject, and the most accu-
stimate he could form, it did not ap-
o him, that the whole of the floating
e of Pensions, &c. properly so called,
be said to exceed half a million a
Even this, however, was a large
and he not only thought that the
ought to be under restrictions in the
al of it, but that the specific reasons
e various grants should be regularly
efore the house. The hon. gent. in
tement of Sinecures had also been a
obscure, and had overstated the
at. The total amount was not more
32,000*l.* including those of the law
, &c. He wished merely to correct
accuracy, while at the same time he
ssed his belief that in the sum, what-
t was, a diminution might be made.
rreed in the propriety of giving par-
nt full information on these subjects
lly. The public could no longer be
n ignorance; and from the diffusion
tical knowledge, it was now neces-
o have every thing clearly stated,
ey might not appear to act from bad
ds and want of information. A re-
system of superannuation ought to
opted, as had been very properly re-
ended by his hon. friend; and he
nt farther, that in such times as the
t, it was highly necessary, on account
e increase of political knowledge
the people, and the spirit of en-
that prevailed, that the most distinct
rrect statement of the application of
blic money should be afforded the
as well as communicated out of
because since the people would
such information, it was desirable
should be correct. He expected
see before the house the Report of
ommittee of Public Expenditure,
he trusted would throw some light
s subject, and afford them farther
ation.

Mr. *H. Martin*, in explanation, said, that he meant not to affect the sums appropriated to Officers' Widows, or any such charge. He had distinctly stated, in setting out, that he wished those to be laid aside in the consideration to which he was about to call the attention of the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* returned his thanks to the hon. gent. (Mr. Martin) for his very fair and candid manner of making his statement, and also for allowing the house sufficient time to take the subject fully into their consideration. He was free to confess, that at the time of the meeting of parliament, he had not formed a clear idea, or at all made up his mind respecting many points touched upon by the hon. gent. in his statement. The house would, therefore, not be surprized, that since the meeting of parliament his time was so much occupied with the other important duties of his office that he had not been able to gain new lights on the subject. He should now state, that he had the pleasure of agreeing with the hon. member in many of his points. He agreed also perfectly with what had been said by another hon. member (Mr. Thornton), that the greatest publicity should be given to every question connected with the expenditure of the country, and that the whole of the public accounts ought to be produced in such a form as to be intelligible to every ordinary comprehension. This was the plan which Mr. Pitt always pursued. He contrived to disentangle financial operations from any difficulty, or obscurity, and placed them in that clear and perspicuous light that every common understanding was capable of comprehending them. The observations which the hon. member had made respecting the Superannuation Fund appeared to him perfectly proper, and he entirely coincided with him in the opinion that every branch of the public expenditure ought to be submitted as expeditiously as possible to the consideration and judgment of that house. He agreed with him perfectly about the propriety of keeping the two heads of Navy Pensions and Superannuated Fund distinct. He also agreed with him that the most effectual mode ought to be adopted for carrying the proceeds of old stores to the credit of the public. He coincided with the hon. member in most of the provisions he had suggested, though he was of opinion that there would be much inconvenience, if not an utter impossibility, for parliament to make individual grants to all those various descriptions of persons necessary to be taken into consideration. The sums might be voted under certain heads, and the individual provided for by the minister on his responsibility to parliament. As for general charges respecting want of economy in the public expenditure, he would say, that he was sure that not only his majesty's present ministers, but any other set of gentlemen who might in future be ministers, would be much better economists of the public purse under the check and superintendance of parliament, than parliament itself would be. As to the office to which he had a reversion, he would most disinterestedly state, that he thought it among the number of those offices which might admit of regulation, according to that principle of parliament which allowed the regulation of the fees and emoluments of an office, when those emoluments far exceeded what was originally intended. He admitted that many offices in the Courts of Justice required regulation, and he was indeed disposed to go a considerable way in support of the ideas of the hon. gentleman. The only thing that he wished to throw out to his consideration was, whether it would be necessary to bring forward this plan in the course of the session, or whether it would not be as well to leave it for the consideration of ministers during the recess, and wait to see how much of it could be carried into effect by ministerial regulations without the necessity of parliamentary enactments.

Lord *H. Petty* coincided in every respect with the Resolutions proposed by his hon. friend, and gave his fullest concurrence to all the sentiments he had expressed in their support. He confessed, that looking to the situation and circumstances in which the Report was drawn up, it would have been more desirable that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had assumed the task, but not having felt that to be his duty, he was glad to find that he was not for that reason averse to the spirit of the regulations suggested, and was sure that he had done no more than justice to his hon. and learned friend, when he ascribed to him that fairness and candour with which he had introduced the measure. It was not from any expectation of great saving that he advocated this measure, or with any view of being able thereby to lessen the burdens of the taxes. As the whole sphere of the pensions, sinecures, and allowances did not amount to
more than a fifty-second part of the annu
expenditure of this country, and af
deducting the allowances to the roy
family, would not exceed one 80th p
of the expenditure, the house could
be entitled to expect that any great savi
could result from the curtailment of t
branch of the public expenditure. It w
not therefore, on this expectation, but
the principle that, however small the a
vantage to be derived from the investig
tion of abuses, the constant attention
the house should be directed to the su
pression of such evils, that he agreed
the motion of his hon. and learned frien
After deducting the annuities to the ro
family, the amount of pensions, sinecu
&c. amounted to 950,000*l.* This sum w
received not for services performing,
performed. If sinecures were not
proper mode of rewarding all services p
formed, still it was not said that they sho
be excluded altogether. So, the quest
should be, to what extent this was
fittest mode, and whether the amount
sums so payable did or did not exceed
value of the service performed. The
ject of his hon. friend was not that th
offices should be done away, but that
amount of them should not be grea
than the value of the service rendered
the public. His next object was, that
emoluments of Offices in Courts of L
should not be allowed to fluctuate, a
to exceed what was to have been expec
when they were originally institut
Thirdly, to prevent the possible creat
of places, as stipulated for by Mr. Burk
bill, by providing for the annual public
of all circumstances connected with
grants of such places. No where co
this privilege be so safely lodged as in
crown; but being so confided, it was p
per that an account of the nature and ma
ner of the appointments should be l
before the house, and so become accessi
to parliament and to the public at
times. These were the only regulatio
which could be adopted to keep down
expenditure, and while the house was
guilty of any dereliction of duty, no pu
lic body could be better qualified for su
a task.—Having said so much, he shou
reserve, till another opportunity, the e
tering into minor details. The right h
the Chancellor of the Exchequer, wh
he agreed in many things with the h
and learned mover, had suggested that
would not be necessary for his hon. frie
to press the Resolutions he had read, duri

resent session. He, however, was
nion, that if the house approved of
esolutions, it would be better that
hould be put into the form of bills,
f so, that they should, if possible,
uring the present session. He was
d the house could not discharge its
better than by proceeding to carry
rinciple of these Resolutions into
ion. The Resolutions of his hon.
had his full concurrence; and it
him satisfaction to see the manner in
they had been met by the house.
motion of his hon. and learned friend
went to follow up the regulations
had been acted on since the year
by which all the public offices had
regulated, and a diminution of one
f the objectionable expences had
accomplished. He stated this to
that the present was no new theory.
an expenditure of 80 millions an-
, it was to be expected that excesses
buses would spring. But any sum,
er, if given away without any jus-
e ground, was an evil that called for
y; and every increase of influence
part of the crown, obtained by
means, at however small an expence,
not be too much guarded against by
nent. The public had a right also,
tended, to be made acquainted with
plication of the public money, and
convinced that every effort was
on the part of that house to prevent
essary expence. This species of
ce, too, had a constant tendency to
se, which made it more the duty of
house to check, and keep it within
bounds. He did not believe it to be
tention of his hon. friend to hurry
easure, but should the house adopt
Resolutions, it would be for them to
ler whether they would pass the bills
g the present session, or delay acting
em till next session. For his own
however, he saw no good to be de-
from delay, and thought the house
not do better than carry the regu-
s proposed into effect, with as little
f time as possible.

Rose was satisfied there could be
me sentiment in the house on such a
ct. Whether the Resolutions proposed
hon. and learned gentleman were
d through the house, in the form of
however, during the present session,
not, he conceived be of great im-
nce. The entering them on the
als as Resolutions of the house would have the same effect, as it was not to be supposed that any minister would take upon him to act in opposition to such a declaration of the opinion of the house. Before he should set down he begged to correct a mis-statement with regard to the four and a half per cent. duty. On an average for ten years it had been found to produce 20,000*l.* per annum, and was charged with 28,000*l.* per ann. to the Duke of Gloucester. In order to relieve this fund from so great an overcharge, his royal highness's allowance had been removed to the Consolidated fund; but the 4½ per cent. duty was not in consequence applied to the uses of the crown. He noticed the difference between the gross and nett statements of salary, &c. A relation of his held an office estimated at 2,400*l.* per annum while in fact it netted no more than 400*l.* the 2,000*l.* being paid for stamps, &c. He concluded by thanking the hon. and learned gent. for the motion he had submitted to the house.

Mr. *Creevey* said, he did not rise to object to the Resolutions of his hon. and learned friend, but to claim to himself the right of going beyond them on a future occasion by other resolutions of his own. His hon. and learned friend had been much too tender upon the subject of the 4½ per cent. toward Inland duties, considering them as private property of the crown, and disposable at its pleasure. For his part, he was convinced this fund was public property, and ought not to have been used as it had been. It was excepted by name out of the royal revenue by the first act of queen Anne, and again by the acts on the accession of George the first and second; and on the accession of his present majesty it was not specified amongst the small hereditary revenues then given up, for a very good reason, because it had long been alienated from the crown. Through the whole of the last century to the few remaining years of it, this fund had been considered as public property. Lord Grenville, as chairman of a committee of that house, returned it amongst the public revenue of the country in 1786. Lord Harrowby (then Mr. Ryder), did the same in 1791. It was in 1797 that the Finance Committee, for the first time, raised a doubt about it; and from that time Mr. Pitt's government, which till then had treated this fund as public property, immediately cut and carved it up in pensions to an enormous amount, amongst Mr. Pitt's private and political connections, men, women and children. Never fund was so abused, and in no case more strikingly than in that of Mr. Long; the Civil List act of Mr. Burke had enacted, that no person other than a prince of the blood, or upon a recommendation of either house of parliament, should have a pension exceeding 1,200*l.* per annum, and yet Mr. Long, a subordinate officer of the government, had been helped to a pension of 1,500*l.* per annum, at the same time that he held an office of 2,000*l.* per annum, and had a house likewise furnished him by the state; all these things respecting the four and a half per cent. duties, and the particular pensions upon them, Mr. Creevey said he should bring forward before the session closed. On the subject of patent places, he could not see why those two which had belonged to lords Bute and Sondes should have been abolished, and those which were held by the marquis of Buckingham, lords Grenville and Arden, were suffered to continue.

Mr. *Biddulph* was sorry that any thing should have occurred to induce gentlemen on the other side of the house to suppose that there was no necessity for carrying these Resolutions into effect during the present session. If one million could be saved on the whole expenditure of the country he should esteem it nothing; but if 100,000*l.* could be saved in any one department of the expenditure, that he should think a great deal. If services were to be rewarded, he thought sinecures the very worst mode of rewarding them. He wished, therefore that sinecures should be done away, and that public services should be rewarded in a manner not liable to be misunderstood. He hoped the house would not degenerate into listlessness and inattention on such a subject, but would carry their ideas into effect during the present session of parliament.

Mr. *Peter Moore* said he had never till lately understood that sums voted by parliament were for any other than public services. All others he conceived misapplications of the public money. The 95,000*l.* under Mr. Burke's act he esteemed sacred, but all beyond that sum he conceived to be illegal; and, in the committee, he should move that all such excess should be expunged and disallowed, as an imposition on the public. A noble lord had said it would be no relief to the people. This he denied; it would be Mexico and Peru to them. He thought that it would be much better that every separate care of public service should c distinctly before the consideration of house, as he was convinced that m grants would then be rejected with utmost indignation that are now confe without any notice being taken of th As to the fondness that now prevaile pensions and sinecures, he could not a relating an anecdote:—A French no man had once expressed a fear to him the Red Book of England would b ominous as the *livre rouge* of France. was the strange ambition which form prevailed in France, that many noble would consider themselves more hi honoured in having a pension of a thousand livres from the gift of the than in as many thousand louis d'ors their own estates. He feared that in land, too, it was now considered hon able to have pensions and sinecures the public money.

The question was then put, and ca unanimously, that the Report of the C mittee should be taken into considera this day se'nnight.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 9.

[King's Message respecting Po gal.] Upon the order of the day b read for taking his majesty's Message consideration;

The Earl of *Liverpool* rose for the pose of moving an humble Address, pressing the thanks of that house to majesty for the communication of his gracious Message. There was no ne sity for his taking up much of their l ships' time in shewing the propriet granting a loan of 600,000*l.* to his r highness the prince Regent of Portu He would call to their lordships' reco tion, that when the unfortunate chang affairs obliged the prince Regent to his hereditary dominions, and seek asylum on the continent of America majesty's government thought it wise prudent to give every encouragemen so magnanimous an undertaking. royal highness had to convey the w of his family, and a great part of t who formed the court of Lisbon, an this purpose it was thought expedien grant from this country the sum of 80,C It had been certainly granted witho direct application to parliament, bec there was no session at the time, and been afterwards considered among

Extraordinaries. The result of the guese court emigrating to a distant ry, naturally induced many others to them to their new residence; and ill further aiding this loyal spirit of ortuguese, another sum was at that advanced of about 80,000*l.* making whole 160,000*l.* It was for the se of enabling his royal highness to those sums which had been ex- d in his behalf, and of enabling him et those difficulties which attended the Brazils, that his majesty had nduced to agree, that the loan should anted. The Prince Regent on all ons had most signally manifested lf the faithful ally of Great Britain. ould not detain the time of the house ny further observation, but should "That an humble Address be pre- d to his majesty, thanking him for ost gracious communication, and as- his majesty this house will readily ly with the request his majesty had scended to communicate for the pur- of being better enabled to perform stipulation which his majesty had ht proper to make with his royal ess the Prince Regent of Portugal."

e Duke of *Norfolk* said, he did not ith the intention of proposing any tion in the way of this loan being ed to the Prince Regent of Portugal. nce who on all occasions had shewn lf a true friend and faithful ally to country, was deserving of every as- ce, when dire necessity enforced him t his hereditary dominions, and seek in another quarter of the globe. he loan been greater than 600,000*l.* position would have proceeded from after he had heard the explanation by the noble secretary. But on this ion he was induced to express his on as an individual, of those loans rumour informed him were in con- ation. He had not authority for , but there was little doubt further ance would be extended to the efforts inhabitants of the peninsula against njust aggression of the French em- . With respect to the Portuguese nment now on the continent of Ame- he trusted their dynasty would again return to the Tagus, and that overnments of the peninsula would regain their American dominions, se the government of Portugal, in its t situation, might become indepen- of the over-ruling power of Europe, and would produce solid advantage to ourselves, by increasing the trade and commerce of Great Britain. If the power of France should succeed in her present schemes of aggrandisement, the destruction of Austria, and the subjugation of the peninsula, still it would be in our power to carry on the war with her, till a satisfactory peace could be obtained. It would be highly requisite to guard our possessions in the East. That expeditions were about to be sent out was certain, and it was not regular for him to put any question to his majesty's ministers, as to their destination; but if it were in contemplation to give further assistance to the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, he could not, although the noble secretary might rank him with one of the most extraordinary men in the kingdom, approve of such a disposal of our blood and treasure. No man more than himself lamented the fate of the peninsula; no man more admired the courage and exertion of every Spaniard who tried to regain the independence of his king and his country. But it would be recollected the king, for whom they fought, was now in the custody of the French emperor; and their own power was weak, while that of their enemy was mighty and formidable. The assistance which could be granted by this country was so inconsiderable in the scale, that it could produce no ultimate good to the cause of those we assisted; and he was apprehensive, in sending out generals and armies to that part of Europe, they would be in danger of sharing the fate of those who preceded them. The cause of Spain and of Portugal was that of an injured people, but it was that of a people comparatively weak fighting against a power of the greatest strength; and, however we might lament the contest on their side must eventually be unsuccessful, we ought not, in these times, to send out our men and money in the cause of other nations, where all our efforts must be in vain. We ought rather to guard ourselves against the overbearing power of the continent. No doubt could exist of a disposition on the part of the ruler of France to destroy this country, and after he had accomplished his designs on the continent, and could then find means, with thousands of his army, to invade our shores, and should be successful, he would not deal with this country as he had done with others, he would lay waste every thing before him, and scarcely leave one stone upon another; because he would be well aware he could not long keep this country under his subjection. The noble duke concluded by observing, that, as an individual, he had taken this opportunity of expressing his sentiments upon the subject of our giving assistance to the cause of Spain and Portugal.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* had no intention of opposing the proposed Address, but he thought that on the late occasions when questions of such considerable importance had been brought under the consideration of the house, there was not sufficient elucidation given, as to the propriety of the measure. He did not concur with those sentiments expressed by the noble duke, and which breathed so much despondency as to the cause of Spain and Portugal; he trusted he could perceive grounds for entertaining better hopes. The noble Secretary had mentioned the former grant of 80,000*l.* and he should wish to enquire if that sum had been granted by lord Strangford? He also wished to be informed as to the nature of the convention mentioned in his majesty's Message.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, that at the time of the Portuguese emigration an advance of money had been made by lord Strangford, and the convention alluded to was one which had been agreed upon in this country, between his majesty's Secretary and the ambassador of his royal highness.

The Address was then agreed to unanimously.

[Militia Completion Bill.] Upon the order of the day being read, for the second reading of this bill,

The Earl of *Liverpool* observed, there would not be great occasion for his entering into a detail of the principle and provisions of the bill upon the table. The principle was the same with that of other acts of parliament which had passed for augmenting the militia. On account of the late volunteering of the militia into a more regular and disposable force, the regiments had been considerably diminished in their numbers, and it became necessary that those vacancies should be speedlly supplied. In the regular course, this deficiency would have been supplied by ballot in the different counties; but as that mode in the present times might be considered rather hard upon that class, on whom the ballot would immediately fall, it had been thought advisable, by the present bill, to enable each regiment of militia to supp their deficiencies by enlistment for limited time; and after that period, if should turn out that this mode had not be successful, it would then be necessary recur to the old and regular method ballot. This provision would be attend with considerable advantage to those w would have been liable under the form militia acts, and would cast the burth and expence more equally upon the pu lic. The noble earl, after shortly explai ing the nature of the bill, expressed hi self as having no apprehension of its mee ing with any objection from their lord ships.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* said, he so far approve of the bill, as containing a provision, th in completing the deficiencies of the milit establishment, the burthen and expen were to be removed from the counties, an laid upon the public. But he expresse considerable regret, that the principle the militia had in modern times been much departed from, and that the milit regiments should have been made a r cruiting, or perhaps, if he might use th expression, a crimping fund for the suppl of the regular army. He did not partic larly direct his observations to the bill be fore them, but it was with regret he sa the militia more and more altered from those principles upon which that force wa first established.

Lord *Harrowby* defended the measur which had been resorted to in regard t the militia establishment of the country He was induced to express his sentimen upon the present occasion, because h conceived himself in justice bound to d so in opposition to the arguments urge from such a respectable authority as tha of the noble earl who spoke. He cons dered the expression used by that nobl earl as too severe and degrading; fo whatever might be justly felt by those wh took a pride in the discipline of their own regiments, they could have but one ultimate desire, that of forming them to be th most useful for their country. If, therefore, they rendered them fit for immediat service, and for entering a more regula and disposable force, their exertions ough to be more satisfactory to themselves, whe these men volunteered into the regula army. For his own part, he had severa years been a captain in the militia; an although not so high, or perhaps so interested in the service, as the noble lor opposite, he always felt a considerable par

for that kind of force; yet he must
e measures which had been resorted
the supply of the regular army, did
ur his disapprobation without alter-
is former opinions on the subject.
rdship then took a view of the prin-
of the old militia acts, and shewed
was no alteration adopted in the pre-
nstance, which did not accord with
inciple of past alterations.

Marquis of *Douglas* concurred in
had been stated by the noble earl
illiam,) nor did he think the expres-
lluded to at all too severe. It cor-
described the mode resorted to of
ting the regular army out of the
establishment of the country.
ever consideration might be paid to
her species of force, so much sup-
by the sacrifice of the militia, he
wish the house to recollect, that per-
he time was not far distant when we
stand most in need of an internal
adequate to resist the attack of an in-
g enemy. The disposable force of
untry, so much attended to, might
nployed in expeditions, when the
ry would at length, and that proba-
ery soon, feel the great want of an
ve and internal force for its own
vation.—Looking at the late achieve-
of our army abroad, he would have
as ready as any man to have praised
alour and courage displayed; but
he recollected the Convention, he
o much as a Briton not to lament the
ses for which that army had been
yed.

Earl of *Westmoreland* contended
was nothing objectionable in the pro-
s of modern times respecting the
a. If the old principle had been at-
d to, and the men had only served
ree, four, or seven years, and at that
they had returned from the service,
ble lords would have found them-
without those men who had been so
lly taught their discipline. He
d, out of that house they were more
sed to give assistance to the bill being
d into execution, and that their regi-
would be the most forward; but if
language in that house were to be
led to, no such consequences could
pected. That army which had dis-
d its superiority on the Tagus, and
n, afterwards, amidst the greatest dif-
es, embarked with honour and glory,
omposed of men chiefly taken from
ents of militia, and he was induced
to approve of such a system as strengthened the most useful force of the country.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* declined entering into those topics, which, in his opinion, had been irrelevantly introduced into the discussion on the merits of the present bill. But he would call the attention of the noble secretary to the preamble of the bill, where it was said the men should be raised by the beat of the drum. He conceived this a deviation from the principle of the militia, and from the principle of all former bills. He hoped he should be excused for troubling the house with any observation, as he had not been present at the commencement of this discussion.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, if the noble earl had been present, he would have heard his explanation of that part of the bill. His lordship here stated the purport of what he had before expressed on the reason of providing that the men might be raised by way of enlistment for a limited time. In reply to the arguments of other noble lords, he argued, that, without any interference, after a man had learned his duty as a soldier, he would naturally be disposed to continue his services by going into a superior force.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* considered there was one objection to the present bill, which had not been mentioned in the course of the debate. It pretended to raise the men for the completion of the militia, by taking the burthen off from the counties, and laying it upon the public; this was a false pretence, for it would do no such thing. The bill provided the men might be raised by enlistment, at a bounty of twelve guineas, any time before June, 1810; and if the quota should not be raised before that period, it is then provided the ancient method of ballot should be resorted to; so that all deficiencies should be supplied before the October following. Of course it was well known there was 20*l.* fine on the man ballotted, and 10*l.* more was permitted by way of bounty; and if it should happen the substitute was not procured before October, there was an additional fine of 40*l.* on the county, so that it must be evident the bounty after June would be from 30*l.* to 70*l.* a man; whereas before June it could be no more than twelve guineas. The consequence, from the nature of human reasoning, must be, every man would decline accepting the bounty for enlistment, knowing it would be much better for his interest to wait till this period should elapse. It was on this ground he felt particularly hostile to the bill, because it pretended to do that which his majesty's ministers must be convinced of themselves it could never effect.

The Earl of *Selkirk* observed, that the most favourable point of view in which he saw the present measure, was from what had fallen from the noble earl who had just sat down, that it was not likely to effect what it pretended to do, the completion of the militia establishment. The present establishment was, in his mind, so radically wrong, that he had no desire to witness its completion.

The Bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 9.

[CONDUCT OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.] Earl *Temple*, in rising to submit the motion of which he had given notice, observed, that, now the cabinet ministers had laid all the documents upon the table, on which they wished the house to decide upon their conduct, in the management of the most important trust that had ever been confided to any ministers, in direction of the most powerful resources which had at any period of our history been placed at the disposal of the government, for the purpose of assisting to promote the greatest object that had ever, in modern times, been presented for accomplishment, he conceived it to be his duty to call upon parliament for a distinct opinion upon the case: and though he should be short in what he had to say, yet he felt that he should stand in need of the whole indulgence of the house. Whilst they had to lament that the efforts of the country had failed in the course of the campaign, they had, in the documents before the house, enough to satisfy them, that such failure was not attributable to those, to whom the immediate conduct of its operations had been confided. Upon these, that house had already conferred the highest honour which it was possible for a grateful country to bestow. To those, too, who fell in the contest, they had raised the proudest monument, the most lasting and enviable memorial, that a just sense of the most distinguished merit could dictate, or the most eminent services deserve. On the conduct of such persons, therefore, the house was not in this instance, to pronounce judgment. They were to decide upon those persons only whose incapacity and misconduct were the cause why even British valour had failed of success; wh the energies of freedom, and the spirit freemen, had been ineffectual in the ard ous contest in which the country had e gaged—by whose misconduct, the la brilliant spark that lingered of the spi of Europe, had been stifled and exti guished. It was not to the army, the that they were to look for the cause of th failure, nor to the commander in chief that army; for upon him they had b stowed the proudest monument of h conduct whilst living, and most exalte tribute to his memory when dead. A justly had they done so. Had they ne lected thus to record the memory of splendid services, they would have left the enemy the grateful office of rearing monument to his illustrious fame, on th field in which he gloriously fell in batt at the moment of victory, whilst comba ing under disadvantages against a supe rior force. But it was not to the co marble; to the still honours of the tomb to the lifeless monument which may hav been erected, or to the distinguished in scription it may bear, that they were look for the character of sir John Moor His monument was the ground upon whic he fell. That it was which bore th brightest testimony to his immortal fam But he had a still more enviable livin monument in the breasts of those brav troops, among whom as he had ever fondl lived, so he had bravely terminated h glorious career. It was not to his action then, that they were to look for the caus of those disasters which had unfortunatel attended the progress of the campaign over his actions the tomb had closed, an who should venture, with unhallowe hands, to tear open the sanctuary of th tomb? Who should dare to rake up th ashes of the illustrious dead, for the pu pose of patching up a lame and impoten justification for the errors, incapacity, an misconduct of the guilty living? If any attempt of that description should b made, he trusted, that the house, in justic to the memory of that illustrious officer and the generous feelings of his gratefu countrymen, would treat it with merite reprobation. But when acquitting the general and his brave army of any share of blame for the unfortunate issue of the campaign, the house must bear in mind that there were two other parties to the transactions: his majesty's ministers, wh had directed the operations of the campaign, and the allies at whose solicitatio l been entered upon: those allies, whom his majesty's ministers, when knew all the extent of the calamities ain, but the fatal consequences of ffair at Corunna, had concluded a of alliance, without stipulating any ondition of reciprocity in favour of country;—a treaty by which we ound ourselves to wage war for them, o acknowledge the sovereignty of nan they might elevate to the throne, should the supreme power be vested e hands of him against whom we now fighting;—a treaty unexampled e annals of European diplomacy. ey were not then to discuss the me- f that treaty, nor whether it was not that this country should have afford- ll the assistance which her means ed her in the support of the Spanish . If these allies were incapable eir own councils to guard their own sts, his majesty's ministers should ave submitted to them the direction rs, nor concluded such an alliance such circumstances: it was not to allies, then, that the house was to as the source of the disasters which efallen us. There was indeed, one e which might be urged in defence majesty's ministers; that the disas- hich took place had been the result ents which it was not within the com- of human power to resist, which no ght could anticipate; no possible ination guard against. But, if he demonstrate that they had been the able consequence of their incapacity mismanagement; if he could prove these disasters had arisen from any cause, and this he pledged himself to om the documents they had them- produced, then their excuse would the ground. If blame attached any , it was either to them, or to our ; and ministers were so circum- ed, that they could not undertake to themselves, unless by an attack these allies, or their own friends. If should leave it to the country and world to decide what credit ought given to those who, after having so cted, should so defend themselves. the hurricane, that had laid Europe ate, had nearly completed and con- f the destruction of the nations of the nent; when the clouds that accom- d it were even bearing towards our shores, the Spanish revolution pre- l a bright and unexpected gleam of hope and restoration, not like the meteor which shines with temporary splendour, but like the clear and steady ray that is the harbinger of an opening auspicious dawn; not like the volcano which spreads terror, ruin, and desolation around, but like that heavenly fire which cheers the gloom of despair, and lights the way over the wilderness. Then a new day-star seemed to have arisen, the auspicious omen of deliverance to Europe;—and but one wish pervaded the country—to promote the generous cause; but one regret was felt—that we could not all participate in the glorious struggle. When under such circumstances his majesty's ministers undertook to assist Spain, if there had been any man in the country base enough to regret that the task had not been left to their political opponents, or to wish, from such a feeling, that the sanguine prospects then contemplated should terminate in disappointment, his revenge was complete. The first act of this unfortunate campaign consisted in the expedition to Portugal—that specimen of the noble lord's power of combination, in which general had been sent after general, in such unaccountable but rapid succession, when neither was acquainted with the plans or instructions of the other, and when the manner in which the whole had been concerted and executed had made us a mockery even to the enemy whom we had beaten. This was the first effort of his majesty's ministers; the second was the direction of the British army towards Spain. And here he must observe, that those who could not justify, but wished to excuse the Convention of Cintra, founded their excuse upon the necessity of expdeiting the march of the British army to Spain. Even sir A. Wellesley had asserted that if the army had been detained by the prosecution of military operations against the enemy in Portugal, it could not be ready to march into Spain before December. Yet it was somewhat curious to find, that, notwithstanding that very Convention, which was thus justified on the ground of expediting the march of the British army into Spain, it was not till that very December that the British army was able to act, in Spain. Thus it appeared, that what was apprehended as the consequence of protracted warfare in Portugal, had actually resulted from the inactivity, the want of all energy, and the gross want of foresight, on the part of his majesty's ministers. By this they had shewn, that they were as little capable of gathering the bright harvest of laurels arising from conquest, as they were of gleaning benefit by experience from the barren field of disaster. The only proof they had given of their vigour, was the conveyance of 22,000 French troops from Portugal, to a port of France much nearer for their co-operation with the French army in Spain. If Spain was to have been the ultimate object of the expedition, Portugal was not the point to which it should first have been directed; because Junot, who had no means of sending troops to suppress an insurrection at Badajoz, as appeared by the intercepted dispatches, could not march to the assistance of the French in Spain; and if our expedition had been sent directly to Spain, we might afterwards have accomplished our object in Portugal, without the blood it had cost in the actual accomplishment. The British army might have been more beneficially employed, conjointly with our maritime force, on the flanks of Spain, in Catalonia and in Biscay, where it might have occupied Barcelona and St. Sebastian, in which case it might have prevented the escape of Joseph Buonaparté from Spain; or the British troops should have been sent to the south of Spain, where they might have taken post with the Sierra Morena in their front, the Guadalquiver on one flank, and the arsenal and fortress of Cadiz in their rear, besides our own impregnable position at Gibraltar. It appeared that ministers had sent the army to the south when they ought to have sent it to the north, and to the north when they should have sent it to the south. His object, therefore, was to prove, as he should do satisfactorily from the papers on the table, that they had shewn themselves unable to execute even their own projects. They seemed to have been altogether inattentive to the situation of affairs in Spain, until the occasion had gone by for promoting her cause with any prospect of success. So early as May, applications for assistance had been made by some of the provinces; Dupont had surrendered in July, and about the 1st of August Joseph Buonaparté had been obliged to withdraw from Madrid. On the 4th September, too, the emperor Napoleon, not disguising his views, had declared, in his message to his senate, his intention to conquer Spain, and thanked his God, his fortune, and his star, that the madness of the British cabinet had sent an army to encounter him in that country. The French ruler then poured in his troops, in one continual uninterrupted stream, from the Rhine and th Vistula, into Spain. It was not, howeve till September, that his majesty's ministe first communicated their intention to si Hew Dalrymple to march a British forc into Spain. If they had been deceived b diminished statements of the Frenc force, and exaggerated accounts of th Spanish armies received from Spain, the might have had some excuse for their conduct at that period; but the contrary wa the fact, as appeared from the first dispatches from lord William Bentinck, which ministers were in possession befor they ordered any troops to proceed t Spain. They had equally correct information in the dispatch of general Broderick. There were only two men, Morla who had sold the Spanish cause, and Bu naparté, who resolved on the conquest Spain, who could wish an English arm at that precise period to advance into Spai under the actual circumstances; that Morla, whose intrigues for the surrender Cadiz, and the fleet and arsenal, to th French, were now well known, and wh had shewn an invincible jealousy agains the presence in the south of Spain of British force which might watch, and b a check upon, his traiterous motions.— Lord William Bentinck, in his first dispatch, stated that the Spanish armies wer disorganized; that the Spanish government had not taken the first and most necessary step of placing them under th command of one general, and that the were all separated, and the several corp inferior to the divisions opposed to them by the French. Such was the accoun which lord W. Bentinck gave, and it wa confirmed by that of general Broderick. There was, therefore, no one account i which ministers could plead even the miserable and lame excuse of having been deceived by those whom they employed. But notwithstanding the warning which had been given by Buonaparté of his intentions respecting Spain in the early par of September, and though the British army had been completely released in Portugal, it was not till the 26th of September, that lord Castlereagh wrote to sir Hew Dalrymple to prepare the army to advance into Spain, or to sir John Moore to place himself at its head. On the 28th, orders were sent to sir David Baird to proceed from an English port to Corunna. Yet it was no till the 14th of October (the day after he arrived there) that lord W. Bentinck, a id, was made acquainted by a courier sir John Moore, with the circum- e of its being the intention of govern- to send sir David Baird to Corunna. al Leith, it appeared, received orders the same time to prepare for the re- n of the British force at Corunna, but ke his preparations as secretly as pos- What could have been the meaning h an injunction? Was the noble Se- y afraid of rousing the Spaniards or ying their feelings by rendering no- s the arrival of a large auxiliary He wished perhaps to

> o good by stealth, and blush'd to find it
> fame."

not please the noble Secretary pre- y to apprize the Spanish people of lessings he intended for them, but ily to surprize them with his kind- His kindness, however, was very plete. For, lest the combination of incapacity, and mis-management, not be carried to its fullest extent; y, that arm upon which the result whole campaign was to depend; y, which every commanding officer had employed, and every Spanish that applied to them, had called for; y, which lord William Bentinck, l Broderick, the Spanish Deputies, Moore, and that other great military rity Mr. Frere, thought most essen- cavalry was the very last thing that ers thought proper to turn their at- n to. Although they found sir John saying, that with 7,000 or 8,000 y, he could have done much in that y effectually to withstand the enemy; e noble lord opposite writes to him, t would be time enough to send ca- when he had sent the transports back he Tagus to Great Britain, and that, that time of the year when such a e was likely to be protracted by an renient season. One would have at that ministers would have been anxious to shew an activity in the vance of cavalry beyond all other s of force; because it must be in the ection of the house, that when the lord came into office, he made a against former ministers, for not prepared cavalry transports. But ble lord, who was so anxious to bur- he country for the multiplication of y transports, when unnecessary, find none, when the public service for them. No doubt the noble Se- y could say a great deal upon this subject, as to the expence, amount of tonnage, &c. and had his pockets stuffed with calculations of that description. But the arrangements of his majesty's ministers had been of a piece and perfectly consistent throughout. About the same time sir David Baird was directed to send his transports to the Tagus to convey the infantry which they supposed sir John Moore might wish to dispatch from Lisbon to Corunna; thus so curiously did they dovetail their combinations, that transports were to be sent in October from Corunna to the Tagus for infantry, while transports were to come from the Tagus to England for cavalry, before we could have an effective army in Spain; in that country, which so early as May we had been earnestly solicited to assist. When the determination to send a British force to Corunna had been formed, one would have thought that ministers would have paved the way for its landing at that port. But no such thing: no communication had been previously made to our commissioners; no arrangement entered into with the Junta of government; and sir David Baird at his arrival at Corunna not only found himself without money to pay his army, but was actually refused permission to land by the Junta of Gallicia. When at length the army was permitted to land, the last division did not enter Corunna till the 8th of November, only two days before two of the Spanish armies had been annihilated, and twenty-four before Buonaparté entered Madrid. No information had been previously sent even to lord William Bentinck, as to the destination of the army of general Baird, and upon this point he had remonstrated. But, to shew that the noble lord had not a patent for want of information and want of foresight, Mr. Secretary Cooke, who replied to this remonstrance, stated, that government had had no reason to believe, from captain Kennedy's letters, that there would have been any difficulty as to the landing of the army; and yet, strange to state, on the very day this answer was dated, Mr. Secretary Cooke had received a letter from captain Kennedy, stating the difficulty that the Junta would place in the way of the landing of the army. How different was the conduct of the enemy! Buonaparté always flew to his object upon the wings of the eagle; whilst the noble lord crept upon the back of a tortoise to oppose him. And lest the eyes of Europe should not be open to the tardy character of his measures, the noble

lord, as appeared by one of the documents upon the table, started suddenly from his freezing career, and abandoned for the moment the snail-like sinuosities of his course: for on the 2nd of November, the noble lord wrote to sir John Moore that some mighty exertion was to be made for Spain, and that Buonaparté's preparations were only to be met by correspondent efforts; and this he wrote on the day that Buonaparté commenced his career on the Ebro with 120,000 men; and only a few days before all the Spanish armies were destroyed. The disembarkation of the troops under sir David Baird did not commence before the 26th of October, and before the whole of his army was landed, the French had acquired such an ascendancy in Spain as to render the success of the campaign hopeless upon our part. But it was not alone the want of wise arrangement or of judicious combination in their military measures, that proved the misconduct and incapacity of ministers; they shewed themselves equally culpable and no less incompetent in having sent sir John Moore upon this arduous and important service without any settled plan of operations. The noble lord, indeed, (Castlereagh) wrote to him on the 26th of September, telling him that he would be in great good time; that he should himself try to form a plan, and that he could consult upon that subject with the Spanish general. It was not till the 14th of November, however, that the noble lord began to recollect himself in his office in Downing-street, that something like a plan was necessary. He then wrote to sir John Moore on the necessity of adopting a plan from the situation in which he would then find himself, but yet without suggesting any thing as to the amount and situation of the Spanish armies with which sir J. Moore was directed to act. The only plan suggested by the noble lord was, that if he (sir J. Moore) found the Spanish armies headed by one individual, he should place himself under his command, and on the contrary, if under the command of many, he should act in concert with the officers commanding the armies in his neighbourhood. In this communication of the noble lord, the most important part was that which required sir J. Moore to place himself under the commander who might then be entrusted with the conduct of the Spanish armies.—There were many instances on record of British troops serving under foreign officers; their names, however, were always
known before-hand, and they were we
ascertained previously to be men of e
tablished reputation. He was prepare
to admit too, that there were still i
Europe many foreign officers, under who
a British army might be safely and suc
cessfully employed. But this was the fir
instance of a British army being sent on
foreign service, and ordered to be p
under the command of any person, wh
ever he might be, who should chance
be at the head of a foreign army. It wou
be fresh in the recollection of hon. gent
men, that in the administration of M
Addington, when a charge had been ma
against ministers of having not done su
ficient for Portugal at that period, it wa
answered by the present lord Liverpoo
that the Portuguese would not in the fir
instance agree to put themselves under a
officer even of known abilities; and th
answer was received by the opposition
a sufficient excuse. The instruction ther
fore given by the noble lord to sir Joh
Moore, to place himself under the com
mand of any general that might be ap
pointed to the command in chief of th
Spanish armies, though he was only to a
in concert and communication with th
Spanish generals if they commanded sep
rately, was a most extraordinary measur
The times of revolution usually raised u
men to such stations who were often n
competent to fill them. It was by such
popular impulse that Castanos had bee
removed from the head of the army i
order to appoint the duke del Infantado
and Don Palafox raised to the command i
chief in Arragon. The merit of these tw
illustrious individuals did not alter th
nature of the case. Had fortune been a
blind as the noble lord, it was unknow
into what dangers this instruction migh
have led sir J. Moore. Morla was the
in the government of Spain, and migh
with as much facility be placed at th
head of its armies. Had he been so, an
had he peremptorily ordered the advanc
of sir J. Moore to Madrid, sir J. Moor
could not, without violating his direction
and being guilty of insubordination, refus
to comply with those orders from a perso
whose object was evidently not to save
but to sell the interests of his country
Were such to have been the case, sir Joh
Moore with his army, would infallibl
have fallen into the snares of the enem
by pursuing the instructions given him b
the noble lord. Under these circum
stances, sir J. Moore found himself a

manca.—He now came to that part
e scene in which Mr. Frere cut a con-
ous figure. He hoped the country
d now be enabled fairly to appreciate
ervices of that gentleman. He trust-
so that gentlemen on the other side
d not forget the various ways in which
had endeavoured to conceal the evi-
e on this branch of the case: how it
been wrung from them like drops of
l; and the twists and turns and shifts
which it had at length been extorted
them. First they did not know of such
rrespondence; then it was private.
d any of those gentlemen, with un-
ing front, now assert that any of these
s were private? Had they the mark
vate" upon them; and even if they had
a mark, could any man suppose that
were any thing else than a public
d of the business of his mission? They
not only public, but were meant to be
Then they were said to be of no con-
ence; they had nothing to do with
Moore's retreat, and very little with
dvance; and if produced, they would
answer the purpose for which they
called for; as they contained no in-
tion that would be of the smallest
ntage to the discussion. Were they
y unimportant? On the contrary,
they not the sole and only cause of
gallant and lamented officer's ad-
e? It was solely on account of
that he found it his duty to make
advance. On the 13th of Novem-
r John Moore found himself at Sala-
a. Of the Spanish army he knew
ng, of the French army he knew as
; and, after advancing as directed,
ound himself in front of the French
, his own forces being divided. He
ed he should hear no more blame
ted to that brave officer, as if it pro-
ed from some fault of his own that
rmy had been divided into two corps.
d not expect that the gallant officer
n Mr. Pitt regarded as one of our
est military men, should have been
f the first on whom gentlemen on the
side would transfer blame from their
shoulders. When he recollected the
ces under which the right hon. gent.
Canning) had commenced his poli-
career under Mr. Pitt, he indeed
l be surprised to find him casting the
e from himself upon that officer, who
ed Mr. Pitt's unlimited confidence,
in following the example of his col-
es, who shifted the blame uniformly
upon the officers they employed. The gallant commander had only one alternative, either to go by sea, which was hardly possible at that time of the year, besides that he might not have been allowed to land, or to go by a road, by which his army could not pass without being divided. It was, therefore, no fault on his part that he had been exposed to this inconvenience. If they told him that the French army was destroyed and annihilated, was it his fault if he afterwards found them in front of him? Were they to throw blame on him on account of their own information to him? Finding himself in this situation, he wrote a letter to Mr. Frere, remonstrating on the way in which he had been deceived, upon his want of information from the Supreme Junta, and that he had no communication with the Spanish commanders. Mr. Frere on receiving this letter gave in a remonstrance upon it to the government; adding a little asperity of his own, in language little suited to the character of a minister at a foreign court. Sir John Moore finding himself in this situation, the Spanish cause nearly ruined, but wishing to assist them if possible, follows the advice of Mr. Frere. Mr. Frere, in his letter to sir John Moore, advises him to advance, and to join his troops to the Spaniards, informing him that by doing so he would prevent an irruption of the French into Spain, and save the capital. This he writes on the very day when one of the entrances to the town was seized on by the French; Buonaparté himself was then only 17 miles from Madrid, and the next day was at the gates. He was not surprised that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) wished to conceal such letters as these, so derogatory to the character of the person by whom they were written, though on his own account he might wish to shew that there was another person who had the same lack of information, and the same ignorance as himself.—There was, however, another reason which might induce the right hon. gent. to wish to conceal the letters. He might be averse from having it known that there was another person who possessed the qualification of writing in the same tone with himself; and he might be afraid to shew how nearly the pupil had approached to the perfection of the master. Sir John Moore, however, disregarded the rhapsody of Mr. Frere, and wisely commenced his retreat, in consequence of the information he had received

from the marquis Romana. Two officers had also arrived from the Junta, requesting of him to advance and take possession of Somosierra, not knowing till he informed them that it was already in possession of the enemy. Morla, too, wrote, requesting of him to advance towards Madrid, the Spaniards being resolved to fight to the last extremity in defending the city; and yet that very day he was capitulating with Buonaparté at the gates of Madrid. So it was plain that this person, who had sold his country to Buonaparté, wanted to entrap sir John Moore and the British army into his hands. But this was only an attempt by a traiterous member of the government of Spain. It remained for Mr. Frere to assist in a similar design. He sends a third time by a messenger, M. Charmilly, declaring it to be the resolution of the Spaniards to perish under the ruins of the capital; and also sends an angry letter to sir John Moore, dated Dec. 3, pressing him to advance. He had heard suspicions expressed on the subject, not having investigated the matter accurately, however, himself, he should not assert it of his own authority, but it seemed extremely likely, from every part of the transaction in which he was concerned, that Charmilly was, if not a spy, a dupe, and that he had involved Mr. Frere in his dupery. If he was so, he had pretty high authority in the same line. If he was a dupe, he was the dupe of Morla, and Mr. Frere the dupe of Charmilly. Was it to be believed, that Mr. Frere would, if Charmilly had not been recommended to him by ministers, have entrusted to him, a stranger and a Frenchman, so important a mission? If he was recommended by ministers, the blame must fall on them, if not, on Mr. Frere. Mr. Frere had even presumed to appeal to the army, and to Charmilly against the decision of sir John Moore. He presumed to interfere in that which was not entrusted to him, and to press on sir John Moore his advice. His language was most unbecoming and indecent. His lordship did not suppose he meant to betray his country, but it was to be lamented, that the enemy should find that even British honesty was now no longer proof against the arts of the enemy, and that the incapacity of such a man as Mr. Frere gave him similar advantages, to those which he was accustomed to derive from dishonesty and treason.—Notwithstanding all the difficulties against which sir John Moore had to contend, notwithstanding he had received no instructions from his government, or info mation from its agents, and although h had been deceived by the account of th Spanish officers, yet he was determined put himself in the way of fortune. Th march to Madrid was impossible, after th French had seized the pass of Somos erra; but still he conceived it would be most important diversion for the cause Spain, and give the patriots of the Sout time to prepare for fresh exertions, if h were to make a movement against th enemy in the North. This movement h made, and it produced in a great degr the effect that was calculated from it. Th movement was attended with considerab danger, and the rapidity of the retre alone secured the remains of the arm It appeared that ministers at that time ha never thought of Ferrol, the second nav arsenal of Spain; and the great accessi of naval strength which the enemy ha gained by that conquest was owing to th remissness of our ministers. The batt of Corunna, indeed, afforded a brillian instance of what British valour could d under every possible discouragement. Th troops, though broken down and diso ganized by misfortune, supported the military character of the country. It was t the ministers of this country alone therefore that we must look for the causes o the failures in Spain, for, as if intending t fill up the chapter of ignorance, his majesty's ministers shewed that they wer even ignorant of the number of our own troops employed in that country. Th noble lord opposite had written to sir J Moore, that there was no use in his talkin of 26,000 men, he must have had 42,000 —In the commencement of the business when our hopes were young and ye gilded by the sunshine, the noble lord ha told us there should be a combined effor of the British and Spanish armies agains France; that the assistance which woul be given should be such as would be mos favourable, and agreeable to the Spanish interest, and that the operations should be onl collaterally directed to objects peculiarl British. How were these measures executed? The first by bringing up ou forces after the enemy had commence his operations, and the Spanish armies ha been dispersed; the second by taking n measures to secure the Spanish interes after the retreat. And the third by th loss of 8,000 men, eight millions of money and one of our most gallant officers. I

ouse felt it right to visit those calami-
on their authors, and by so doing to
ent their recurrence, his Resolutions
d be acceded to. If, on the contrary,
s intended to overlook those failures
disasters, to negative those Resolu-
would produce the effect.—The
lord concluded a long and able
ch, by moving the following Resolu-
:—

That it appears to this house, after an
tive consideration of the various do-
ents which have been produced, that
pirit of resistance to the unprincipled
ession of France, manifested in Spain,
neither seasonably, vigorously, nor
ently seconded, by the arms or the
sels of Great Britain; that time was
red to the enemy to collect and re-
large reinforcements, and to advance
the heart of Spain, before the British
was placed in a situation and condi-
to oppose their efforts; that when
ed, it was not sufficiently provided
the description of force, or with the
er supply and equipments, most essen-
requisite; and that no plan of opera-
was arranged, by which it might
been enabled, in concert with our
to act with effect in the common
e.

That it appears to this house, that no
er measures were taken, either by his
sty's government, or by his majesty's
ster in Spain, for enabling the Com-
der in-Chief of his majesty's forces in
country to combine his operations with
e of the Spanish nation; or for fur-
ng him with the necessary advice and
mation respecting the number, situa-
and movements, either of the French
panish armies.

That it appears to this house, that the
of the Spanish fleet in Ferrol, and
addition made thereby to the naval
er of the enemy, is, in great part, to
scribed to want of foresight in his
esty's ministers, and to their neglect
t taking measures of timely precau-

That this house, deeply lamenting the
strous issue of the late campaign, is of
ion, that by the neglect, improvidence,
rashness, of his majesty's ministers,
hopes of the nation have been disap-
ted, the means and resources of the
try have been wasted, and above
0 of his majesty's brave troops, toge-
with their distinguished Commander,
been sacrificed in an enterprise, undertaken without that combination and foresight which the nature of the service so manifestly required, and without which no reasonable expectation could be entertained of ultimate success."

On the question being put,

Lord *Castlereagh* rose to reply, and observed, that if any complaint could be made by his majesty's ministers against the noble lord, it certainly could not be for the manner in which he had conducted the attack he had this night made, except indeed for the generality with which he had conducted that attack, accusing them of the want of all that ability, that foresight and vigour, for which his lordship's colleagues were so eminently conspicuous during the period they were in office. Certainly, his majesty's ministers stood in need rather of excuse than apology, on account of the extent and range of information which they had afforded for the purpose of the present investigation; but they considered that, upon a cause so grave and interesting, it was impossible they could stand right with the country, if the principles upon which they had acted were not fully explained: and if they did not put parliament and the country in possession of all the facts of the case; if they did not meet boldly all that ingenuity could suggest against them, and justify their conduct as far as the complicated nature of the transactions could admit of; transactions, upon which he could not but consider the attack just now made, the most futile, vain, and unfounded that ever was attempted. The noble lord appeared to him to have adopted, not only various, but some not very consistent grounds, upon which to form that attack; in the first place, he complained of their acting without that due and necessary information which would justify their proceedings; and he therefore contended that they were answerable for all the consequences that had followed, and that they ought rather to have waited for such knowledge and details of circumstances, as would have guided them successfully in their subsequent proceedings. But if ministers had waited in a state of inactivity until they had obtained that full knowledge, deemed so requisite, this would have afforded a well-grounded charge of the most culpable tardiness on their part; for how could any one suppose they could act with any effect under such a system?—It was made another ground of attack, that ministers had not sent out any plan upon which our operations were to be conducted. Upon this subject, he could not conceive any thing so preposterous as sending out any plan in detail. The thing must appear in itself such a downright absurdity, when the remoteness of communication was considered, that he should apologise to the house, for having mentioned it. If it were possible to be effected, the dangers resulting from such an interference would be fully apparent from the effects produced by the Aulic Council of Vienna having interfered with the operations of the Austrian armies. What right could we have to direct the operations of a campaign in which we were only the auxiliaries? If the noble lord, however, meant that they had no general notion of the part of Spain in which the British army was to be employed, he was mistaken. They had long before laid it down that the north of Spain was the advisable place for them to act. In this not the British government alone, but every Spanish military authority whatever concurred. The marquis de la Romana at St. Andero, gen. Castanos at Madrid, and sir H. Dalrymple at Lisbon, all agreed in this; and the only persons who seemed to dissent from it were the politicians of London. He knew there was an opinion entertained by a military officer of high character in this country, (earl Moira) that the proper situation for us to have occupied would have been the Pyrenees, but as that point was not now argued, he should not touch on it. The noble lord seemed to have chalked out for himself an intermediate campaign, taking St. Sebastian and Barcelona for his scene of action. He was afraid, however, the noble lord must soon have gone to the Pyrenees, as he could not long have held out at St. Sebastian. The advantage which would arise from going to Barcelona had not escaped his majesty's ministers. A provision had been made to that effect, without frittering away the force necessary to accomplish the main object in view. Directions had been given in July to sir John Stuart to co-operate from Sicily on that side, which that brave and enterprizing officer would have done, were it not for the threatened invasion of Sicily from the side of Italy. The exertions or the views of government were not confined to Spain as a separate country; its cause was connected by them with that of Europe. It also materially affected the British interests beyond Europe, as it delayed the intended operations against the British possessions in India. We had al benefited the interests of Austria, b drawing forth a larger force of the enem than it would be necessary for him to employ, had we made no efforts on the sid of Spain. The resistance the enemy ha met with in Spain made it necessary fo him to send an army of 200,000 men int that country, whereas, had it not been fo the assistance received from this country Spain might have been over-run by th troops which Buonaparté originally ha there. The whole course of our polic went not only to rescue Spain, but th world, by resisting the attitude in whic France stood at that period against th continent. As to all that had been sai respecting the tardiness, of their measure contrasted with the dispatch and rapi execution of those of the enemy, he begge the house to reflect for a moment, upo the vast superiority of means possessed b the enemy, for carrying their various operations into effect, by requisitions and th other instruments of arbitary power. I certainly was no ways surprising tha France, with all her means of conscription at home, and requisition abroad should be enabled to assemble an army on the Ebro, before the British troops, wh united all the difficulties of a march from Lisbon with those of an equipment, which could not be assisted by those requisitions by which the enemy was aided could arrive at the scene of action Dispatches had been at an early period sent to sir H. Dalrymple, directing him to proceed to the north of Spain, withou waiting for specific orders from home Those dispatches arrived after the Convention of Cintra had been concluded, so that they could not have influenced that measure in any manner. The same order had been given towards the close of September, to sir David Baird. The reason why the troops released by the termination of the Campaign in Portugal, were not put in motion sooner, was, because sir Hew Dalrymple (which was also approved of by the government at home) had determined not to do so till a Central Government was established in Spain. This event was not known at Lisbon till the 4th or 5th of October, and the army was positively in motion three days after. There could, therefore, be no blame on this head attached either to the officers in Portugal, or to the government of this country. Sir John Moore was to act upon no other authority than that of his own govern-

and the dictates of his own judg- and it was a satisfactory reflection here was no complaint of any want diality having existed between sir Moore and the officers of the Spanish He insisted that no person could uggested a more judicious line of ct to be preserved by us towards the rds, than that which had been pur- y government. The noble lord ac- them of not having made a provi- or the reception of the army sent to na;' to this charge he could only r, that unless he had been able to v the prophetic fire of the noble which saw every thing so distinctly t had taken place, he could not by eans have anticipated any difficulty t point, as it was obviously more the st of Spain than of Great Britain, no obstacle should be interposed. mount of force sent was precisely had been demanded by the Gallician and as soon as advices were receiv- m lord Wm. Bentinck from Madrid, 29th of September, the whole plan itary operations was notified to him er to ensure the making of every ary preparation.—He might, in- support a tolerable case, even had paration been made at all by go- ent for the debarkation of the force uuna, as till they heard of the cause delay, and the delay itself, it was ssible for human ingenuity to have pated such an event. But they had every step that prudence and fore- ould suggest to prevent any mistake place. On the same day he had n to direct the advance of sir John , he had written to the Gallicias to re for the reception of general Baird's and also to general Broderick, or ficer acting for him in the commis- t Corunna, to take measures prepa- to that event. No disinclination to debarkation had been evinced till rrival, when the letter from captain dy informed the government of this y of that circumstance; and the why they were not permitted to or some time was only owing to an omission in sending the order by preme Junta. There never was an on to their acting in the north of and the whole of the noble lord's ent on this point fell completely to und. The noble lord also accused ajesty's ministers of a surprizing f combination, in sending general Baird to Corunna, and Romana to St. Andero.—But how could it be guessed, *à priore*, that the Convention of Cintra would be concluded, and our transports employed in carrying the French army from Portugal? It was pretty creditable to government, that even after transports for the conveyance of 25,000 French troops were employed, as many still remained in the Tagus as were capable of receiving 12,000 of our own troops, and bearing them to the north of Spain, had that mode of conveyance been deemed expedient. The movement by land was not therefore adopted from necessity, but from an opinion of the commander of the army in Portugal, that it was most advantageous. Allowing, as he did, that the misfortunes of the campaign were, in great measure, owing to the differences subsisting among the Spanish generals, to the division of the Spanish armies, and to their want of a commander in chief, he could not yet agree with the noble lord, that it was proper for this government to suggest to the Junta the appointment of any such officer. It followed, therefore, of course, that no other instructions, but those that were given, could be given to sir John Moore on this head; namely, to act on an equality with all the Spanish generals. With regard to the charge against himself, that he knew so little of the numbers of our own army, as to suppose it amounted to 40,000, while, in fact, it consisted of only 28,000 men, it was grounded on that disrespect to dates which the noble lord had shewn throughout. The return made by general Clinton, containing information on this point, which he was accused of having overlooked, was not received till long after the letters passed between him and sir John Moore. It was not at all surprizing, therefore, that he should suppose the army amounted to the number he had stated, as 23,000 men had marched from Lisbon; there were 13,000 under sir D. Baird, and all the men in Portugal, excepting eight regiments, had been ordered, on the 11th of October, to proceed to join sir J. Moore, and it was but fair to conclude that they would, by December, have arrived in the line of his march to the amount of 5,000. Some, however, had been retarded by the disturbances at Oporto; general Stuart's division by the want of corn; and there were 4,000 sick, none of which contingencies could have entered into any calculation made in this country, and yet, after all, sir J. Moore had 34 or 35,000 men, although they were not immediately in the field. It was true at the same time, that sir John Moore, as a military man, could not acknowledge having more men under his command, than he could bring out to meet the enemy. The movement to Salamanca, and the advance into Gallicia, he approved: nothing could have done more for the Spanish cause, or made a more powerful diversion for the southern provinces, by which they were saved for three months from the advance of a victorious enemy. The noble lord had inveighed, in terms somewhat severe, against the advance of the British troops, and their subsequent retreat, and had even asked, whether sir John Moore or Mr. Frere was the author of those movements? A more judicious movement than that of marching into the north of Spain, could not have been devised by any man. It inspired the natives with confidence, and gave them two months to recruit their exhausted armies. If by it our army had suffered considerably, it ought also in justice to be stated, that the enemy had suffered very severely. Those who knew sir John Moore when he was alive, would not very readily believe, that on military matters he, as commander in chief, would be influenced or directed by any diplomatic character. They even had the gallant general's own acknowledgement that he undertook the movement entirely upon his own authority, and that he had applied to Mr. Frere for information, not for judgment. He had determined to advance, he says, in his letter of the 9th, from a combined view of the advantages and disadvantages which would result from it to this country and to Spain.—Sir J. Moore had acted on just political grounds, and to shew the Spanish nation that if they did perish, it should not be without our risking every thing to save them. He did not mean to say that the opinions of Mr. Frere had no weight; but it was evident sir John Moore acted on his own judgment, in advancing to Valladolid, after the fall of Madrid, which he determined on doing upon the 10th of December, three days before the letter from Mr. Frere, containing the strong expressions so much commented upon, could be received.—Setting Mr. Frere, therefore, out of the question, the movement of itself must alone be examined, and it had been adopted by one of the best military officers this country ever produced. The noble lord had not dwelt much on the retreat our army; but in that little he had exa gerated our loss. This loss he lament as much as any one; but it ought alwa be considered that it amounted to no me than 7,000 men, including casualt (which, if the army had staid at hom would have amounted to 3,000,) includi also the consequences of two gene actions, and many of smaller note, and t whole period from the time general Sp cer left Gibraltar in the preceding win to the end of the campaign—a campai which had added to our military renow our reputation, and our national charact and, from the experience it had afford been the school of many heroes in t British service, who would hereafter s further extend our glory. The real loss men sustained by the country was not great, therefore, as had been stated, and it were compared with the military gl derived from it by the country, it m appear very small indeed. He was con dent such would have even been the o nion of that gallant officer, whose loss th all must deplore.—It was true he had f merly blamed the administration, where the noble lord who moved the Resolutio had formed a part, for their want of fo sight in providing transports, and ut neglect of cavalry; but that was und very different circumstances. They, would be recollected, dismissed the tran ports when they were just wanted, a they neglected to send cavalry at the ve time they were promising them. No he would inquire, if that was the cas when the troops were sent to Spain? Wh the house should bear in mind that 9,0 horses had been sent to Spain and Port gal with the late expeditions, perhaps would not be said that the present admin tration deserved any similar censu The horses were not all cavalry; indee some of them were artillery horses, a some belonged to the royal waggon trai and the staff; under these circumstance he trusted that the same reasons did n exist for blaming the present administr tion for not succouring our allies, whi then existed against his majesty's late m nisters. No country ever gave a great manifestation of energy than Spain, at t beginning of the insurrection, and govern ment was fully justified in having offere them every assistance in their power. was true, indeed, that in some places the was a miserable want of public spirit whe our army was there, but the general disp of a nation could never be properly t from the behaviour of the inhabi- ho lived near a large army. People ot friendly to an army, from the in- nience which attended it necessarily. n the whole, he thought the con- administration perfectly correct; v had done more, they might have mprudently; and if they had done ey would not have done their duty. sted the house would be of opinion he noble lord had laid no good s for his Resolutions, but contended lse colouring and mistaken notions. ers had done every thing possible rtions to carry the wishes of the people into effect, and make a great y effort, rapidly and efficiently, in use of Spain. However that exer- d succeeded, they had at least this ation, that in all they had done was not a stain on the good faith, y, and generosity of Britain. They onducted this arduous and delicate in a manner so as to secure the ion of the national character, with- mmitting the power of the country. ll the past to blame, the noble lord t ventured to point out a better line luct which ought to have been pur- They had done their duty with and integrity to preserve the n nation from the usurpation of ; they had done every thing possi- preserve the integrity of Spain. If arge could be brought against them, be rather for exceeding than keep- thin the point of prudence, in con- g to the wishes of the country, and sted their exertions would yet be ed with success. He concluded by on the house to give a decided ve to the motion.

Ponsonby said that the noble lord egun his speech by censuring that noble friend, as being too succinct ncise, and therefore but ill suited ubject upon which the noble lord tisfied the house, it was possible to use, erratic, and tedious. The no- d, too, had condemned the speech oble friend for being so destitute of The speeches of the noble lord f abounded so much in pith and that the charge acquired additional n coming from him; the speeches noble lord at least generally abound- something or other, and he would ce upon himself to decide whether ere right who thought that something abounded alike upon all occasions, and was neither more nor less than pointless prolixity. The noble lord had said a vast deal upon what he no doubt thought a very fruitful theme, the character of the government as affected by the Resolutions proposed. He would not now stop to enquire what that character was: but let it be what it might, it certainly was upon all occasions the same, and entitled to the same weight with the country; for whether they had to resist Buonaparté, or contend with Mrs. Clarke, their measures appeared to be suggested by the same spirit of wisdom and crowned with the same sort of success; so that he apprehended that the character of the government was by this time pretty well established. But the noble lord had taken great pains to identify the character of the government with the spirit of the people; no two things could be more materially different, more substantially distinct. The spirit of the country had indeed, been high, generous, and enthusiastic in the cause of Spain, but did it follow that the government was to suffer itself to be blinded by that enthusiasm, instead of calling forth all the aids of sage counsel to give that enthusiasm direction and effect? But, said the noble lord, what did not the people expect from the government? Why, a great deal was unquestionably expected:—the subject was of a nature to excuse a generous people from expecting so much from such ministers—it was pardonable at such a time to indulge in such extravagant expectations.—They expected their government would have been vigilant in the cause they had so sanguinely espoused—that they would have been prompt and vigorous in the measures they resorted to—but such an expectation was not to justify that government in their rashness, folly, and precipitancy. But, among the causes assigned by the noble lord for the sanguine hopes then entertained of ultimate success, was the circumstance of the preparations at that time making by the court of Austria, to take advantage of that opportunity, and enlarge her military means to the greatest extent she could. If this was the case, he thought the noble lord had been imprudent in uttering that fact in his place in that house as a minister of the country; such a statement coming from a minister would go to give a sort of colour to the charges that appeared in the Manifesto of the emperor of France, not that he thought that those charges were founded in fact; far from it; but still he did think, that such a statement was calculated to give colour to those charges, and therefore was of opinion, that the noble lord had been indiscreet in mentioning that fact, if it was a fact, as he had done.—With respect to the Portuguese expedition, he condemned it as most ill advised; there was no man who must not condemn it, and for the plainest of all possible reasons; that had it succeeded, even its success would have had no material effect upon the fortunes of Spain, whereas, if Spain was once delivered, Portugal would thereby be secured. But what he particularly blamed ministers for was, their not taking proper precautionary measures to ascertain the real state and temper of Spain before our army had been embarked. That they had not done so was sufficiently clear from this one instance, were there no other—the division under sir A. Wellesley sailed on the 15th July, and the first step taken by ministers to ascertain the real state of Spain, and the sentiments prevailing there, was not resorted to until the 4th of August following; but the strangest amongst all the strange arguments of the noble lord was that, by which he endeavoured to shew that, on account of the great interest taken in the co-operation of the British army by the Spanish government, our government was acquitted from all responsibility. This would be a sweeping argument to indemnify all ministers in all cases of alliances with foreign states; for it would not be denied, that in each of them the respective government of each power would have its due portion of interest. But, notwithstanding this extraordinary interest which the Spanish government had taken, and which was to indemnify our own, it did not appear that this interest had produced any extraordinary co-operation; for when the North of Spain had been fixed upon as the scene for British service, and sir David Baird had reached Corunna, ready to disembark his troops, it was in the memory of the house what delays he had to encounter before he was permitted to land—at one time upon one pretence, and at another time upon a different one; but the real cause, according to sir David Baird's own letter, was an objection upon their part to admit our troops to land there on account of the difficulty of supplying them with provisions, &c. And here the noble lord seemed to expect that his mere letter would be instrumental in effecting junction between the British and Span armies. The noble lord, in this, was mo poetical than practical. With the enth siasm of the poet, he expected to

> " Spread the soft intercourse from soul to so
> " And waft a sigh from Indus to the pole."

He expected to transport his force i stantly to the place in which it was nece sary to have it actively employed, wit out any previous arrangement or previo approach. The noble lord said that l noble friend had arraigned him unjustl in saying, that the march of sir Jol Moore, or his subsequent retreat, was i fluenced by his and Mr. Frere's corre pondence. With respect to Mr. Fre he observed that he (lord Castlereagh) h said nothing in his defence, leaving th perhaps to another advocate more comp tent to defend him; but after the angr mandatory, impatient, reproachful and u braiding dispatches which sir John Moo received from that gentleman, no o could say that sir John Moore's condu was not influenced by him; besides, cou the noble lord forget his own Instructio to sir John Moore? He cautioned him pay the " utmost deference and respect to his communications; and after thi did he mean to argue, that the letters Mr. Frere had no influence upon the co duct of that officer? It was said, that s John Moore in his dispatches took but mere dry military view of the question but his view was as comprehensive as ought to be, and no man would agree wit the noble lord in that opinion of him The noble lord had also said, that a grea consolation remained to us yet—that wha they had heard of the coldness of Spain i her own cause, was untrue. In the pa ticular part to which the army was sen he admitted that this coldness might hav existed, but no where else—in no othe portion of the country, according to hi representation, was zeal or spirit wanting This was certainly a most extraordinar circumstance, that when an army wa sent, which was ready to die for the in habitants at the time and in the place t which it was sent, the impression should b weakest amongst them, and the principl of resistance most difficult to discover o to inspire. The noble lord, in stating this, had the merit of introducing a per fect novelty to the house. The nobl lord admitted, that we experienced som loss, though he says it was much less tha was generally represented. For himsel ll such a veneration for the soldiery country, that he could not contem- the death of one without painful ons. But they were told, that in the at instance the loss was not without nsolation, for it had brought an addi- f character to the country; it had ll to the world, that we fought the of Spain alone; that we did not pur- ny little hidden interest made under nction of her name and the justice of use. This certainly was true: it anifest to the world that we afforded a generous assistance; but was this er for ministers to make a boast of? they to take the credit of it to them- ? Would the noble lord have ven- o advise his majesty to a contrary ct? He would not. So that the nerit he could claim was that of hav- borne to do what neither he nor her man alive would dare to do. oble lord said, that every step was that could be taken to procure infor- ; but here the noble lord pro- ed his own panegyric. What did sir Moore say on the subject? Their ts differed as much in this as in the t of the army. Sir John Moore that he got no information at all— rsons were sent to him, old men, or old women, to consult with him, but vas the ignorance they displayed, e entreated to be troubled with o more; yet his lordship called this g provision for the information of ny. The noble lord had been stand- in his own defence, and never man h a situation was so little cheered friends. He could not assert that anish government had acted rightly ry thing. He feared it resembled ble lord too much; both would n for a share of the credit of the ign. But as he was of opinion that the larger proportion was due to the lord, he should give his hearty t to the Resolutions of his noble

Secretary *Canning*, without meaning isrespect to the noble lord who t forward this question, said, he not have thought it possible for the men opposite, provided with so ous a band ready to undertake their to have pitched on one who would upported it on such objectionable s. The noble lord had, however, ollowed in his arguments by the on. gent. who spoke last, who though he had added nothing in substance to his reasoning, had done much in eloquence, and had introduced at least a poetical, if not a very apt illustration. At the end of his speech, too, the right hon. gentleman had been very happy in hitting upon a new method of rousing the flagging attention of his hearers. In the drama, and even in oratory, it was allowed to give as much eclat as possible to the conclusion; and improving on this principle the right hon. gent., who had been uncheered through the whole of his eloquent speech, had, by a very delicate mode of applying the observation to another, conveyed a reproof to his own friends for this omission, and taught them how they ought to have received the declaration of his opinion (Laughter). He had succeeded in his aim, and procured a cheer; contented with which, he hastened to a conclusion, without hazarding another effort (Laughter). Leaving the right hon. gent. then to his fame, he would proceed to the matter before the house. It was usual on so great an occasion as the present, for those who attacked, as well as for those who defended, to allow the importance of the subject. But deeply as this question affected the government and the country, it derived still greater importance from the principles on which the arguments and criticisms of the noble lord had proceeded; arguments which, if allowed, must not only have the effect of cramping the efforts, and palsying the energies of the country, but of rendering it impossible for any government to sustain the charge intrusted to them, or conduct the national affairs with success, by risking a little for the good of the whole. The noble lord took possession of a fine elevated and superior point, from whence he could survey the past, the present, and, in imagination, the future, from which he could contemplate the nascent cause, and the matured effect. He forgot, however, that during the whole time these events were passing, all this information was concealed, and government were deprived of the means of arguing from the past (Hear! hear!) There was a work which they had all lately read, the production of that able statesman who for many years stood at the head, and directed the operations of the gentlemen on the other side (Mr. Fox). It contained an observation (as indeed it was more famous for observation than for throwing any new light on history), that there were periods when persons might

take a stand, survey the surrounding scene, and calculate abstractedly on events and the probable effects most useful in history, and that one of the greatest proofs of practical political wisdom, was to trace future results from present causes, to look with a philosophic eye to the operation of measures, to reflect upon their probable effect, and above all to judge of their propriety, not by contingent results, but by the justice and the policy which recommended their adoption. This was true, and if the noble lord had been arguing philosophically, or as a statesman, he might have been justified in drawing conclusions from effects, and particular facts which he chose to examine. But when crimination, and not speculation, was his object, he could not have practised a more unfair and unjust mode, nor could the house for a moment give countenance to the uncandid use he had made of it. It might even be allowable on ordinary occasions, but could not be resorted to on an occasion like the present, which was without precedent, and such as it was impossible to lay their hand on any period of history to parallel, either from its importance with regard to individuals, to this happy country, and to Europe, or the difficulty that arose from there being so little knowledge to guide their steps, in the actual scene of their operations. Why should government be ashamed to say they wanted that knowledge of the interior of Spain which they found no one possessed? With every other part of the continent we had had more intercourse; of the situation of Spain we had every thing to learn. What, then, was the general feeling which burst forth at that time in this country? He called on gentlemen to recollect their own sentiments of admiration and of surprise. It was now unjustly said that government were too rash, but were they not then accused of being too tardy? Did they come early to parliament and ask for support? No, they had been reproached for not doing so. Why had they abstained but because they hoped the result from Spain would enable them to call for a decided opinion from the people? If the house would recollect the sentiments delivered from the throne at the conclusion of last session, they must acknowledge that they had not out-gone, but kept within the wishes of the people. Was it to be supposed that government was therefore callous or insensible? He trusted there was nothing in their conduct or their nature which warranted such
supposition. They wished to see how t
affairs of Spain proceeded before th
called on the people for their decided o
nion; and though the noble lord seem
to think the question which was agitat
near the close of last session right, at t
time it had been discountenanced by
hon. gentleman near him (Mr. Whitbrea
on the same grounds he now maintain
that matters were not mature enough fo
decision. The noble lord had stated th
promises, which he supposed to have b
made on that occasion. The first, tha
combined effort was to be made w
Spain he denied, as not true in fact. Th
had been no such promise; no such
timation, nor were there at that time
thoughts of sending an army into Spa
It was impossible that the assistance
luded to could have been of a milit
kind, as it was declared, none such wo
be sent without a specific call from a C
tral Junta. The noble lord was corr
with regard to the second promise he m
tioned, that the assistance to Spain sho
be of the kind most agreeable to
wishes. This promise had certainly b
given, and as certainly, most punctu
and invariably observed. As for the th
promise, that the operations of the ca
paign should be directed to British obje
here the noble lord was again wrong;
the statement he (Mr. Canning) had
honour to make to the house, he had
clared on the part of his majesty's gove
ment that the consideration of British
terests would be postponed, and their o
object would be to promote the interest
Spain; that the wishes of Spain should
their rule of conduct; and that of Sp
the profit and advantage should be exc
sively considered. (Here lord Tem
signified that this was his understand
of the point.)—If that was the sense
which the noble lord understood the Bri
interest was promised to be pursued,
what plea, then, could he now say t
ministers had forfeited that interest
Ferrol?—(Hear, hear!) It was for Spa
not for the British government, to dec
on that subject. These two things
were supposed to disclaim; the separat
of the colonies from the mother coun
was not to be thought of; and we abju
the idea of stealing ships either under
pretence of placing them in safety, of
storing them to the lawful sovereign
Spain, of keeping them for the use of
Spanish people, or under any other

—Having refreshed the recollection
noble lord on both these points, he
proceed to consider the justice of
cusation made by the noble lord as
cted with them. The sum of the
lord's observation was this, that his
y's government set out upon the
ble of rescuing Spain from the op-
n of France, and therefore that an
ment laid against them for not having
nt away the fleet from Ferrol. He
view which the noble lord took of
bject. The noble lord would have
rilling to have had all the varnish of
sity in the first instance, and all the
of the seizure in the last. In the
stance, the noble lord would have
ined the high character of the
y; in the last, he would have avail-
self of the opportunity of pillage,
he interest of the country appeared
mand it. The noble lord having
ded that it was bad to send an
Spain, and that the conduct of that
n Spain was also bad, maintained,
was worse not to aggravate the mis-
which he had denounced by refrain-
m bringing away the Ferrol fleet.
e brought away this fleet might
een justifiable, had the behaviour of
Britain towards Spain originated on
rinciples than those on which it did
y originate. It was perfectly true,
the contest between Spain and her
sor, Great Britain was not origi-
bound to defend the former. The
government might have said to the
n nation, on its application for as-
e, "No, you have been the vassals
nce, you have filled the coffers of
, you have nerved the arm of France
Great Britain. We always told
at the time would come when in
n with other nations of Europe you
be punished for your conduct; and
oice that that period has arrived.
have you done to entitle you to our
We have a right to take an advan-
f your destruction; and while
is shaking you to dissolution, we
right to pick up your scattered
and unite them to our empire."—
s the language which, in conformity
practice of nations, and in confor-
o the principles of justice, might
een held towards Spain; but fortu-
for the credit, and for the real interest
country, other sentiments prevailed.
pting the universal feeling of the
the British government shared in that universal feeling of the nation, and having once acted upon the principles of liberality and sound enlightened policy, it was indispensible that their conduct should be tried throughout upon the same principles. But suppose the noble lord were to answer "Yes; I allow that you ought not to have done any thing violently to hurt the feelings of the Spanish nation; but I contend that you ought to have made by effectual and urgent representations, such an impression on the Spanish government as would have induced them to permit you to do that which your mutual interests required." In the first place, what was or might be the ultimate interest of both countries on this point could not yet be said to be determined. The period had not arrived for the British government to call for an examination into the conduct of the war;—to decide whether or not they had acted wisely, and brought the great contest in which they had engaged to a happy termination. When that time should come, and the whole of the conduct of his majesty's government should be before parliament and the public, he trusted the result would prove, that they had, in the whole of their measures, wisely consulted the real interest of their country. It was material to distinguish the period, when a government, having terminated a course of operations, laid its conduct open before parliament, and called for a decision upon it, from the period when it was attempted to obtain a forestalled decision upon its conduct at what might almost be called the commencement of its course of operations. It could not be expected that a government should be enabled, to use the words of Addison,

"To crowd an Iliad into one campaign."

It was a statement founded upon parliamentary principle and usage, that a case voluntarily offered for examination must be differently considered from a case the premature examination of which was demanded. The noble lord, however, fixing himself particularly on this subject of Ferrol, had quoted dates without any due observance of places. He had stated it to be absurd, that while the fleet was not secured from the French at Ferrol, at that very time a treaty was signing in London for keeping them out of the power of the French. The same confusion of time and place prevailed throughout the whole of the noble lord's speech. The noble lord had asked, why his noble friend had on the 14th of November written instructions to general Moore to take the course which he in fact had determined to take, and on the identical day actually adopted? This certainly was not prescience on the part of his noble friend, because it was a knowledge of something contemporaneous; but surely it was no impeachment of the discernment of a government, that it provided at home for that which at the very same instant was taking place abroad. When the noble lord had given his notice of the present motion, he had promised that a great part of his industry and eloquence should be employed on the treaty concluded between Great Britain and Spain; on which treaty, however, the noble lord had contented himself with making a single observation. This observation proceeded on the principle that the noble lord condemned the provisions being only for probable and contingent cases. But it should be considered, that it was intended in that instance to take a comprehensive view of the interests of the two countries. The period was not favourable for negociating an instrument so extensive as that must have been which would have provided for every possible relation. It would not have been fair to Spain; for either Great Britain must have conceded gratuitously to Spain, or she must have asked in return what Spain had not at that time the power to give. Still, however, connected as the two countries were, was it not right that there should be a recorded document of that connection? The relations of Great Britain to Spain were meliorated by this document. She was before bound to an indefinite extent to assist Spain, and to a definite extent to abstain from demanding a remuneration. It became absolutely necessary, with a view to our own interest, in some degree to define the principle of the connection between the two countries. When the—he did not know what to call it—a revolution, he thanked God, it was not; an insurrection it certainly was not, for it was against no legitimate authority; but on the glorious breaking out in Spain of the determination to resist French oppression, a British Order in Council was issued, declaring peace established between the two countries, and prohibiting any further captures from the Spaniards. He believed that every man in the country felt this to be a wise, just, and honourable act. But, at the same time, the British government had a right to say, that this abstinence from captures must be reciprocal. Nothing was more fit for them to ask, nor

more honourable for Spain to grant. W
this concession nugatory? The fact w
singular, that the only two cases of ca
ture which had occurred, were captur
made by Spain from Great Britain.—
proceed with the consideration of t
Treaty; the articles by which Gre
Britain was bound to acknowledge Fer
nand VII. or any subsequent legitima
sovereign of Spain, had been idly suppos
to bind her to carry on the war for Ferd
nand VII. or still more strongly to a
knowledge Joseph Buonaparté, shou
he become a successful usurper. T
only object of the article in question w
the possible case of the extinction of
present royal branch of Spain, in wh
case it might become a doubt, in cons
quence of the Salique law, whether t
Neapolitan branch, or the princes of Br
zil should ascend the throne. It was r
for this country to decide such a poi
and it was therefore sound policy for th
country to provide against the contingen
of making the election. The next artic
in the Treaty was that by which Spa
engaged to take precautions that her fle
should not fall into the hands of the enem
and by which Great Britain engaged
assist her in that object. Amidst all th
Spain had felt and suffered from Fren
oppression, the Spaniards had never be
disposed to admit the British troops
fleets into their naval arsenals. The of
had more than once been made by Gre
Britain, but in conformity to the princip
on which the government set out, nev
in a tone of coercion. It had been d
clined; and that refusal had been recei
by government, not with ill humou
with great regret, but with a just de
rence to the judgment of those from wh
it proceeded. It was held by the Span
government, that standing as they d
on the basis of public opinion, they mig
by the admission of the English into the
ports, have given occasion to the comm
enemy to say, that the English, accordi
to their usual practice, were availi
themselves of the distressed state of Spa
to seize the Spanish navy. It was on th
ground, frankly stated by the Spanis
government as likely to mislead many
their countrymen, that they declined
offer in which they allowed they did n
see any thing dangerous or dishonourabl
But a much more important consideratio
than even the principles on which this in
strument was founded, was the relati
situation in which the events at the clo

last campaign left the two countries. ould not enter into a critical exa- on of every military movement of st campaign. Such a retrospect be very painful, and certainly was ecessary on that occasion. But it ecessary, and would be his duty, to the noble lord, when he attributed a f the operations of the campaign he believed the noble lord consi- to have been misconducted, but he himself did not think had been ducted) not to the free will of the l who commanded, but to the im- interference of his majesty's mi- in Spain. This was a question it would be difficult completely to , if both the individuals who were rned in it were members of that and if, fortunately, both were alive, e of stating the facts to parliament, rendering further service to their y. It was distressing, therefore, to to the discussion under the difficul- hich existed upon it. When the lual, in whose defence it was proba- xpected he should speak, though was not present, and when the individual, for whose memory he ined the highest respect, was no he would freely acknowledge, that the error imputed were an error at magnitude, the battle of Corunna to obliterate it; but he imputed no rror. He would say, that on a fair nation of the evidence, with as much tiality as he could assume, and on a omparison of his own sentiments, hose of others, he believed in his ence, that the fact of sir John 's advance (so much condemned noble lord) being attributable to terference of Mr. Frere, was not If he thought otherwise, he should means be disposed to shield Mr. from the responsiblity of it; for ering the advance in a military of view, in his poor judgment he not but think it a wise measure; every view which ennobled mili- bjects by exalting military cha- he was sure it was a perfectly measure. So far, therefore, from ng Mr. Frere from the responsibi- ttached to this forward movement, uld rather hail it for him as a most rious act. But truth compelled declare, that although he did not it a blameable measure, the merit was not Mr. Frere's. Of this he was convinced, that if the gallant general, whose loss the country had to regret, was present to state his own case, the house would never have heard from him one word of the tendency of the noble lord's observations. To this conviction he had not brought his mind on light grounds. It was founded on the fact, that sir John Moore had not transmitted his correspondence with Mr. Frere to government.—Did the noble lord mean to attribute to sir J. Moore, that having made a movement, by which the existence of the British army was endangered, he withheld from government any knowledge of the motives on which he had acted? This would be to prefer a serious charge against that gallant officer, who, he dared to say, had never been wanting to his duty, but who would have been wanting to his duty had he so conducted himself.—So much for that view of the subject in which the public was materially concerned. The rest was between individual and individual; and he confessed that he did not think the time of the house properly employed, or the feelings of the house properly excited, when such a transaction was made the subject of their solemn discussion. It was not a useful employment for parliament, and he trusted that there was no man to whom the agitation of such a question could be a matter of satisfaction or delight. He had been taunted the other day, as if his private regard was to influence him to protect a public offender. He hoped he should never assume such a privilege. His private regard would induce him to speak a few words upon the subject, but his public duty would induce him to make those words, that he should say upon it, as few as possible. He had no hesitation in saying, that there were parts of Mr. Frere's correspondence which he did not like. There were parts which he did not approve, and of which he had not advised his sovereign to express his approbation. The specific point to which he alluded, was the demand made by Mr. Frere, that the individual by whom the letter from the Junta of Madrid was conveyed to sir J. Moore, should be examined before a council of war. His opinion was, that it was Mr. Frere's duty to convey to the General every information in his power; to transmit to him the communications of the various local governments; to accompany those communications with his own honest opinion of their value; and to enforce that opinion with the best arguments that occurred to him; but there he conceived that his province ended, and that he ought not to prescribe, that, which depended on a military decision. He hoped, however, he might be allowed to say in extenuation; he could not affirm it, for he had not the means of information; that probably Mr. Frere's letter was not written in the sense in which it was taken by sir John Moore. It was no unusual thing for a minister in a foreign country to transmit information to a general, and to recommend to him an examination of a particular person before a council of war, as the best mode by which suspicious intelligence might be detected.—This led him to a circumstance on which great stress had been laid, namely, the character of the gentleman by whom Mr. Frere's letter had been conveyed to sir John Moore. Of this gentleman he knew nothing; he had never seen him; he did not believe that Mr. Frere had seen him before this transaction; he had not been selected by Mr. Frere for the purpose of conveying information to sir John Moore; he had not been sent out from this country recommended to Mr. Frere; but he believed that after Mr. Frere went to Spain, M. Charmilly passed through Salamanca; that he was not ill received at head-quarters; and that having been at Madrid he called on Mr. Frere, at Talavera on his way to Salamanca, with a letter to sir J. Moore from a member of the Junta at Madrid. Mr. Frere, of course, thought it his duty to forward M. Charmilly to sir J. Moore, by every means in his power. With respect to the character of M. Charmilly, although he believed that many of the charges made in another place against him were wholly unfounded, and others egregiously discoloured, yet he must observe, that Mr. Frere had no more to do with the character of M. Charmilly than he would have had with the character of a common postman. M. Charmilly was the bearer of a message from the Junta of Madrid to sir John Moore, and Mr. Frere could by no means be responsible for the selection of the messenger. But, whatever might be thought on this point, he trusted that there could be but one feeling on the sentiments expressed by Mr. Frere, when he declared that he did not despair of a cause which it was his bounden duty to support and encourage. He had before observed that the advance of sir J. Moore (which advance he deemed perfectly justifiable) could not be ascribed to the correspondence of Mr. Frere with sir J. Moore, because sir J. Moore had not transmitti that correspondence to government as t cause of his movement. But not only sir J. Moore not transmit his correspon ence with Mr. Frere as the ground of h advance; he ascribed it to other ground In his dispatches he stated it to have be resorted to "in consonance with the gener opinion, and also with that of Mr. Frere —On what principle of justice, then, cou it be said that this determination to a vance arose solely from the solicitation Mr. Frere? With respect to the tone Mr. Frere's letters, although he confesse that in the course of them there appear something of apparent exasperation, could yet readily conceive, and any ma must be convinced who had read the le ters which Mr. Frere received, that th were occasionally calculated to produ feelings not of the most pleasant descri tion. But he had not stated all the ground for his conviction, that sir John Moore advance was not to be ascribed to M Frere's interference. Previous to that a vance, sir John Moore wrote to his nob friend near him, inclosing a letter of Ma shal Soult, in which he was represented critically situated, and liable to a succes ful attack. On the information containe in that intercepted letter, sir John Moo expressed his determination to advanc With respect to the advance itself he woul say, that with all its consequences an disasters he preferred it to a retreat, at th moment of Mr. Frere's remonstrance. those disasters he would not say a word He would not charge any thing. Th battle of Corunna covered every thing but the retreat itself, and the precipitanc of it he could never cease to regret. A for the advance, government were no responsible, so were they neither responsible for the subsequent transactions. Th only way in which any responsibility coul for a moment appear to attach to them was from the circumstance of the transports not being at Corunna when the British army arrived there; but any one who read sir John Moore's dispatches must be immediately convinced that it was not the fault of government that the transports were sent to Vigo, and not to Corunna. He was far from wishing to speak of the disasters of war as the subject of any thing but lamentation; yet, however deeply he regretted the severe loss which the British sustained at the termination of the Spanish campaign, he could not but consider that termination as most honourable and advan-s to the country. He hoped he was s sensible than others to the value tary services and military men; he he did not feel less admiration than who had been in company with al and military heroes, of that glory which all other glory became ob- By the consent of all other ages, otwithstanding the arguments of phy, and the deductions of reason, itary character stood pre-eminent world. Reverting to the state of he asked, whether because she had been able to throw off the yoke of to re-establish her independence, ieve her liberty, he was therefore ader her cause as lost? He trusted any, very many, more efforts would e ere that melancholy result would He trusted that by the desul- ode of warfare now adopted, the rds would gradually diminish the of their oppressor, and render their a conquest which it would be dif- make, and which it would be im- to retain. In consistency with the les hitherto acted upon by the government, it was not intended to to the Spaniards the line of con- hich they ought to pursue, but he that it would not be long before uld learn, that they had adopted a by which the force of France be turned against herself with accu- d violence. Till that period, the al rising in Spain against the scat- rces of the enemy, might prevent eat advantages being gained by These hopes he should not have ble to entertain, nor endeavour to had it not been for the experiment discussion; had not military aid forded to Spain, and that in such a s to shew that Great Britain felt an desire to encounter every peril, and every danger, of that nation whose he so warmly espoused.

Tierney, although he was not quite uine as the right hon. gent., did ld to him in good wishes for the cause. The difference between as not as to the principle of assist- ain, but as to the mode of acting at principle. All the papers con- the opinions which had before been rom his side of the house. Mr. had, at last, found a friend; and y no one ever stood more in need But though Mr. Frere had found , the noble lord (Castlereagh) had lost one; for the right hon. gent. had not in any part of his speech, undertaken to defend the general management of the campaign. The defence with respect to Ferrol was no defence at all. The Spaniards refused our offer, it was said, to garrison their naval arsenals. But were it not for the expedition to Copenhagen, there would have been no difficulty on that head. Arrangements might, however, have been made, by which the object might have been effected, had it not been that no such idea entered the heads of ministers till too late, and the favourable opportunity was lost. An article had been introduced into the Treaty, relative to the fleet at Cadiz. Why did not ministers act upon this idea sooner, with regard to the fleet at Ferrol? He contended that it was imprudent to enter into a treaty of the nature of that now concluded, with a Junta which had concealed information, the want of which placed the British army in the greatest danger. Some of the Junta had turned out to be traitors, and he thought that consequently, his majesty's name ought not to have been so rashly and formally committed as it was in this treaty.—He then adverted more particularly to the conduct of the campaign, and said, that it was matter of substantive charge against ministers, that they had so long delayed to send troops into Spain; that they had spent the time in writing dispatches while Buonaparté was marching his troops. They should have sent troops at an earlier period, if they thought it fit to send them at all.—He next adverted to the state in which the army found itself when it arrived in Spain. Lord Wm. Bentinck, whose good sense he commended, had given notice as early as the 14th of November, of the probable motions of Buonaparté, and particularly requested that cavalry might be sent. The noble lord did not send cavalry in sufficient numbers, and to that, according to the statement of sir John Moore, was to be ascribed many of the disasters of the campaign. Sir John Moore had said with justice, that the British army had never reached Spain till the Spanish armies had been defeated and their cause lost. The noble lord had besides so contrived it, that the army was in three divisions, and consequently inefficient as an army till it was too late. All this was owing to the delay of ministers. —Mr. T. then expressed his regret, that he should be obliged to say any thing respecting Mr. Frere, that might hurt the

feelings of the right hon. gent. But as much regard was due to the memory of sir John Moore as to the feelings of Mr. Frere. General Moore had been instructed to receive the communications of Mr. Frere with respect. Mr, Frere gave it as his opinion that sir John Moore ought not to retreat. Then he sent Charmilly, of whom nobody said any thing that was good. Mr. Tierney denied that Charmilly had been sent to general Moore by the Junta, for the dispatches of the Junta had gone by a different road, and, in fact, had arrived before Charmilly.—He then dwelt upon the impropriety of the language of Mr. Frere to sir John Moore, and the manner in which he had required that Charmilly should be examined before a council of war. He read some extracts from the papers, in order to shew that general Moore had been influenced in the first place to suspend his retreat, and afterwards to advance towards the north, by Mr. Frere. But in order to confirm this, he quoted an extract from a private letter, which sir John Moore had written to sir David Baird, and which had been sent to lord Liverpool (Mr. Canning said he knew nothing of it). Mr. Tierney observed, that he could not have believed that there had been such a want of communication, and cordial co-operation among ministers. But such was the fact, and there could be no doubt that the disasters of the campaign were in a considerable degree, to be ascribed to Mr. Frere's interference.—Mr. Tierney then adverted to the distressing situation in which sir John Moore had been placed, owing to the negligence of ministers, and dwelt upon the admirable manner in which he had conducted himself on his retreat. He could not, however, help saying that there appeared among ministers, something like a disposition to keep the merits of sir John Moore from the public view. He would ask whether an order had not been sent to the Drury-Lane Company by the Lord Chamberlain, not to continue the recitation of a monody to the memory of sir John Moore, composed by a member of that house? The gentlemen at Lloyd's, too, had proposed, at one time, to expend something in honour of the memory of sir J. Moore; but they had afterwards discovered that they were not sufficiently rich for it. This was very extraordinary. Though they were too poor to honour the memory of sir John Moore, they were rich enough to reward sir Home Popham (A laugh). He
concluded by observing, that from
evidence now before the house, it was
nifest that the noble lord opposite was
to be trusted with the management ev
of a corporal's guard. Unless parliam
consented to pass a vote of censure up
the conduct of this campaign, the ho
would be responsible for whatever m
management might in future take pl
by the noble lord's means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did
think it necessary to go at any length i
a question, which had been already
much and so fully discussed. But
wished to know from the right hon. ge
who spoke last, whether he meant to
raign ministers for having sent an ar
into Spain too soon, or for not having s
it sooner; for from his speech it was di
cult to collect which was the charge.
whatever course ministers took, the ri
hon. gent. was resolved to blame the
If, however, ministers had not sent
army, the gentlemen on the other s
would have had much better ground
censure. If, instead of the exertion t
had been made, no army had been se
what would now have been the state
Spain? Had it not been for the divers
made by the British army, the Fre
would have got possession of the south
well as of the north of Spain, and the ca
would now have been indeed render
hopeless. He blamed the gentlemen
the other side, for not pointing out a
other course of proceeding, which eit
with a view to expedition or diversi
would have been better than that whi
had been actually adopted. With resp
to the fleet at Ferrol, he denied that Sp
had been prevented from admitting
British garrison into their arsenals, owi
to any consideration connected with C
penhagen. Spain, perhaps had felt so
jealousy with respect to the views of B
tain, from the operations of the Frenc
and of those who echoed French sen
ments. But as Spain was unwilling
accede to any proposition of this kind,
was impossible, under the circumstanc
to press the subject further than the nak
offer. He contended that it was impos
ble that general Moore should have ac
contrary to his own views of what w
proper. It was injurious to the memo
of sir John Moore to say that he had act
merely upon the advice of Mr. Frer
He further said, that Mr. Frere had n
impertinently obtruded his advice,
that advice had been solicited by sir Jo

e: but the retreat to Corunna was ously chosen by sir John Moore, for , in the circumstances in which he the most beneficial measure for the h cause that could have been adopt- With regard to M. Charmilly, if Mr. had known all that the gentlemen other side suspected, it would have improper in him to have employed But there was no evidence that ere knew any thing of all this. He ed that there had always been a dis- n in the government to do justice merits, the services, and character John Moore. About the order re- ng the monody, or the compliment yd's, he knew nothing. He could ly believe that the Lord Chamber- ould have sent the order alluded to. ncluded by observing, that if sir re had been alive, he himself would, zing at Spain, have been convinced e salvation of that country had been nsequence of the step which he had in retreating through Gallicia.

Bathurst spoke in favour of the mo- He did not see what ministers have expected, to induce them to such an army in such an expedi- They took credit to themselves for version effected in favour of the h cause. But looking at the subject ther view, it was no merit of their's e army had escaped at all. He opinion that it would have been to have retreated to Portugal; and ught it impossible for any candid read the papers, and not to be con- that sir John Moore had been in- to adopt the measures which led to sastrous retreat, by the interference Frere, whom he understood as ng the sentiments of ministers.

H. Petty adverted to the extraor- sort of defence made by the noble hen he said, that the most extraor- exertions had been made by the . The noble lord might have cal- l upon that, for many of his failures een owing to the same cause. In ting upon the conduct of ministers . Moore, he mentioned an observa- cardinal du Retz, who said that night be placed in situations in turn how they would, they must t a fault; but that fortune never them in such situations, which were e effects of their own errors. In situation had sir J. Moore been by the ministers.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose, amidst loud cries of Question, and in a short but animated speech contended; 1st, that Mr. Frere had displayed such a want of temper and capacity, as to render him unfit for any diplomatic situation whatever; next, that the ministers had not acted fairly by sir J. Moore; and, in the next place, that M. Charmilly was a person unworthy of any confidence, from every thing that he had heard of him.—He wished principally to know, whether, as Mr. Frere was understood from report to be superseded by a noble marquis, he was to be appointed to any other situation, as report had also sent him to Constantinople. This, notwithstanding the defence made for him, he thought highly improper, as he had, in his mind, evinced himself disqualified for any situation. The conduct of M. Charmilly he equally reprobated, and painted in very disadvantageous colours, as having been first known as a revolutionist in St. Domingo; from thence coming to France, where he had attempted to raise an insurrection; after that, retiring to this country, where he was successively known as a coal merchant, a distiller, an usurious money lender, and a bankrupt. These were facts which he said, could be proved. He had afterwards, he understood, applied to ministers to be sent out to Spain, and was refused; yet he was since found employed by Mr. Frere, though said to be unknown to him, as a confidential agent to sir J. Moore.

The house growing impatient for the question, a division took place on the first Resolution, which was negatived: Ayes, 111; Noes, 230; Majority, 119.—The other Resolutions were negatived without a division; and the house adjourned at five o'clock on Wednesday morning.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 10.

[WAR OFFICE ACCOUNTS.] Mr. *Wardle*, pursuant to notice, rose to move for the production of certain Accounts from the War-office. His object in moving for them was to put the house in possession of the state of accounts in the war-office. Since 1797, when the establishment was enlarged, with a view to bringing up the arrears, the number of clerks had been greatly increased, and yet the accounts were in greater confusion than ever. If the papers should be granted him, he would show, that this increase, instead of expediting, had retarded the settlement of the accounts. The establishment of the war-office cost 54,000*l.* annually, and yet the accounts might be made up without suffering any arrear to accumulate for 30,000*l.* a year. Thus there would have been a saving of expenditure since 1797, in that department, if even the average expence were taken at 40,000*l.* annually, of above 140,000*l.* Many regimental accounts were in arrear more than twelve years, and the confusion was increased by the different changes that had been made in the manner of conducting the business of the office, whereby monthly and quarterly accounts were intermixed with annual accounts. A radical change of system was absolutely necessary; because any modification of the present system would only be for the worse. Other advisers should be consulted than those on whose opinion the present system had been adopted. He knew an accomptant, who would undertake to make up the whole of the accounts of the office for the sum he had mentioned, and pledge himself not to suffer any arrear to accrue. After noticing the establishment of a second war-office in George-street, at an expence of five or six thousand pounds a year, the Volunteer Pay Office, which he stated not to be necessary, the honourable member concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the house a return of all the Annual Regimental Accounts now in the War-office, specifying such as are settled, and such as are not; also a return of all the annual regimental accounts which have been carried into warrant; specifying how many in each year, and whether for cavalry, infantry, or militia regiments."

The *Secretary at War* did not mean to give any effectual opposition to this motion, at the same time that he trusted he should be able to persuade the hon. member to withdraw his motion. A commission had been appointed to examine and report upon this subject, and had already produced three reports; the one of which, that related to the Accounts, had been drawn up with great ability and precision. The subject had been seriously taken up by his majesty's ministers, who had frequent communications with the war-office, relative to some new arrangement. He could assure the hon. member, that his majesty's ministers were equally with himself impressed with the necessity of a comprehensive and radical reform in the business of the office. The Secretary at War thi went into a detailed account of the ste which had been taken to remedy th grievance since his coming into office and concluded by observing, that as the could be no utility in pressing for the a counts at this moment, he hoped the h nourable gentleman would give up h motion.

Mr. *Long* agreed in the necessity adopting some new system for the sim plification of army accounts, for the e cellent system introduced by Mr. Bur would be wholly ineffectual at this time for instance, a number of differences in th pay of the soldiery had been introduc depending on the local, or tempora prices of bread, or meat, at their respe tive quarters. Hence, it was not possibi to go into a minute inquiry of the a counts, with any hope of an accura result.

Mr. *Windham* said, that the only prac cable mode for attaining accuracy in th accounts, was to simplify the mode paying the soldiery. In investigating th cause of the arrears which had accrue much would depend on considering th degree of zeal, integrity, diligence, an intelligence employed by the persons whom the investigation was referred. Du ing his own continuance in office, he w conscious that much of each was exerte and still the desirable result of bringin up those arrears could not be accomplish ed. The real cause of accumulation those years was the great increase of th public force. Gentlemen who complaine of these arrears seemed to forget not onl the great increase of the regular army, bu the addition of the Army of Reserve, th Supplemental Militia, the Volunteers, an Foreign Corps. The grist had exceede the powers of the mill; and to remed that defect, there must be more mills an more millers. However, if the hon. gen tleman who made the motion, could pro duce any effectual plan to remove the de fect of which he complained, he woul render a great public benefit. But h must allow him to doubt the practicabi lity of such a plan, from what he himse had already experienced.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought that if the bus ness of the army accounts was the privat concern of an individual, there would b no more difficulty in avoiding arrears, an producing regular balances, than in an mercantile house. With respect to th foreign corps. the hon. gent. took occa decidedly to censure the system ed by government, under M. Char-, of enlisting into the British service h prisoners of war—men who, whatmight have been their principles, not fail to profess any opinion or g that would procure for them not liberation from imprisonment, but y, pay, and clothing in the British e, from which service, however, it dged prudent to exchange them for n prisoners of war in France, while harmilly was continued in full pay British service.

H. Thornton said, that it had fallen lot as a member of the Finance Com-, to examine many items of those nts, both printed and written, witheing able to arrive at any clear or rehensive idea upon the subject. It ne of much complication and difficuld the committee of which he had the r to be a member, finding that the missioners of Military Inquiry were ed upon the same subject, deemed isable to await their report before proceeded further on the topic.

Bathurst also bore testimony to the difficulty of bringing up arrears, and ing regular accounts with minute He denied that the system of those nts was at all to be compared with usiness of a merchant's counting- It was a mere business of audit at ar office, the minuter details being ced from a vast variety of other dents. The production of regular and e accounts in the way proposed cost the country infinitely more, in dition of officers, than any real ade to be attained was worth. It was ore necessary either to increase the shment, or diminish investigation. ould be happy to see the golden re- promised by the hon. gent. who the motion; but until it was exl and proved to him, he must be alto question its practicability.

Huskisson, respecting the money ced to M. Charmilly, for the enlistf foreign soldiers, said, that he rena fair and satisfactory account; but self fully coincided in condemning listing such soldiers into our service.

eral *Tarleton* said, it was an estab- maxim in all French books upon y affairs, never to enlist into the prisoners of war, the subjects of a state.

Peter Moore thought it rather hard that his hon. friend who moved for those accounts, should be called on to produce and explain his plan, without first giving him the accounts which he required, as the data whereon to found that plan. When he received them, he had no doubt of his producing such a plan as the house would deem worthy of its consideration. The mode taken to remove the evil in the war office was utterly erroneous, and must continue rather to increase than diminish it. It was not by adding ten or twenty clerks to the office in this year or that, which could produce the desired effect, without due regard to the abilities and competence of those clerks. The men wanted were persons of real talent, and regular bred accountants, who were competent to investigate and detect mistakes, and not men who might be themselves peculators, and interested in passing fraudulent accounts. Of this class of persons he would state a case that came before the committee. One man produced an account on which he claimed a balance of 102,000*l.* due to him by government, and expressed his surprize that the money was not paid him. Another was called, and interrogated as to the accuracy of this account, and stated that the claimant, so far from having a just demand against government for 102,000*l.* was himself a debtor to government of 143,000*l.* making only a difference of 245,000*l.*; and in the counter statement to shew this error, there was an item in one line, for mistakes, 31,000*l.*

The motion was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 11.

[MR. MADOCKS'S CHARGE AGAINST MR. PERCEVAL AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.] Mr. *Madocks* began by moving that the Resolution of that house on the 10th Dec. 1779, be then read; it was read accordingly, and stated in substance, that it is "highly criminal for any minister or ministers, or any other servant of the crown in Great Britain, directly or indirectly, to make use of the power of his office, in order to influence the election of members of parliament, and that an attempt to exercise that influence was an attack upon the dignity, the honour, and the independence of parliament, an infringement of the rights and the liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution." Mr. Madocks next moved the Resolution of that house on the 25th April, 1809, be then read; it was read accordingly, and alledged in substance, "That while it was the bounden duty of that house to maintain at all times a jealous guard upon its purity, and not to suffer any attempt upon its privileges to pass unnoticed, the attempt in the present instance (that of lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding), not having been carried into effect, that house did not think it then necessary to proceed to any criminatory resolutions respecting the same." Mr. Madocks then said, that before he proceeded to redeem the pledge he had given to the house of bringing forward the charges he had that day to adduce, he thought it right to remind them of the opinion they had recorded of that criminal conduct, of which he then rose to accuse two of their own body. Before he entered directly into the statement of his charge, he trusted that the indulgence of the house would allow him to make a few preliminary observations, arising out of and bearing upon the subject. In his attempt at that time to discharge his duty, he hoped that he would discharge it in a manner that became his sense of it; and in the first place, he was most anxious to abstain from every thing personal, from any thing that could give pretence for an imputation of the kind; for he could in truth say, that no such charge could be justly imputed to him. He was influenced by no personal motives, it was to measures he looked, not to individuals. He entirely overlooked the men in the system; a system which seemed to say, that corruption was necessary to govern Englishmen; a system, which seemed to say that the English constitution was inadequate without the aid of corruption to the purposes of good government, was insufficient without corruption for social order, foreign relations, or self-defence. He denied, in the name of the constitution, the necessity of such a system, and thought that any attempt to argue its necessity was one of the strongest proofs of its dangerous and fatal tendency. It was against such a system his hostility was directed, and when he stood forth in that house the avowed enemy of corruption, he felt he had a right to claim the alliance of the hon gentlemen opposite in the same cause, who had recently stated that if instances of corruption did exist, it was the duty of the house to hunt them out, and drag them to light. In that feeling he shared with those hon. gentlemen, and trusted that the indignation they seemed to express at the theory of corruption would not be allayed by exposition of the practice. He for part, was no party man—he was bound no man, or any set of men, except as far he agreed with those who were anxious the extirpation of corruption and abuses every kind, and the restoration, in the original purity, of all the good and soun old principles of the constitution. Th was what he looked for, and what, if th house and the country were true to themselves, he did not yet despair of attaini It was a favourite opinion with some of th right hon. gentlemen that no times were less corrupt than the present, that this was as it were, the age of purity. If such a opinion was well founded, it would be rather inconsistent with such an opinion, an not very conformable to the spirit of suc times, to resort to any party expedient, i order to resist or to evade any direc charge of corruption against any individual whatever. Gentlemen, therefor who thought so purely of present times and public men, would no doubt, with suitable jealousy, insist upon every charg of corruption being directly met, minutel examined into, and impartially decide upon. Upon a former night he had bee accused of having been guilty of a violation of the usual courtesy of that house, i not having given the customary notice t the hon. gentlemen particularly intereste in the charges he had to bring forward To this he could only reply by remindin the house that two or three years ago when a member of that house (Mr. Asheton Smith) presented the Hampshire Petition, it was objected by the gentleman charged with undue interference in th Southampton election, (Mr. Freemantle, and complained of by his friends, that n notice whatever had been given that gent of the charge to be preferred against him— but it was at the same time contended by those now composing his majesty's government, that the Petition should be received, and that the allegations contained in it should be brought under the special consideration of the house. In that opinion the house concurred; thinking then, as he hoped they would now, that where the charge was of so serious nature, involving the paramount question of their own privileges, it would not become their dignity or their justice to suffer themselves to be led away from so great an object by any light objection to mere introductory informalities. He did not wish to take any hon. gent. by surprise, nor was the charge he bring forward calculated to do so. a charge that the moment it was might be rebutted by an innocent unless it would be contended that were degrees of corruption now so med by prescription, that that house necessarily connive at them. He an opposite opinion—an opinion l upon the history of better times. whole course of the history of Eng- se no where found that Sinecure and Offices, and Rotten Boroughs, be considered and venerated as com- the palladium of England. He where that the constitution was be preserved by the preservation buses. He rather believed that it be best secured by rooting out uses; and that the spirit in which rable attack upon corruption had ted with an hon. friend below him Whitbread), and in which another en conducted so lately by his hon. (Mr. Wardle,) was the best stay h the constitution could look for nd support. Serious as the charges hich had been brought in both the es he alluded to, they were compa- trifling, when considered in rela- hat most flagitious of all abuses, by the influence of the Treasury was in returning members to that In the good old times of the , the crime was looked upon in its light—it was considered as fraught most dreadful consequences. In ir John St. Aubin declared in that at such a system alone could give fatal blow to the liberties of the , and that if the Treasury governed use, the popular part of the con- was gone for ever—that the peo- ht continue to exist, but that the f that house would be effectually gainst their wishes and their wants. would read to the house the pas- "For if a minister should ever corrupt familiarity with our Bo- if he should keep a register of them closet, and by sending down his mandates, should procure a s representation of the people, pring of his corruption, who will all times ready to reconcile and the most contradictory measures administration—if the mainten- his power should become the sole f their attention, and they should ty of the most violent breach of entary trust, by giving the king a discretionary liberty of taxing the people without limitation or controul, the last fatal compliment they can pay the crown; if this should ever be the unhappy circumstance of this nation, the people indeed may complain, but the doors of that place where their complaints should be heard will be for ever shut against them. Let country gentlemen, by having frequent opportunities of exerting themselves, be kept active in their contention for the public good, this will raise that zeal and indignation, which will at last get the better of those undue influences, by which the officers of the crown, though unknown to the several boroughs, have been able to supplant country gentlemen of great character and fortune, who live in their neighbourhood."—The nature of that influence branched out into so many and various ways of misapplying the money taken out of the pockets of the people, that it was impossible to have an adequate idea of its magnitude and danger, or to be too vigilant in retrenching the one and guarding against the other. He had already signified his intention of taking an early opportunity of submitting to the consideration of the house the present state of certain boroughs in England. He trusted that the statement he should then submit to the house would induce them to a revision of the entire system of boroughs. He should take the liberty of adverting at present to one or two instances of this borough influence. The first was the borough of Hastings, which consisted of only fourteen voters. The right of election being in the corporation. This borough was the property of Mr. Milwood and his son, who were agents for government, and were the mayor of the town alternately. The younger Mr. Milwood was comptroller of the excise, with a salary of 1,425*l.* per annum, a place which was nearly, if not quite a sinecure, though by the 5th of William and Mary, chapter the 30th, collectors and officers in the excise were interdicted from any interference in elections. If the sum of 1,425*l.* be multiplied by seven, it would be found that it cost the people for every parliament 9,975*l.*—With respect to the borough of Rye there were but six electors. Mr. Thomas Lamb was agent for the Treasury, and this gentleman was in the enjoyment of the lucrative situation of tally-cutter, another in the Exchequer, and was also cursitor of Hampshire. This borough was under similar restrictions as the last mentioned borough of Hastings.—The next borough he should advert to was that of Cambridge. Here the agent for government was Mr. John Mortlake, a banker, and resident at Cambridge. This gentleman was receiver-general of the post-office, with a salary of 800*l.* per annum, and had a deputy, a Mr. Bowden, at a salary of 500*l.* a year, though by the 9th Anne, chapter 10th, officers of the post-office were prohibited from interfering in elections.—The next borough he should mention was that of Queenborough. The influence of this borough was divided between the ordnance and the admiralty. The amount of the salaries of the places held by the freemen of the borough under the ordnance and the navy boards was annually 2,368*l.* So that the public money paid to the electors of Queenborough, during a parliament of seven years or sessions, independent of other sorts of influence, amounted to no less a sum than 14,576*l.* Not to mention that the boroughs of Westbury and New Romney were openly sold for money.—But of all the various corruptions and abuses; of all the fatal misapplications of the public money, none he thought so imperatively called for an immediate check as the corrupt interference to which he had already alluded, exercised by the Treasury, to procure the return of members to that house.—This, continued Mr. Madocks, is poisoning the fountain of health. The only quarter to which we can look for the prevention or redress of other corruption. What, Sir, can be more fatal than to suffer any thing to vitiate the legislative, inquisitorial, and remedial branches of the constitution; it has been always held, in all periods of our history, that any corruption practised by individuals to obtain seats in this house, is an offence against the constitution, and laws have from time to time been enacted conformably to that principle; but for the executive power to attempt to corrupt the legislative, has been considered as most fatal, and your Journals and Resolutions proclaim the enormity of such offence in the eye of the constitution. Treasury influence, from the various shapes it assumes, may, in its nature, be divided into several classes; but that the most alarming and obnoxious is where public money is made instrumental to the return of members to this house, either by actually buying or selling seats with money, or by applying annually part of the taxes taken out of the pockets of the people towards the keeping u corrupt influence in the boroughs whi return members at the nomination the Treasury, while those members ag pay a certain sum of money to the Tr sury for their seats, which money is c ried to a certain fund, and then dol out to carry elections in other places.—B Sir, having enumerated these cases, whic in my opinion, ought to be submitted a Committee to examine, sift, and reg late, I now come, Sir, to a case of wha consider as aggravated in the extreme, a one that calls for an immediate investig tion at your Bar. I mean, Sir, the ca of the borough of Cashel in Ireland, in the transactions relating to which at t last general election, and since that tim it will be found that the Treasury ha conducted themselves not only directly the teeth of your Resolutions, but ha exercised an influence beyond all parall and have not only violated the constit tion in the most unequivocal manner, b have inflicted signal injustice on a m honourable individual, because he had t strict a sense of propriety to vote agai his conscience, and what he felt to be h right line of duty. The conduct of t hon. gent. to whom I allude, has in th instance been so strikingly correct, man and upright, that I am confident he w meet with, as he is entitled to, the estee of every honest man. This is not an i choate or unfinished act. Sir, it is to th case that, for the present, I propose to ca the particular attention of the house, a to conclude with a motion for hearin evidence at the Bar, in support of t statement, the facts of which I am full prepared to prove. I have so far depar ed from the proceeding of the other nigh though I cannot, on a revision of the pr cedent, find that I am not fully justified such a course. I affirm then, that M Dick purchased a Seat in this hous for the borough of Cashel, through th agency of the honourable Henry Wel lesley, who acted for and on behalf the Treasury; that upon a recent ques tion of the last importance, when M Dick had determined to vote accordi to his conscience, the noble lord (Castle reagh) did intimate to that gentlema the necessity of either his voting wit the government, or resigning his Seat that house; and that Mr. Dick, soone than vote against principle, did mak choice of the latter alternative, and di vacate his Seat accordingly; to this trans charge the right hon. gent. (Mr. al), as being privy and having con- t it; this I will engage to prove by ses at your Bar, if the house will leave to call them; if the house mit me to do so, I am satisfied that uld not take a more direct method dy the abuses in the representative of such places as Hastings, Rye, dge, Queenborough, and many other that could be mentioned, where nnual sums were paid out of the n the maintenance of sinecure of- d places to uphold the influence of easury in such boroughs.—I shall ir, detain you no longer than by sserting the purity of my motives. riginate in my aversion to such es, which, (to use the concluding e of the ever-memorable Hamp- etition), with all due deference superior wisdom of the house, I to describe as "calculated to bring scredit the government of the , and to shake the confidence of ple in the honour and indepen- f the House of Commons."—I have, e, like the Petitioners, felt it my n duty, not only to my constituents, my fellow-subjects, but especially ouse, to bring under their notice utrages, as I deem them, against rties of the country, and I have ncouraged the more to do so by olution which stands recorded in rnals, which has been this day your table, and also by the lan- contained in the first paragraph Resolution which was recorded Journals but sixteen days ago.

the hon. gent. sat down, and im- ly the Chancellor of the Exche- se, when lord Folkestone called t hon. gent. to order, and con- that he need not withdraw, and ot to be heard, according to the nt of Shepherd, until the motion on. friend was before the house. short discussion, as to the point of rose between lord Folkestone, sir astruther, and Mr. Horner, when, e Speaker's interposition, it was that Mr. Perceval and lord Castle- ould be severally heard in their , and be permitted to withdraw he motion was put from the Chair.

hancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Per- hen rose, and said that he had r the decision of gentlemen upon t of order, as he felt himself naturally anxious to conform to whatever was the wish of the house, as to the form of their proceedings upon the present occasion. He however acknowledged that he was prepared to expect the decision that had been made by the Chair, as to the propriety of his then speaking, and afterwards immediately retiring. He did not wish to quarrel with or canvas whatever might have been the wish of the house, as to the manner in which he was to act in the present instance, but he thought that the usage of the house on such occasions was founded in wisdom, as the presence of the individual accused during the agitation of the charges against him might be fairly suspected to operate in a way that would fetter and restrain the freedom of the discussion itself. At the same time he felt that that order of the house was not without its inconveniences as well as its advantages. It might be as much, if not more necessary to the just vindication of a man's innocence, to hear the close of a discussion of that sort as well as the commencement, and perhaps the progress of it as much as either; but be that as it might, the course being otherwise, it was for him now only to abide by it. And here he was free to confess, that he felt exceeding great doubt as to the line of address which it best became him in that situation to pursue. If he thought it mere criminatory proceeding against an individual of that house, for alledged mal-practices, there he could have no doubt that the house would willingly entertain the Charge, and of course the individual would proceed at once upon his defence, meeting the charges either with direct denial, explanation of the fact, or examination into the law arising out of the fact. But with respect to the present charge, he confessed that he could not look upon it in that simple light. As well as he understood the hon. gent. he intimated in the opening of his charges, that there was still behind them a mass of other matter; and, indeed, that intimation had been sufficiently illustrated in the detailed statements entered into by the hon. gent. respecting the boroughs of Hastings, Rye, Cambridge, and Queenborough. By stating these circumstances it did appear that it was not so much the vindication of the injured honour of that house which was the object, as that more general one of following up the pursuit of what was denominated 'a certain system.' This, it

seemed, was to be a first step to general Reform. The notice with respect to the great measure itself appeared to have been withdrawn, and this proceeding to be substituted in its place. If this was so, perhaps the house would think it right to pause, before they lent their sanction to such a mode of introducing the discussion of any great public question; (hear, hear!) Perhaps they would feel it to be their indispensible duty not to establish a precedent that would introduce a system of inquisitorial proceedings, fraught with the most violent inroads upon all species of private and social confidence (Hear, hear!). No matter through what means the charge had been elicited—no matter how sacred the confidence the discovery had violated, or how solemn the engagements it had broken through, (hear, hear!) at any period it would be ill advised to establish such a precedent, but particularly so at the present day. They lived in a time in which the popular appetite fed upon attacks on public men. The favourite doctrine was, that public men must be necessarily corrupt; and they were the purest patriots who prosecuted most charges against them—they lived in a time when they saw individuals raised to the highest state of popularity, and honoured with crowded tributes of the nation's gratitude and applause for prosecuting such charges. Those who were ambitious of the same flattering distinctions might think it wise to pursue the same course—no matter whatever the means, if the end could be attained. They had seen private confidence abused—they had heard of letters being seized in the unsuspecting moments of social intercourse, and had known serious charges to be grounded upon the public disclosure of those very letters (hear, hear!) and they had seen those who thought it necessary to resort to such means, not to confirm, but to institute a charge which ranks high in the esteem and veneration of the people of this country; whether at such a time it would be wise to warrant such species of charges as merely introductory to the agitation of the great question of Reform, he left it to the house to determine; but as far as he might be allowed to judge, he rather thought that it would be more consistent with what was due from him to the house and to the public, if he, for the present, declined putting in the plea (he could so conscientiously put in), until that house had come to a determination on the propriety of entertaining that charge or n
(hear, hear!) protesting at the same ti
against any, the slightest inference of
guilt from his deferring such a plea
after that decision.—Then would he co
before them prepared, and indeed (wh
he was not yet) in a manner authoris
to meet that charge, and explain, as
trusted he could do, every particular
lating to the transaction upon which t
charge had been grounded; and he c
not despair of that explanation proving
tisfactory to the house, and vindicatory
his own honour. Before the house h
come to such a decision, he should not h
it wise in any public man to enter i
an explanation of the circumstances up
the one side or the other. He should s
no more, but make his bow to the Cha
as was usual in such cases, and leave
with the house to determine as they in the
judgment might think proper.—The rig
hon. gentleman then made his obeisan
to the Speaker, and retired amidst the g
neral cheers of the house.

Lord *Castlereagh* then rose, and sai
that he could not express what he felt
this occasion better, nor more adequatel
than by adopting the statement whi
had been made by his right hon. frie
who had just left the house. He had n
thing to add to that statement, and ful
adopted every part of it. Whatever mig
be the practice on similar occasions,
could not, under the circumstances
which he was placed, sit in the house du
ing the discussion of the question. H
did not conceive that he was in the pr
sent stage of the business bound to giv
that explanation which he was confide
he could, if it should be the pleasure
the house to enter into the investigatio
To the house, therefore, he should leave
to determine, whether he should be calle
upon to give that explanation, which
present he was prepared to do, if it a
peared to him to be called for, on this o
casion. (The noble lord then made hi
bow, and withdrew).

Mr. *Madocks* then explicitly move
That the said Charge against the right ho
Spencer Perceval and lord viscount Ca
tlereagh should be heard at the bar o
Monday next.

Mr. *Tierney* suggested the propriety o
having the Paper, from which the honour
able member had read the information h
communicated to the house, laid upon the
table, in order that gentlemen might hav
an opportunity of ascertaining what the

ation was. At present they could
ollect it from what they could re-
er of the speech of the hon. gentle-
and many members, who had come
e house since the hon. gentleman
oncluded, could not possibly have
nowledge of the information it con-
He thought it right that before
ouse should come to a vote, they
know exactly what it was upon
they were to decide.

Precedent was then read by the
t the table.

Speaker stated that it would be con-
t for the house to know whether it
e intention of the hon. mover to re-
his future proceedings by the pre-
in the case of Mr. Samuel Shep-
He wished that the two Resolutions
ent to the information being given
ember in his place, should be read.
two Resolutions were accordingly
—the first, where a reference was
to the protest of Mr. Shepherd, as
innocence, and the next as to the
lar boroughs, viz. Newport and
n Basset, where he had been guilty
corrupt practices, and the course
d by the house in consequence.—
his precedent it did appear, resumed
eaker, that after the member made
ormation to the house, a motion
de to hear the accused at the bar,
s to which hearing the particulars
charge were ordered to be given to
n writing; and, lastly, that a par-
day should be fixed.

Whitbread said, he apprehended it
not have been consistent with the
of proceedings, had his hon. friend
in any written charge, and that
re this being an oral charge, he
ave no objection to leave out of the
, now to be made, the naming any
day, when it should be heard at
. We all knew, that in the late
lative to the Duke of York, the
was orally made, and yet the house
ted a committee to inquire into the
. As to the statement of his right
end near him, (Mr. Tierney) that
f the members did not understand
ure of the charge, he had to ob-
hat it was always presumed that all
rs were in the house, and that the
ollectively speaking was that body
at the time the charge was made,
e exception, that the individual
d must be necessarily present, par-
y where an oral charge was made.

To remove all objections to the motion, he thought that the word 'now' might be left out, so as to leave the day when evidence should be heard undetermined.

Mr. Secretary *Canning*. This is of the nature of a double question, the latter part presuming an affirmative of the former; and therefore when it is said that the charge shall be taken into consideration upon a certain day, the hon. gent. takes it for granted that the charge shall be gone into. This would render the motion objectionable, but if so altered as has been suggested, I apprehend there can be no objection to the charge being entertained, and the first question upon an oral charge is certainly as to whether it shall be entertained or not. If it be determined that it should be entertained, it will then become a matter of justice that it should be put into so clear a shape, as that it may be delivered in writing to the members so charged; and in order that the house may be enabled to know what they are to discuss upon a future day.

Lord *Folkestone*. If the house be to conform itself to this precedent as a standard, I hope they will adopt it strictly, for otherwise we shall fall into error. The right hon. gent. opposite says, he hopes that the charge will be given to the accused in a particular form; that may be very convenient to him and his colleagues, but it is not so in the precedent, for in it there appears to have been merely a statement of the names of places, where corruption and bribery had been alledged to have existed. There can be nothing less precise or particular than such a charge; and therefore I think it will be sufficient, to deliver in the present one in as general words as were used upon that former occasion.

Mr. *Madocks* then begged leave to move, "That the matter of the Charge be heard at the bar of the house."—Mr. Whitbread and sir F. Burdett both rose to second the motion.—Upon the motion being put from the Chair,

Mr. *Cartwright* said he was decidedly adverse to the motion, and whether he referred to the notice upon which it was founded, or the opinions of the hon. gent. who brought it forward, as expressed in the Resolutions which he seconded at the Crown and Anchor, he could only consider it as the first step to Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Cartwright was not ashamed to acknowledge himself one of those, far too much attached to the constitution as it is, and far too sensible of the blessings so abundantly diffused throughout every class of people in this country, to give his support or countenance to any change or innovation. He wished however to guard against being supposed an advocate for corruption; it was not the case, but in his opinion we had the means of correcting abuses already in our hands. The courts of law were open, and recourse might be had to them. He would not risk the loss of the blessings and advantages we now possessed, in pursuit of any wild or visionary object of Reform. We had much to lose, and little to gain; and whatever might have been the language lately held at public meetings, he should ever maintain there was more real liberty, more real equality of condition, more equal administration of justice, more security of property and person, and more genuine principles of freedom in this country, than ever existed heretofore in any other nation upon earth.—With respect to the question of Reform, he conceived there were three points to be considered: The evil, the remedy, and the motive. He had no difficulty in saying, in his opinion no evil existed; there was no evil to be complained of, and consequently no remedy to be applied; and even those who did think there was something which required correction, did not, any two of them, agree upon the remedy. It was said on a former night, that should Reform of Parliament be determined upon, the advocates for it would not know where to begin or where to end. Mr. Cartwright did not agree with the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) who made that remark—they would know where to begin, because they would begin by pulling down, and then not know what to re-build. With respect to the motive, a celebrated writer had said upon the subject of Reforms, "Beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation." Mr. Cartwright would not impute any improper motive to any member of that house; but he had no doubt there were many out of the house, whose object it was, under the pretence and cover of Reform, to introduce confusion, and prepare the way for revolutionary projects. It was said our rights and liberties were in danger. Mr. C. could not help calling to the recollection of the house, how often the cry of liberty had in all ages been perverted and employed as the instrument of mischief; and how often the champions of liberty h become the first to trample it under fo when they had succeeded in attaini their end, and in overturning the constit tion—"Sunt qui, ut imperium everta "libertatem præferunt, si perverterint, i "sam libertatem aggredientur." In wh had France benefited by the change whi had taken place in that country? witho having been partial to the old governme Mr. C. would ask what had been gain by the new government? What but t extreme of military despotism, and eve sort of tyranny, injustice, and oppressio What was the origin of the present c mour and discontent? The Duke of York misconduct—and what had the case of t Commander in Chief to do with the i complete state of the representation in t House of Commons? Mr. C. was sor to see the tone of triumph which had be displayed in so many parts of the kin dom upon this subject. Mr. C. was hi self one who thought the Duke of Yo ought not to continue in office; but deeply lamented the circumstances a occasion of it; and could see in them cause for triumph or exultation.—M Cartwright had thus freely stated his se timents, avowing himself no friend to R form or innovation. But were he of different opinion, and had he been an a vocate for Reform, he should not think t present a proper moment to begin upon We were engaged in a most serious conte with the most formidable enemy this cou try ever had; an enemy increasing eve day in power and aggrandizement, and i tent upon our destruction. He could n think it right at such a moment to sow d visions amongst the people, or encoura dissatisfaction and discontent. But it wa said the general sense of the nation ha been manifested in favour of Reform parliament—he denied it to be the case partial meetings, he was aware, had take place, and he should mention one whic had happened within his own knowledg and in the county which he had the hono to represent. Seventeen persons signed requisition to the mayor of Northampto to call a meeting in the town-hall, for th purpose of thanking the hon. gent. wh took the lead in the investigation of th Duke of York's conduct; seventy-on persons signed a counter-requisition again it, and the mayor in consequence refuse to convene a meeting; and none took plac in the town-hall; but the seventeen persons met at an inn in the town of North

un, and there passed their Resolutions,
Mr. C. supposed would be repre-
as the sense of the inhabitants of
wn. Mr. C. could not think this a
ay of estimating the opinion of the
.—With respect to the particular
adduced by the hon. gent. on this
on; he should only say, that what-
he house might think it right to do
er, whatever regulations or restric-
night be determined upon in future,
ting the sale and disposal of seats in
ment, it was wholly inconsistent with
principle of common equity or jus-
o act upon them retrospectively.
was a bill now before the house
g to the subject, and whatever might
fate, it would undoubtedly receive a
ad impartial consideration. He should
is decided negative to the motion.

H *Milton* observed, that if the last
r was even correct in the motives he
ted to the hon. gent. who brought
d the present motion, he must assure
hat if such motives were justified,
who supported the motion were
ed by inducements wholly different.
stance, if he thought that the pre-
motion tended to the success of the
on of Parliamentary Reform, he
have been the first to oppose it; be-
he was free to say, that from its adop-
e could not foresee any practical
. He still was impressed with the
ity of correcting public abuses, and
more imperatively called for correc-
as none were more dangerous, than
le and evident interferences of the
ministers in obtaining the return
mbers to that house. In giving such
inion, and whilst he voted for the
a in part, he still, in whatever way
decided, should not think one jot
orse of either of the right hon. gen-
accused, or that they were in any
more criminal than all former go-
ents. The evil ought, however, to
and any prospective remedy should
is support. As leading to that ob-
was anxious to refer the considera-
this charge either to a Parliamen-
ommission or to a Select Committee,
ced that the greatest injury had
d itself by giving a parliamentary
th to a government which did not
s the confidence of the people. The
lord concluded by moving as an
lment, That in place of the words
e bar," the said Charge be referred
lect Committee.

Sir *Charles Morgan* observed, that it was the duty of every man to make a stand now, in support of the dignity of that house, and of the happiness of the people. He did not wish to see every public man, who was at present, or might at any time be employed in the administration of government, vilified and calumniated, and themselves thus rendered incapable of serving their country; therefore he should object to the motion. Would the hon. member stop here? would he be satisfied with his present victims? Certainly not: more, many more, would be brought to be filtered through the vessel of Reform. He did not wish to see a new order of things. He did not wish to see the valuable time of that house taken up in censorial proceedings against its own members, instead of being engaged in forwarding the public business. He had heard much of the sense of the people. No man valued the approbation of the people more than he did, or regretted their disapprobation more; but this was a case in which he could not suffer himself to be influenced by any thing but his own impressions. He should give the motion his decided negative.

Sir *John Anstruther* rose to oppose the motion, not from any partiality to the individuals who were the objects of it, but from a partiality to the constitution of the country, because those individuals formed a part of the executive government under this constitution. If this proceeding should be adopted against the present government, a similar proceeding might be directed against any other government. The hon. gent. who brought forward this motion had stated that he was no partyman. Did the hon. member mean by that declaration, that he did not agree in the opinions of the great body of those who sat on the same side of the house with him? If he did, he had stated a great truth. But there was another party, to which he did not know whether the hon. member belonged; nor should he be solicitous to inquire, if the motion of the hon. gent. was calculated to promote the views of that party. The object of that party was to level every thing that was above themselves. Being unable to level up, they were determined to level down. Though he did not say the hon. member belonged to that party, he must say, that his motion was calculated to promote the views of that party. The hon. member had, however, acted with candour; because though he said he should begin with

Cashel, he also stated that he should not stop there, but go on to other cases, to a series of investigations, which he meant to institute in that house. He first meant to go to the government, and thence he would go to individuals, so that no person could possibly conjecture where he might stop. But his objection to the hon. gent.'s motion was, and a considerable objection it was, that he had not stated what he meant to do in the committee. He should have taken his whole case at once, and not proposed to go on with the business by piece-meal. The course the hon. member had in view was to go to one committee with one point, and then to another on another point, and so in succession, which would lead to endless committees. This motion had been represented as the first step to Parliamentary Reform. All who knew the practice of his life must know that he was no friend to Parliamentary Reform; but this motion formed no part of that question. The hon. member proposed, by putting information on the table against one member, and then against another, to prosecute his object in a succession of charges. But this would have no effect but to gratify that appetite for slander, which had been excited amongst certain descriptions of the people, and to create and keep alive a taste for Reform. Indeed, the motion would lean not to Parliamentary Reform, but to parliamentary destruction. But here he begged to be understood not to mean, that to bring charges for abuse or corruption against any individuals in that house, would lead to parliamentary destruction; quite the reverse. It was to bring charges upon such information as the hon. member had given to the house, that he thought would lead to destruction. He agreed with the noble lord (Milton), that it was desirable to resort to prospective measures, to prevent the influence of the crown upon the votes of members of that house: but to refer this charge to a committee up stairs, was not the way to attain that object. What he condemned was the mixing prospective measures of prevention with retrospective crimination. When the noble lord (Milton) who stood so high for honour, loyalty, and honesty, had stated, that if the whole of the charges were proved, he should not think the worse of the individuals to whom they referred, could the house think that there was any good ground for entertaining them? The right hon. baronet then proceeded to animadvert upon the charge, and the groun laid for proceeding with it. He contend ed that it was brought forward, not on information but surmise; and that if th hon. member had received any information upon the subject, it must have bee through the breach of every principle honour that existed in civilized society and that the information derived from th rascality of a few persons, or the gener surmise of the hon. gent., was made th ground of a charge which would gratif the appetite for scandal, which had bee industriously excited in the public mind —The right hon. baronet again objecte to the committee, because the measur brought in by his hon. friend (Mr. Cu wen) shewed a disposition in the house o all sides, to provide prospectively again the evils complained of. As to the sens of the public, that house never would, be cause it never could, resist the fair an legitimate voice of the people. It shoul not, however, suffer itself to be influence by clamour, but maintain a steady integ rity, neither yielding to the influence o the crown, nor giving way to the clamou of the people, anxious to do its dut with fidelity, and to deserve the gratitud of an affectionate people.

Mr. *Curwen* had never risen in tha house under more difficulty, because both his wishes and his duty inclined him t adopt a different line of conduct. Hi wishes prompted him to put an end to thi question at once; but a sense of duty made him feel that something was due on such a occasion to the dignity of that house, t the nature of the charge, and to the cha racter of parliament. He agreed with the noble lord behind him (lord Milton), that the more eligible course would be to refer the charge to a committee above stairs. The charge was of such a nature, that if the hon. member had brought it forward lightly or upon weak grounds, or should fail in substantiating it, much injury must be the consequence to the public. He did not himself believe that the hon. member would have brought forward this charge without having good grounds for it. The house was placed in an embarrassed situation by this charge, which consisted of two parts; the first was that of undue influence used to bias the votes of members of that house; the second, that corrupt means had been employed to procure the return of members to parliament. The charge he considered a grave one, and if the house should pass it over without no-

e must think that it had dealt out a
easure of severity to his royal high-
e Duke of York; and yet if this
should be gone into, it was impos-
say where the investigation of such
would end. If there had been
eavour made to create an improper
in the country, he should condemn
uch as any man; but he was per-
that the sentiments which had been
ed had sprung from the people;
rtainly not from any feeling of
over the illustrious person, whose
ad given rise to the expression of
entiments. He could not suppose,
e people of this country, who had,
the last twenty-five years, mani-
uch an affectionate attachment to
eloved sovereign, could in this in-
ave been capable of such feelings
spect to one of his family. It was
impossible that their sentiments
ave been so changed at once. The
nt. opposite (Mr. Cartwright) had
at he was for the existing state of
For himself, he could say, that
for the constitution, but not for its
ions; and the best means of pre-
that constitution would be to cor-
y abuses which may have crept
Though a friend to rational re-
e did not think the present a proper
bringing forward the measure of
entary Reform. That question
etter be deferred to another period.
time could be unseasonable for the
on of abuses, and all our statutes
a decided manner against corrup-
He should wish, therefore, that the
the charge relative to influence ex-
to sway the vote of an individual
r of that house should be examined.
owever, had any influence with the
mber, he would have dissuaded him
ringing forward this motion: be-
might lead to exposures, which
e attended with very injurious con-
es: and the hon. member must
served a disposition in the house
ent such abuses as his charge re-
o in future, from the reception
he measure he had the honour to
had met with. They should, if
, cast a veil over the past, and take
s to prevent the recurrence of the
mplained of in future. He la-
the vote he should be obliged to
the motion of the hon. member.
was in such a situation, that he
it, or do nothing.

Mr. *Biddulph* supported the motion, which in his conception related in no way to Parliamentary Reform. He never adopted the opinion that all public men were corrupt; but whether the assertion were true or false, the best way of deciding it was by investigation.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that on a question which so nearly concerned the character and honour of the house, he was anxious to hear the opinions of persons of more experience than himself. The subject under consideration, was one of the most important that could engage the attention of parliament; and one in which the character of the house was more involved, he could not well imagine. As to what related to the point of order, he would undertake to shew, that in whatever point of view it was considered, the conduct of his hon. friend, as well on this as on a former occasion, was strictly parliamentary, and that it was supported by usage and precedent. He had examined into the proceedings on former occasions, and from a great variety of precedents from the earliest period of the constitution to the present time, he could shew that the house had always received the assertion of a member in his place, as information sufficient to exercise its inquisitorial functions. In exercising these inquisitorial functions, in the better times of our ancestors, it was not the practice when a member preferred charges, to retort upon him, to question his motives, and the authenticity of the facts into which he proposed to inquire. Formerly they decided that even common fame was a sufficient ground for investigation. By this he did not mean mere rumour in the streets, but that general kind of report and understanding which came within every man's knowledge and belief. He should like to see the man who would stand up in that house, place his hand upon his heart, and say, upon his honour, that he did not believe that such abuses existed, as it was the object of his hon. friend's motion to investigate. He did not believe there would be one found who would stake his veracity and character upon such a point. Why was there such a reluctance to entertain this question? Was it from the dread of French principles? Why, this was the very way to avoid the danger of such principles, and the dreadful consequences that flowed from them. Did any man deny that the fact charged did not exist? If there did, he should be glad to listen to his arguments, and to be confuted by his reasoning. This was the only nation in Europe which was not subverted by French principles, and he feared now by French arms. The people of England asked for no innovation; they called for nothing that was not their right. He was not surprized that those persons who, on a former occasion, called for accusation in a tangible shape, should perceive the folly of their conduct, and now shrink from an investigation into what they called falsehood, and calumnies.—He would now, with the permission of the house, say a few words on the subject of that dreadful monster Parliamentary Reform. A noble lord (Milton), with an indiscretion honourable to himself, perhaps, and incidental to youth, had expressed himself decidedly against agitating the question at this time; and, indeed, his sentiments seemed to go the length of condemning the principle of the measure altogether: this was not the proper time for discussing the propriety of a measure, which he conceived indispensably necessary to the salvation of the country; but when the time did arrive, he should be prepared to support it. The noble lord had also said, that he should not think a bit the worse of ministers if they were found guilty of these charges. In this sentiment he perfectly coincided with him, though not precisely upon the same grounds. A gentleman under the gallery (Mr. Cartwright) had talked a great deal in praise of the blessings of the constitution, and the liberty we enjoyed; but did he recollect that this was an instrument upon which another tune could be played? Where he saw beauties, other persons could only perceive deformities. For his own part, he wished for no innovation. The principles that he was anxious to see adopted were to be found in the statute book. It was impossible the constitution could exist if its vitals were to be palsied by corruption. He considered it a great happiness that the country looked to this house for redress, amd if they refused inquiry, the undoubted conclusion would be, that they wished to shelter the persons against whom the charge was made by his hon. friend, and that these persons were guilty. An hon. member (Mr. Curwen) was of opinion that his bill would preclude the necessity of any investigation of this kind. Now, he was not quite so sanguine respecting the efficacy of that measure. The effect of it, he thought, would be to leave the corrupt borough in the mark and take the purchaser out of it. The fect of it would be to throw all the co rupt representation into the hands of t Treasury, who had other means of corru tion in their power besides the mere givi of money, and to render it impossible a man of great landed property and lo influence to find a person to represe that property and influence.—One wo more with respect to informality. I could perceive that the accusation ma by his hon. friend was not agreeable the feelings of the house, but he wou maintain that he was strictly parli mentary. He informed the house of t facts, and he offered proofs of the charge That was the whole extent of the motio before the house, and it would be seen b their decision what value they set upon th future opinion of the country.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* thought that those wh were so loud in the condemnation of co ruption did not sufficiently distinguish b tween corruption, properly so called, an the influence which property would alway have in every well regulated society The influence of property was one whic ought to prevail as well as that of ability He would always be glad to have som eminent lawyers in the house; to s gentlemen of the army and navy there The landed interest ought unquestionabl to have its full weight, but he saw no rea son why those who had their fortunes i chattels or money should be excluded He saw no reason why some of the Direc tors of the East India Company should not possess seats in that house, sinc they had important interests to defend (Hear, hear! in one quarter, and a laugh in another). There never was a questio of importance discussed in that house without a proof that the interests affected by it had some persons to represent them —Under this system the country, in spite o all the wars in which it had been engaged had flourished. Every town had been improved: new harbours had been con structed; and manufactures and trade en creased together. These were blessings not to be rashly risked for any fanciful schemes of reform (Hear, hear! from Mr Windham). At the same time, where cor ruption was proved to exist, he would concur in adopting the proper means to check it; always, however, distinguishing between corruption, and that just and proper influence which ought to be in separable from property.

Tierney expressed his wish that rge against Mr. Perceval should be ed from that preferred against lord eagh; and observed, that in the Shepherd, the charge had been a writing, and he hoped the hon. ould give in his charge in this way, ntlemen might clearly understand hat they were to vote. He thought estion had, strictly speaking, no- o do with Parliamentary Reform, offence was one which might be ted under any circumstances. The against Mr. Perceval and Mr. ey was so vague, that he should be l to receive it in its present shape. o the charge against lord Castle- that certainly deserved attention, m its being more distinctly laid, m the circumstance that 167 mem- hat house had already pronounced ole lord to have been guilty of n of its privileges.—With regard mentary Reform, Mr. T. said, that s warmly attached to that measure ad ever been. It was one of the advantages of the constitution, en things went wrong the house power of making them better. ever, was perfectly aware of the nience of the time which had been to bring forward the question; because it did not appear to him er the sense of the country or of ent was decidedly in its favour. stion had been raised merely by ness of the Duke of York; and he that there were many who sup- he cry for Parliamentary Reform l no specific view of the subject ey themselves desired to attain— hear!) What many, he believed, od by Parliamentary Reform was from the weight of the taxes. He e little associated with the various f society in this country, who was vinced of the deep-rooted com- which were called forth by the of the taxes, and the manner in ey were collected. If any one r a moment consider the weight other taxes, added to that of the Tax, he would not be surprised bers were disposed to listen to any which promised an alleviation of then. There was no disposition re for overturning the establish- the constitution; but the people istened to those who from good otives proposed Reform, because the idea went to encourage the hope that by this Reform they would be in some measure at least relieved from the pressure of taxation. But that was a sense in which he did not wish Reform to be understood. Nor would he be in the least accessary to the propagation of such a delusion. The discussion of the subject of Reform, however, did not at all call for a question like that now before the house. If they intended to bring the subject of Reform before the house, why did they not do it directly? Why should they think it necessary to begin by attempting to degrade all public men and every government?—The late Mr. Pitt, Mr. T. observed, had gone farther in his project than the mere prevention of the sale and purchase of seats, for he proposed that the burgage tenures should be bought up, as they had subsequently been in Ireland. But among all the schemes of Parliamentary Reform of which he had heard, he had never known of a commencement like that which the house was now called upon to adopt. He knew that a wonderful degree of popularity might at present be acquired, by saying that one belonged to no party. But of this kind of popularity he was far from being ambitious, because without being a party man it would be impossible to accomplish any great object, and because he was persuaded that the country had derived more advantages from party warfare in that house, than from any other circumstance whatever. He therefore wished for none of the popularity that must result from his being no party man. He was a zealous party man, and only wished he were a better. But the gentlemen themselves who had set up this cry of "no party," after all, constituted a party. They attended and voted together on questions which some considered as of minor importance, but as to those which were generally considered as of the greatest consequence, such as the fate of armies, they did not think it necessary to give any vote, and all stayed away. They proceeded in all this as if they were acting under a leader; and a leader, be he who he may, they either had, or must soon be compelled to appoint.—One of the most remarkable characteristics of this party was the attention which it paid to stage effect, (Hear! hear!) in carefully concealing the ultimate object at which it aimed (Hear! hear!). Of the two other parties, they gave the preference to the gentlemen on the other side; but yet the only result of that preference was a charge against two of them by which they were compelled to leave the house (Hear! hear!). But why did they think ministers better than those who sat near him? The reason very probably was, that a weak administration might be more valuable to those who had such views. For all this he might expect to be subject to reproaches. The usual cry would be renewed, " When any motion is made against corruption, the parties immediately understand each other, and join against it." There was, indeed, one charge against him, a very heavy one in their opinion, which he could not deny. He had certainly been in office: but these gentlemen referred the house to the reports of their committees in support of their assertions, that corruption prevailed in every department of the state. Did they really believe it possible, that, in the management of so many complicated concerns, and of so large an expenditure, no mal-practices should at any time occur? It could not be done; and hence the advantage of appointing committees from time to time. The abuses were not, however, greater perhaps, than might have been expected; and these being pointed out in the reports, the house had an opportunity of applying the remedies. Many improvements in the conduct of various departments had been the consequence of this mode of proceeding.—Mr. T. then observed, that he differed widely from the hon. bart. with regard to the bill of his hon. friend (Mr. Curwen) behind him. He thought the bill would do a great deal of good; but if the hon. bart. (Burdett) was of opinion, that the security which it proposed against the sale of seats was not sufficient, he himself ought to attend and propose a better. It was sufficient for him, however, that parliament had agreed to the principle, that such trafficking in seats ought to be abolished. He saw no reason for going into the past; and he asked, whether any thing could be more unjust than to turn round upon two gentlemen, whose conduct had not been attended with any peculiar aggravation. Mr. T. however, acknowledged that some reform there must be, and the more gradual he would be the better pleased. Something, however, must be done to remove any injurious impressions which the people had of that house. The landed interest ought, for obvious reasons, to have the greatest weight in the house, though it ought not to be all in all. The monied interest ought to have considerable in ence. But at the same time it was pro that mere money should not procure a s in that house, and give rise to speculati which no one could see without pain. it would be great injustice to render a individuals the victims of a system wh did not commence with them. He c cluded by saying, that he would move Amendment to the Motion, with a view exclude that part of the charge relating Mr. Perceval and Mr. Wellesley, and retain only that which related to lord C tlereagh.

The *Speaker* said, that though an c charge was perfectly regular, yet it necessary to have the allegations record and called on Mr. Madocks to furnish Clerk with a copy of his motion.—T being done, and the Charge, being an e tome of the accuser's speech, read by Clerk, the Speaker noticed that the mot contained two distinct points; first, charge of trafficking in the seats of t house; and second of influencing the v of its members. He then explained manner in which the question would put, and informed the last speaker of mode in which he could introduce Amendment.

Mr. *Tierney* explained. If the Chanc lor of the Exchequer was privy to the cond part of the charge, he had no wish exclude him from his Amendment.

Mr. *Whitbread* expressed his astonis ment to hear the measure of Parliamenta Reform objected to by his right hon. frie in point of time; the more so as that obj tion was grounded upon the same arg ments which his right hon. friend, he, a others, had on former occasions to encou ter from the other side of the house. Wi regard to the public meetings, from whi declarations of opinion had been publis ed upon the subject of the decision of t house, relative to the conduct of the Du of York, he maintained the right of t people to express their opinion upon a public question, asserting that there we numbers among the public who were competent to form a correct opinion up that or any other question, as the membe of that house. To think otherwise on t part of the house, he would consider as a indication of arrogance and folly. Th people had the whole of the evidence be fore them with respect to the transactio alluded to, and upon that evidence the thought proper to come to a conclusio directly contrary to that of the house. Wi

e wondered at, that such a conclu-
and the considerations connected
, should have induced the the mind
country to conceive that all was not
n that house, and that some reform
representation was necessary. As
attack which it was alledged was
atically made upon public men, he
to know whether serious disposi-
very gross attack did not prevail
those who were anxious to expose
nish abuses, even more than against
ho were supposed to profit by the
ce of such abuses. He remember-
many nights ago, to have heard it
in that house by an hon. gent. that
ld rather be Mrs. Clarke with all
es, than pursue the conduct of the
nt. who brought her forward. This
red as a specimen of what those
able to who struggled upon the side
eople, and as some counterpoise to
rmuring of those gentlemen who
very indignant at accusations, ac-
nied by an offer of proof, which
y would not suffer the house to re-
So that although their pride was
d their character impeached, they
not allow their principles to be vin-
. Although he supported the mo-
he would any measure connected
eform, or the correction of abuses,
ere two points in which he differed
ose so pointedly alluded to by his
on. friend: for he neither disclaim-
y, nor did he profess that extraor-
purity, which was described as a
for mischievous designs. Giving
nan credit for all the integrity that
d consistently claim, he believed
as no public man whatever whose
were not of a mixed nature. His
otives he confessed to be of that
er, and still he believed himself as
sposed to do good as any other
nd in the prosecution of that good
d not suffer his mind to be warped
pularity either within or without
Parliamentary Reform he conceiv-
be the greatest good the country
xperience, and therefore he sought
He thought it necessary in order
ent convulsion; but he never did
nor did he ever say, that it would
like enchantment, as a panacea for
. He never was deluded by theo-
t looked for that Reform only which
ght for by so many great men, by
ackstone, by Dr. Paley, by Mr.
Mr. Pitt, and many others. If
these great men could now be communicated with, if one of them at least were enabled to offer his advice, sure he was that that wise man, whose principles he contracted at his outset in political life, would strongly recommend the conduct he was now pursuing.—Several gentlemen, particularly about the ministerial bench, had, he recollected, professed their resolution to wage war with corruption; but if such a case as that then before the house did not rouse them to act, he could not conceive when they would give battle. Here were two ministers of state accused of receiving money for a seat in that house, calling upon the person purchasing such seat to vacate, because he would not vote against his conscience. How the money arising out of the purchase had been disposed of the house was yet to learn. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had talked of the violations of social confidence in the disclosure of this transaction. But in fact there was no social confidence in the case on the part of his hon. friend. The information he received he laid, as was his duty, before the house, and it was for the house to decide how it would act for the preservation of its own honour and character. But it was pretended, that as there was such a disposition to abuse public men, it was here proper to make a stand against inquiry.—What, in such a flagrant case? The present ministers would not determine upon such a stand in the instance of the Hampshire election. They would then prosecute Mr. Freemantle with the utmost rigour for writing a letter to a single voter: and yet now they would claim complete impunity for the Chancellor of the Exchequer and lord Castlereagh, who had sold a seat to a member upon certain terms to obtain his vote, and afterwards turned him out of his seat because he would not vote against his judgment. If such a case as this were overlooked, the house might as well, in his opinion, expunge its Journals, burn its statutes, and blot out the constitution. But, gentlemen asserted that there was no precedent for these retrospective inquiries; Did they forget that, in one of the most corrupt periods of our history, at the close of sir Robert Walpole's administration, a committee was appointed to inquire into the abuses of that administration for no less than ten years back? In these gentlemen, who voted against lord Castlereagh upon a former night for an act of corruption, which was only inchoate, he thought it would be

exceedingly inconsistent to vote against this motion, where the act was alledged to be complete.—The opinion in favour of Reform he believed to be much more general than it had been at any former period, and it was very easily to be accounted for. The result of the Investigation respecting the Duke of York, the rejection of the Reversion Bill, and the vote in favour of lord Castlereagh, formed strong additional reasons for discrediting the composition of that house, and naturally multiplied the advocates for Reform. Still he thought the sentiment in support of Reform, when it was last discussed, would have been much louder, more universal and effective, if it had not been for the extraordinary exercise of the influence of the crown. This exercise was most strongly exemplified in the case of the celebrated Robert Burns, the poet, as appeared from a letter of his published since his death. Burns was an exciseman, and having, by the liberality of his sentiments, incurred the imputation, the surveyor called upon him by order of the commissioners. Burns disclaimed the charge; but although under the apprehension of being sent with his family to seek for bread, for the produce of his works was insufficient to support a sick brother, he ventured to say that the corruption of the legislature, and the extending influence of the executive, boded no good to the country. Upon which the surveyor observed authoritatively—" It " is your business, Sir, to act, and not to " think—be silent and obedient." (A laugh at the back of the Ministerial benches.) Mr. Whitbread reprobated such levity. Sure he was, that those who could laugh at such an insolent observation, must be very much inferior indeed, in genius and worth, to the man to whom it was addressed. — It had become a fashion, he perceived of late, to call upon gentlemen, rather improperly as he thought, for a profession of faith upon certain political tenets.—For himself, however, he had no objection to make the profession required. He certainly was not an advocate for the exclusion of all placemen from seats in that house. Although he knew there were many who had no right to be there, he would rather prefer the presence of ministers, in order that they might be confronted with their accusers, that they might account for their conduct, and display their views to the house. He was also adverse to the idea, that it was of no consequence by whom the affairs of
the government were administered.
appeared to him quite preposterous, eve
if corruption were not removed or dim
nished, that it would not be material
consider by whom the power of the cou
try should be directed. What, that if t
vessel were in a crazy state, and its sa
rent, it mattered not what pilot was at t
helm!—There was not perhaps a man i
society who felt more horror at the idi
of revolution than he did. His all was
stake. He enjoyed many comforts, a
valuing the British constitution, he wou
not risk its loss for any untried syste
—still less for a republic. He was
admirer of republican governments. Th
had both in ancient and modern times be
corrupt and arbitrary. Even in Athen
supposed the purest republic, corrupti
pervaded the whole community, the pe
ple being bribed by the orators, a
the orators bribed by foreign states, D
mosthenes himself not being free from t
imputation; but aversion to the idea
revolution must utterly blindfold the jud
ment of any man, who could suppose th
such an evil was likely to arise, if lo
Castlereagh were not granted impunity f
a two-fold abuse of patronage, and if suc
a case as that before the house were n
over-looked; the notion was perfectly r
diculous.—The hon. gent. concluded wi
exhorting the house to guard the countr
against the fate which all the corrupt g
vernments of Europe had experienced-
to conciliate the people to their gover
ment, and not to reduce England to th
state in which Sicily now was, where th
conduct of its government had rendere
the people indifferent to the fate whic
seemed to menace them.

Mr. *Bathurst* complained of the count
nance given by the hon. gent. to the lan
guage held out of doors, arraigning th
judgment of the house delivered after d
liberate and painful investigation. Fro
this superstructure it was, that he argue
for the necessity of Reform. As one o
that majority he would ask the hon. gen
why, because he gave no credit to a wo
man of Mrs. Clarke's character, he was t
be accused of corruption, and such an as
sumption raised upon the case? The ho
gent. had told them, he approved of ever
sentiment expressed at one of those Mee
ings so much spoken of. One of the sent
ments supported by the hon. baronet an
his friends was, that there should be n
placeman or pensioner in the house. Ho
happened it then, that the hon. gent. ap

g of this Resolution, should this
maintain the directly contrary opi-
The hon. baronet expressed the
est abhorrence of bribery, but he
ask him if there was no bribery for
es as well as for boroughs? Or if
d forgot the fate of the Sheriff of
sex for conniving at shameful votes
own election? The house would do
o look, while they were destroying
urce of influence, that they were not
g another to private wealth and in-
al influence. The object of such
s was to make the government
, while they were pretending to say
ked it better than any other, and
eat danger that appeared to him,
mixing this question with a charge
eral corruption and consequent ne-
for Reform. The hon. gentleman
what inducement he could have
ndon all his comforts and become
olutionist. He could not tell him;
is he could say that others with
comfort in their power had chosen
e that course, and felt the effect of a
it they had raised, but never would
The public passions were raised
d by these motions, which were not
for, since they had a measure in
ss which would prevent their re-
ce. If the hon. gent. who moved
estion thought it necessary to excite
ur and discontent for the purpose
moting the Parliamentary Reform,
he stood pledged to the house and
to bring forward, he had found
to do so even in the short speech
made. The right hon. gent. ex-
d his resolution to oppose this mo-
or any other of a similar nature,
promised to give food and fuel
t popular ferment, which it should
object of the house to allay.

Whitbread complained that the right
gentleman's speech was a tissue of
presentations of what he had said.
d never said the house of com-
decided from corrupt motives, but
s out of doors said so, and not
e agreed in opinion with them.

d *Cochrane* said, his principal rea-
r supporting Parliamentary Reform
old constitutional principles was,
had stated at a late popular meeting,
er to set ministers free from those
sions, which occupied too much of
time, and rendered them unable
nd to the important business of their
departments, the neglect of which
he had too often witnessed on foreign stations. If the people were fairly represented in that house, his opinion was, that there would be less of captious opposition or tedious controversy; corruption would be set aside; opposition would have no abuses to point out; and ministers, being disengaged from the task of defending such things, would be able to devote their minds more profitably for the state, to the objects he had before alluded to.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said he could remember no debate in which so many speeches had been thrown away. Ministers being accused of having procured the election of an individual by improper influence, and of dismissing or causing that individual to vacate his seat, because he refused to vote contrary to the dictates of his conscience; the question was whether or not an inquiry should be made into the circumstances, and in answer to it they had been about five hours debating on the proceeding that had taken place out of that house at public meetings, and discussing the propriety of attempting a Parliamentary Reform. Such a change as they proposed endeavouring to effect, he thought no trifling question. It would be a change most awful, most tremendous in the present state of the world, he should therefore be silent on that subject till some measure was proposed to that effect which he felt called upon by his duty to support. It was impossible for him to vote that the whole should be passed over without farther notice. He did not know that the facts stated were correct, but he did know that the individual whose name had been mentioned was a member of that house, and that he did vacate his seat about the time stated: whether or not it was in consequence of an intimation to that effect from the Treasury, he could not take upon himself to state. Therefore, when an hon. member brought such a subject forward, and stated it to be in his power to prove the truth of such allegations, he certainly could not oppose the inquiry.—With respect to the mode of procuring Seats in that house, it certainly was highly improper; but knowing how long such practices had been carried on, knowing how many had sat there in every parliament since the Revolution through similar influence, he could not think it would be acting like a man of honour were he to take advantage of a political adversary under such circumstances. There existed no man on the face of the earth who had so strong a claim on his resentment as one of the accused. His conduct towards Ireland he could not remember but with indignation. It was owing to him in a great measure that the parliament of Ireland was put down—put down by practices which he would not name—and he could not but feel a more than ordinary degree of hostility towards that individual when he reflected on that circumstance. He felt therefore the necessity of being on his guard, lest he should carry his resentment to an unjustifiable length. A few evenings ago he had voted against lord Castlereagh; he would again do so were that discussion brought forward again, but in the present case the circumstances were, in his opinion, very different. It was impossible for him to reconcile it to his conscience to vote against him for having been concerned in alledged transactions of that nature. He did not think it justice when those practices were carried on by ten thousand different persons, to select those gentlemen charged by the hon. member to be the only victims, when so many who had sat there before him, nay who sat there with him, were suffered to escape with impunity. The hon. baronet had said that every sensible man laughed at a Bill recently brought in by his hon. friend (Mr. Curwen). The hon. baronet he supposed would not consider any man sensible who did not laugh at it, but he did not hesitate to state it as his opinion, that the bill was calculated to produce the most beneficial effects. Instead of considering of any wild plan of Reform, he thought it would be well if they took that bill into consideration, improve it when it would admit of improvement, and make the best they could of it, to prevent such evils from recurring in future; but not to proceed against individuals because that had been proved to exist which had long been notorious; which was not more strange to us than the sun at noon day; which was as well known as the streets of the metropolis. He was aware it might be said, because he thus defended ministers; that some of his friends were guilty of similar actions: he did not know, he could not answer for them, but he could answer for himself. Than himself no one could be more innocent; he had never given one shilling away in his life to bribe an elector. The question was not, whether one party had been more culpable than the other, but whether it would be proper to proceed against individuals situated as the two ministers charged by the hon. ge were. For his part, he did not think would be just to select those gentlemen the only persons who ought to be procee ed against on such a charge.

Lord *Folkestone* did not agree with t hon. gent. who had just sat down. had stated two reasons why they shou not proceed against the ministers charg with corruption: The first, because a B had been brought into the house whi might prevent the so frequent recurren of such abuses; the other, because th facts were so notorious that every o knew of them. He wished to know ho long the hon. gent. who spoke last, well as the right hon. gent. opposite, ha thought so favourably of that Bill. Wha ever might be the ultimate success of th bill, he thought it no argument again inquiring into the conduct of those ac cused, nor did he think the enormity such practices diminished by their noto riety. He remembered with what a je of denial the statements he had made of similar nature had been greeted. The did not deny that such abuses existed i words, but they did by signs, which ever body understood; but now gentlemen op posed the measure, because they were ig norant how far its effects might exten When he moved that a Committee shoul be appointed for the purpose of making general inquiry into Abuses, it was oppos ed because it was too general. Had spe cific charges been brought, it was state no opposition would have been made; bu now specific charges were brought for ward, it should appear they were too spe cific, and a general measure was to be pre ferred. Those who then said, "bring for ward specific charges; let us see wh among us is unworthy a seat in thi house," now unblushingly stood forward to prevent such an inquiry being insti tuted, and to screen those charged with corruption. If their recent proceedings had excited the indignation of the country, he did not think their acting thus would tend to allay the ferment excited in the minds of the people. They ought to consider the question as it stood by itself, and pronounce aye or no accordingly, as the evidence adduced might preponderate for or against the persons accused.—The noble lord then entered into the case at large, and concluded by stating, that under all the circumstances, though he knew a general election had taken place since those who were accused had been in

though he knew that many who
be called on to vote that night,
ke Mr. Quintin Dick, vote in their
or vacate their seats, he did not
ey could oppose the motion.

Windham said, the abuses now so
complained of, had existed un-
in those times which had been
the best. They ought not with a
d violent hand attempt to eradicate
ll the whole of the circumstances
en maturely considered. For by
ng, we might with, or instead of,
, tear up that which was infinitely
aluable to us than any thing we
ossibly gain by such a procedure.
ements of the air we breathe con-
rticles which we know to be of a
us nature, but were we to attempt
those away, we should probably
ith them that which was essential
existence. So if we attempted to
and alter the representation from
ever had been since the formation
constitution, we might deprive our
tion by so doing of all that was
nd valuable. Attempting to re-
blemish, we might tear the gar-
d render it worthless. Were all
at men of former times, whose
we had been accustomed to vene-
be set down as corrupt men by the
n of such a plan? He would not
hat constitution, by which the
had risen to what it was, altered
espect whatever. That corruption
st was undeniable, corruption ex-
om top to bottom, but he believed
ould be found at the bottom than at
The lower they went the worse
ould find it. What man, however
and frugal in the administration
own private affairs, could prevent
stence of abuses on his own pre-
Abuses would exist in his kitchen,
table, or in his garden, which he
ot see nor prevent. The motion
charge government, not with
countenanced by them, but with
hich they could not prevent, and
a reform in parliament they would
to overturn the government. He
know whether the taxes, great as
ere, bore a greater proportion to
nue of the country than formerly.
y did not increase with the taxes,
ot think their weight would be
excessively great. Mr. Quintin
d not been forced to vacate his
his noble friend, had incorrectly
stated; no one could force him to vacate it. He thought it probable that Mr. Quintin Dick went to consult with ministers as to the line of conduct he ought to pursue, as his conscience would not suffer him to vote with them. When he found his inclinations run counter the wishes of those who had procured him a seat, he might have tendered it again to those from whom he received it. He did not think it would be proper to punish individuals for what had been so generally practised by others; and concluded by generally opposing the motion.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* rose, amidst a tumultuous call of question, question! His lordship expressed great surprize at the doctrines he had heard delivered on the present question. One right hon. gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) had declared, he could not listen to the charge, because the practice on which it was founded had long been as open and broad as the sun at noon-day. For his own part, if he understood the constitution; if he understood his duty as a member of that house, if he wished for the prosperity and tranquillity of the country, he should suppose that such a conviction in the mind of the right hon. gent. who made it would have been a very strong reason for his voting in favour of the motion. With respect to the speech of the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, he had with pain heard and observed that it seemed to cast such indulgence on every species of corruption, that if he had not himself heard he could not have believed. There seemed to be a doubt between that right hon. gent. and his majesty's ministers whether there was any thing whatever to correct in the present system of parliamentary representation. If the house should unfortunately determine to overlook the present charge, he trembled for its dignity and character having any longer a place in the estimation of the people.

Mr. *Wilberforce* declared he never rose to speak with more pain and surprise. He thought the house ought to come to a resolution in favour of the motion for the sake of its own honour and dignity. There never was a time when under any state of things, either within or without the house, they ought to be more careful of observing the opinion of the people.—He was as much disposed as any man, not only to vindicate the character of the persons accused, but even to acknowledge the zeal and assiduity exerted by them in the public service. But it was to its collective character which the house had now to attend to; and if they would but for a moment consider the question before them with a moral eye, there could be no doubt about their decision. This, among a multiplicity of other reasons, imposed it as a duty upon him to vote for the original question.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* begged leave to offer a few observations, even at that late hour of the night, although he had but little to add to the arguments which had already been urged against the motion of the hon. gent. He could not well refrain from reminding the house that the motion at present before them was acknowledged to be a first step towards Parliamentary Reform; and that the means proposed for enabling the house to take that step, were impracticable. Against such a measure the house had now to make a stand—a determined stand against the encroachments of the factious. The time was now come, when not only a great majority of that house, but also all the reflecting and sound part of the country, would pronounce an opinion, that in resisting the motion of the hon. gent. they acted a part not less acceptable to the feelings of the people, than it was conducive to the safety of the state. The question before the house should not be considered on narrow grounds, or on its own particular and separate merits. It was the duty of parliament to view it in all its bearings, and while they attended to the particular case, not to overlook its general consequences; what these consequences might be, it was no difficult matter to conjecture, when due attention was paid to the nature of the Resolutions which had been passed elsewhere, and to the names that were affixed to those Resolutions. The house were told to take care how they acted in contradiction to the sense of the people. But how and where was the sense to be ascertained? Was it in the commons house of parliament, or in those meetings which were held to canvass the conduct of that house? Were the house to listen only to those among them who came reeking from those meetings, and who would inculcate on the house the lessons which they received and brought from such a school? Should we not look to the motives from which such persons acted, as well as to the principles they thought proper to profess, and in taking this view of the nature and tendency
of their conduct were we not to le
what we should avoid, as well as what
had to adopt? With respect to the sche
which was hatching in those meetings,
man could be in the dark. We h
to guard against the machinations
dangerous demagogues: at least wh
such meetings presumed to bring t
conduct of that house to account, th
house had an equal right to enqui
into, and animadvert upon the tenden
of their conduct. Indeed, it were an a
juration of common sense not to see t
motives, and to appreciate the cons
quences of the present motion. The a
tempt at Parliamentary Reform was at
times questionable; at a moment li
the present it was dangerous in the e
treme; and might lead to consequenc
beyond any conjecture or calculatio
The object of the present motion w
merely to immolate two public characte
upon his side of the house; but if it we
now to be acceded to, would it stop ther
Would not the spirit it was intended
excite call to-morrow for more state
and more numerous victims on the oth
side? Where would its practical cons
quences stop? It must bear down all pu
lic men in all public situations, and lea
their room to be filled by providential m
without practice, without experience. T
house would surely pause before the
adopted a proposition that must lead
such a series of consequences. He mu
again be permitted to remind the hous
that the main and sole object of the pr
sent motion was a reform in parliamen
that the hon. mover, and more particula
ly the noble lord (Folkestone) who su
ported the motion, expressly stated th
they were actuated by no hostile feelin
against his colleagues; that they had
wish or intention whatsoever to see the
removed from office; that their great o
ject was a reform of that house; in shor
that all their claims were directed to pa
liamentary reform. They had already a
vanced two steps; they had but one mor
to take, and that was to relieve his ma
jesty's ministers from all attendance i
parliament. They would first rob publi
men of all the influence of characte
well knowing that without such a shiel
they must prove defenceless and impoten
In short, they would take every thing tha
was liberal from the ambition for place
and reduce public men to that degrade
standard to which such a motion as th
present must level them. With all hi

for parliamentary reform, the
object of his motion, as originally
ced, the hon. gent. thought pro-
shift his ground, and with more
lf design, and dexterity of execu-
now came forward with a separate
, with a measure that was only a
nary to the attainment of his great
either would he state the sort of
he wished for, but merely dwelt
e necessity of a general reform, as
from recent opinions which had
from disclosures made by a recent
ation; but here he had to observe,
ough public opinion, when legiti-
pronounced, was always to be re-
yet the influence that was sup-
o have guided that house on that
, might in a great measure, have
isunderstood. For other causes
at were imputed to corruption:
r predilections than those which
pposed to be then acted upon
o that decision. It spoke of the
of that house in terms not to be
eived. It proved that there was
so high that might not be brought
he jurisdiction of that house. It
that even the intimation of its dis-
tion had produced as great an
could have been brought about
ost direct and severe animadversion.
od! was this, then, the period to
that the character of the house of
s was lost; and that every, the
zardous, experiment should be
relieve it? Still it was the cha-
nd the influence of that house that
all our blessings, and distinguish-
haracter and the condition of this
from that of any other country in
d; and was the source from which
ssings flowed to be described only
ot, to be stigmatized only as a sink
ption, an object of alarm and dis-
Of whatever atoms such a body
posed, whether it was the result
grand design, or merely the
of their fortuitous concurrence,
red not: Out of it grew the
character, the vital principle
stinguished this country from all
nd which operated as the peren-
ce of blessings unknown to any
tion. Was this a thing to be
y or wicked trifled with? The
n. gent. concluded, by suggesting
of combining in one both the ori-
ption and the amendments that
posed to it.

Mr. *Hutchinson* protested against the doctrine of that night, which posterity would reprobate. When it should hear that a house of commons was found so debased as to acknowledge the existence of corruption in its formation, and justify the existence of it. (Cries of withdraw, withdraw, and violent uproar). It was at least consistent for those, said the hon. member, to drown, if possible, the discussion of men who opposed them. Convinced, as they must be, that such conduct as they pursued that night, could neither bear inquiry, argument, or the touchstone of common integrity.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought the house bound to reflect upon the alledged interference of lord Castlereagh, with the vote of Mr. Dick upon a judicial question of high importance. [No, No, from the ministerial benches]. If the fact be not so, why not inquire? [No, No, from the same quarter]. I repeat the words—If the fact be not so, why not inquire? and if with the question thus put to you, you refuse to inquire, the country will not fail to form its own decision.

Mr. *Peter Moore* stated, that on a former occasion, when he opposed himself to the general motion of a noble lord (Folkestone), because it did not state some definite grounds, he had then the honour of being cheered by his majesty's ministers and their adherents. Their objection then was,—your motion is too wide-wasting, too indefinite, and therefore we oppose it; but give us something in a tangible shape and we will withdraw our resistance? Here then was something in a tangible shape; here was specific corruption offered to be proved against two members of their body, in confidential situations under the crown. How has it been received? Shame to say, its existence has not only been admitted from time immemorial, but even justified from both sides of the house. Let the house cautiously reflect how it sends abroad such principles, sanctioned by their decision. In such an attempt to vindicate the character of the two rt. hon. gentlemen, they will fail to retrieve them, whilst they sacrifice to eternity the honour, the credit, and the character of the house of commons.

Mr. *Madocks* made a brief reply, defended the consistency of his public life and the purity of his motives. He felt impelled to the course by the sense of public duty, from which, not even the conduct of that night should succeed in warping him. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had confessed, that corruption existed from the top to the bottom of the state. He was sorry to agree with the right hon. gent. on this point. It did, indeed, exist most generally. Its universality and ubiquity were frightful, and reminded him of Virgil's figure of Fame:

> 'Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.'

The Question being loudly called for, strangers were ordered to withdraw. The two Amendments were negatived without a division. The house then divided on the original motion, as proposed by Mr. Madocks; when the numbers were:—

Noes - - - - - - -	310
Ayes - - - - - - -	85
Majority against Inquiry	—225

List of the Minority.

Adams, Charles
Althorp, viscount
Antonie, William Lee
Astley, sir J. H.
Babington, Thomas
Barham, Joseph Foster
Baring, Alexander
Biddulph, R. M.
Bradshaw, h. A. C.
Brand, h. Thomas
Browne, Anthony
Burdett, sir Francis
Byng, George
Calvert, Nicholson
Cochrane, lord
Combe, Harvey C.
Cooke, Bryan
Creevey, Thomas
Curwen, J. Christian
Dickenson, William
Dundas, Charles
Fellowes, h. Newton
Fitzpatrick, rt. h. Rd.
Forbes, viscount
Giles, Daniel
Gower, earl
Grant, Charles
Grattan, rt. h. Henry
Halsey, Joseph
Hamilton, lord A.
Hibbert, George
Honywood, William
Horner, Francis
Howard, Henry
Howorth, Humphrey
Hughes, Wm. Lewis
Hutchinson, h. C. H.
Hussey, William
Jekyll, Joseph
Johnes, Thomas
King, sir J. Dashwood
Knapp, George
Lambe, h. William
Lambton, Ralph John
Langton, Wm. Gore
Lemon, sir Wm.
Lemon, John
Lloyd, sir Edw. Pryce
Lyttleton, h. Wm. H.
M'Donald, James
Markham, John
Martin, Henry
Maule, h. William
Mildmay, sir Harry
Miller, sir Thomas
Milner, sir W. M.
Milton, lord viscount
Moore, Peter
Mosley, sir Oswald
Mostyn, sir Thomas
North, Dudley
Northey, William
Ossulston, lord
Parnell, Henry
Pelham, h. C. A.
Percy, earl
Porchester, lord
Pym, Francis
Romilly, sir Samuel
Savage, Francis
Scudamore, R. Philip
Sharp, Richard
Shepley, William
Smith, William
St. Aubyn, sir John
Symonds, Tho. Powel
Talbot, Rd. Wogan
Thornton, Henry
Tracey, C. Hanbury
Walpole, h. George
Western, C. Callis
Wharton, John
Whitbread, Samuel
Wilberforce, William
Wardle, G. L.

Tellers.

Madocks, Wm. Alex.
Folkestone, viscount

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 12.

[Convention with Sweden.] Mr. S cretary *Canning* laid before the house copy of the Convention between the ki of England and his Swedish majesty, c cluded on the 1st of March, 1808. said, this Convention had been alluded in his majesty's speech on the opening the session, and would have been soon laid before the house, but that it was n cessary to accompany it by some comm nication which, under the existing state circumstances between both nations, was necessary to postpone. He had n to state, that no part of the stipulated su sidy had been paid to Sweden beyond t first three months' instalment, nor wou it be requisite to propose any vote m in the budget of this day. The existi state of circumstances between both cou tries was such as did not enable him make any definite communication to t house at this time; but it was necessa to lay the paper before the house as ground for the vote to be proposed.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared himself perfec ly satisfied by the explanation upon t subject.

[Foreigners holding Commissions Mr. *Whitbread* rose to revive a moti which he had proposed yesterday, b which he was then induced to defer at t request of the noble lord opposite to hi (Castlereagh). It was for a return of t names of all the officers attached to t foreign corps, raised under colonel Cha milly: the various sums advanced to the in the way of allowance, or otherwis and also their present state in his maje ty's service. It did not strike him th there could be any objection to compl with the motion. The whole of those o ficers were known to be Roman catholic he believed there were many of the who from their conduct had not prove themselves to be men of the most unex ceptionable character, although ther were many others whose conduct was ce tainly irreproachable. It was, howeve pretty extraordinary, that in 1794, whe the letters of service were issued to Frenc officers to enlist French soldiers from military prison into his majesty's servic a positive refusal was given by the go vernment, of the late duke of Bedford' request for a commission for the comman of his own armed tenantry in the defenc of his own country, under an apprehensio

trust that nobleman with the com-
f his own armed tenantry, would have
angerous to the state. The hon.
er concluded by moving, "That
e laid before this house, an account
foreigners holding commissions in
ajesty's service, and the dates of
rst and present commissions, toge-
ith an account of all extra allow-
of every description made to such
, if any, and the reason for such al-
es; also, an account of the present
service of such officers, whether
he staff, or with the regiments to
hey may belong."

Castlereagh said, that he only re-
the hon. member yesterday to
e his motion, in order to have an
unity of consulting with others, how
ight be adviseable to grant the re-
Upon the fullest consideration,
r, it was thought that the names of
fficers, and their present situations
ervice, could not be communicated
exposing them to great hazard
ury at some future time; and, upon
ount only, he must resist the mo-

Whitbread said, that the names of
ficers were by no means secret;
re inserted in an authentic list of
y, published monthly, and must be
to every body desirous of learning
mes. Therefore, he must consider
on assigned by the noble lord, as
subterfuge for withholding the do-
he required. He could not, how-
void remarking again, that while
esty's government had thought fit
e the late duke of Bedford a com-
for the command of his own te-
in the defence of his native land,
dangerous a confidence to repose
bleman who differed from them in
and also to refuse to lord Petre a
sion for the command of 400 of his
fantry, armed and clothed at his
pence, for the like purpose, upon
pretence than that of his being a
catholic; still they felt no hesita-
granting to colonel Charmilly, a
an, an utter stranger, and a Ro-
holic, letters of service to recruit
soldiers at the door of a military
for his majesty's service, and at a
of sixteen guineas per man; and
ds, when they deemed it expedi-
sband this regiment, to turn them
pon the public. One of the mo-
made upon a former night, was for an account of the money advanced to colonel Charmilly, but to this no proper return was made. He must therefore press the present motion, and take the sense of the house upon it.

The question was immediately put, and the house divided. Ayes, 29. Noes, 54.

[The Budget.] The order of the day was read for going into a Committee of Ways and Means. Upon the question that the Speaker do leave the chair being put,

Mr. *Parnell* rose, and objected to going into the committee at present, as the Annual Accounts had not been laid before the house in time to have been printed, and in the hands of members previously to the opening of the Budget.

Mr. *Huskisson* apprehended, the hon. gent. would not wish to postpone the Budget on this account. By law, these accounts were to be delivered by the 25th of March in every year, before which time it was impossible, on account of the multiplicity of papers to be laid on the table, to prepare them; and it was not till lately that the Budget was opened so late as the 12th of May. This business used formerly to take place before Christmas, and it would always in such a case, be utterly impossible to get the accounts printed before the opening of the Budget.

Sir *John Newport* doubted this impossibility, since Irish accounts could be always ready at an earlier period. It was of no consequence to lay them before the house, if they were taken away for so long a time to be printed; and he thought that either they should not be taken away for this purpose, or that duplicates of them should be provided to lie upon the table, for the use of members.

The *Speaker* informed the hon. member, that pursuant to an order of the house, duplicates were now always laid upon the table; and as to the length of time lost in printing, the hon. member would recollect that of all printing, figure printing was the most tedious and intricate.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* asked if the only advantage to be derived from laying these Annual Accounts on the table, was their consideration on this particular day? and contended that their production at any period of the session, would operate as a sufficient check, although they might not be produced previous to the opening of the Budget.

Mr. *Rose* bore testimony to the difficulty of getting the Accounts ready even by the 25th of March.

Mr. *Parnell* said, that last session he wished to look at these accounts, and was informed that they were gone to the printer's, and that he could not see them. Duplicates of the Irish Accounts, he knew, had not been laid upon the table, and that led him to suppose, that the same was then the case with respect to the Accounts of this country.

The Accounts of the produce of the War-Taxes were then referred to the committee; when the house having resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, pursuant to notice, to submit to the committee a statement of the Ways and Means of the year. In proceeding to propose the resolution with which he meant to conclude, for ratifying the contract, made that morning by the Treasury, for a Loan of 14,600,000*l.* to complete the Ways and Means of the year, it would not be necessary for him to take up much of the time or attention of the committee by any introductory remarks. The satisfactory nature of the contract, and the advantageous terms for the public, upon which it had been concluded, would be sufficient to entitle it to the earnest attention of the committee, and the entire approbation of parliament. Without further preface, therefore, he should proceed to the important duty he had to perform, in stating the Supplies which had been voted for the service of the present year, and then in succession the correspondent Ways and Means which had been provided to defray those supplies. The committee would observe, that there were but few of the supplies which he had to enumerate, which had not been already voted; but as he went along, he proposed to point out what were yet to be voted by parliament. The supplies voted were:

SUPPLIES.		£.
Navy - - - - - - - - - - -		18,986,867
Army - - - - - - - - - - -		21,144,770
Ordnance,		
England - - -	5,275,298	5,903,174
Ireland - - - -	627,876	
Miscellaneous,		
England - - -	1,173,751	1,900,000
Ireland - - - -	726,249	
Vote of Credit,		
England - - -	3,000,000	3,300,000
Ireland - - - -	300,000	
Swedish Subsidy - - - - -		300,000
Sicilian Subsidy - - - - -		400,000
Total Joint Charge		51,934,911

England's Separate Charges.		
Def. Malt Duty, 1807,	366,211	1,927,0
Int. on Exch. Bills -	1,500,000	
5 per cents. 1797, - -	60,867	
Total Supplies		53,861,
Deduct Ireland's proportion of Supply and Civil List - - - -		6,273,
On account of England		47,588,0

To meet these Supplies, the articles ready voted, and those which he sho have the honour to propose, the Ways a Means provided, were as follow:—

WAYS AND MEANS.	£.
Duty on Malt, Pensions, &c. - -	3,000,
Estimated Surplus Consolidated Fund, to April 5, 1810 - - -	4,000,
Surplus Ways and Means, 1808 -	2,757,
War Taxes - - - - - - - - - - - -	19,000.
Lottery - - - - - - - - - - - - -	300,
Excess of Exchequer Bills, 49 Geo. 3, cap. 21. after reserving sufficient to pay off 7,345,200*l.* issued per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 7, the remainder having been funded - - - - - - - - - - -	3,154,
Excess of ditto, voted in the present Session, after reserving sufficient to pay off 4,644,100*l.* issued per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 114, the remainder having been funded - - - - - - - - - - -	1,355,
Exchequer Bills on Vote of Credit	3,000,
Repayment of Sum advanced to Portugal - - - - - - - - - -	150,
Loan - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	11,000,
	47,718,
Supplies - - - - - - - - - -	47,588,
Surplus Ways and Means - -	130,

He had next to state to the Committ and it was with satisfaction he sho state, the terms upon which the Loan been contracted for that morning. whole of the Loan for the year was fo teen millions six hundred thousand pou of which three millions were for Irela and six hundred thousand pounds for Prince Regent of Portugal, so that Loan for the service of England 11,000,000*l.* This Loan had been ta in part in the 4 per cents. partly in th per cents. and partly in the Long Annuit The particulars for every 100*l.* subscri were,

4 per Cents - - - - - - - -	£. 60	0
3 per Cents - - - - - - - -	60	0
Long Annuities - - - - - -	0	8

The amount of interest that would t be paid on each 100*l.* by the public,

g it upon the present prices of the
ive funds in which the Loan was
cted for, would be 4*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* a
interest, at which the public had
before been able to borrow money
e at which it was hardly possible
y individual, however well secured,
mpt his payment might be, to pro-
loan. It was not amiss to state in
ce the terms upon which, according
Convention entered into with the
Regent of Portugal, the loan of six
d thousand pounds to that prince
be secured both as to the payment
rest, and one per cent. sinking fund
repayment of the principal. The
which had been assigned for that
consisted of the revenues of the
of Madeira, together with a con-
nt of such produce of the Brazils as
ed to the Prince Regent to his agents
country, which property was to be
under the management of these
and the proceeds appropriated to
yment of the interest and sinking
nd the liquidation of the principal
loan.—It would be in the recollec-
the house, that in a former part of
ion he had submitted a proposition
ding eight millions of Exchequer
hich proposition had received the
n of that house. Though this opera-
d not proceeded to the full extent,
ne then expected, he was yet happy
ble to state to the Committee, that
which had actually been funded
the bill of the present session,
ed, within a fraction, to the sum
lly proposed, being not less than
00*l.* It became his duty on this
n to state to the Committee, that
pital created by that operation
ed in the 5 per cents to 7,877,308*l.*;
3 per cents, 386,336*l.*; amounting
whole to capital created 8,253,654*l.*
tal charge for management and
fund upon this capital was 495,221*l.*
tal charge upon the loan was
l. making the grand total charge
th operations 1,146,566*l.*—It might
factory to the house that he should
ke a comparison between the terms
ich the money had been raised for
vice of last year, and those upon
e had been able to effect the loan,
vide the other ways and means for
vice of the present year. The
of Exchequer Bills funded last
d not exceed four millions, and had
nded at an interest of 5*l.* 4*s.* 9¼*d.*
with a sinking fund charge of 1*l.* 1*s.* 2½*d.* per cent, making together a charge of 6*l.* 5*s.* 11¾*d.* The interest on the Exchequer Bills funded this year was 5*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.* which with a charge for sinking fund of 1*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* made a total charge of 6*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* per cent, being less than the charge incurred upon a similar operation last year; and this though the operation in the present year was considerably larger, (being nearly double) than that of last year. The loan of last year amounted to eight millions, and was raised at an interest of 4*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.* per cent. while the loan of the present year, amounting to more than fourteen millions, had been raised at an interest of 4*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* It would consequently be a satisfaction to the committee to perceive, that, notwithstanding the circumstances of the country, notwithstanding the increasing difficulties of, and the unavoidable increase in the public expenditure, yet the pressure had not borne upon the wealth of the country so as to disable it from making those exertions which the exigencies of the times called for, and the pressure of the war required. It was a proud consideration for the country, that though the financial operations required for the present year were so much greater than those of the last year, still, even under the increased and increasing pressure of the war, the terms upon which they had been effected were more advantageous than in any former instance, a circumstance which manifested opening prospects of prosperity, and shewed the preference given by those, whose opinions usually governed such transactions, to the circumstances and character of the present period. If the Sinking Fund were included in the estimate of the terms of the loan in both years, it would give a charge upon the loan of last year of 5*l.* 18*d.* 2*d.* per cent. whilst the charge upon the loan raised in the present year did not exceed 5*l.* 17*s.* 2½*d.*; and including the terms upon which the whole sums were raised in each year respectively, the comparison of charge was upon 13,693,253*l.* raised last year 6*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* per cent. upon the sum of 21,200,000*l.* raised in the present year, 5*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* per cent. being an advantage of 10½*d.* per cent. in favour of the present year. This comparison he felt it necessary to make for the satisfaction of the committee, and in order to shew that though the circumstances of the times required an increased expenditure, and additional

sacrifices, yet the confidence of the public had not been depressed, but was enhanced. In addition to this statement respecting the circumstances of the loan, and the increased confidence of the monied market, he had the satisfaction to add, that the gentlemen who had taken the loan were not likely to lose by it, as it was already, as he was informed, at a premium of 1½ per cent.—Having stated the amount of the total annual charge to be 1,146,566*l.* it became his duty, in the next place, to state the manner in which he proposed to defray that charge. When he had last year proposed some taxes, in addition to the means that had fallen in within the year, he mentioned that he was induced to that proceeding, by the consideration, that it was better to supply by new taxation the difference between the means that existed, and the sum necessary for the charge of the year, than to act upon the principle, which had been adopted by the noble lord opposite (lord H. Petty), about two years ago, which principle he had acted upon in the preceding parliament. The principle upon which that noble lord had proceeded was, that it would be more desirable to apply to the war taxes for three successive, years than to resort to any new sources of taxation. In the year in which the noble lord had adopted that principle, it had been acted upon; last year it had not, though but a very inconsiderable addition was made to the permanent taxes. In the present year it was his intention to apply to the war taxes, to provide for the greater part of the annual charge created, and not to impose any new tax whatever. He would not, however, be understood, when he declared his intention to apply to the war taxes this year as meaning, that in any future year he should adopt the same principle. The noble lord had, as he had already observed, suggested the propriety of suspending the progress of taxation for three years. He was ready to do justice to the noble lord for his intention to act upon his own principle, and was sure that he would have his concurrence in adopting it for the present year. Thus it would be acted upon during two years instead of three, as the noble lord originally proposed. Yet, if the noble lord should continue of opinion that the principle should be still further acted upon, he must allow, as he had distinctly stated on a former occasion, that a system adopted in contemplation of a given rate of expenditure should not continue to be acted upon, if that expenditure shou be increased. All those, who supported t proposition of the noble lord, would, he w sure, approve of his adoption of the pri ciple for the present year, and think it wise policy to abstain from new taxes, drawing upon the war taxes to meet t charges arising out of the financial arrang ments of the present year. The whole the charge would not, however, be to defrayed out of the war taxes. There w a bill at present before the house, for t consolidation of the customs, by the ope tion of which, by the way of regulati he expected to obtain an addition to t permanent taxes of 105,000*l.*; and in t calculation he believed he was within t sum that was likely to be produced. addition, to nearly the same amount, w to be expected from the operation of t Consolidation Bill, in the war taxes. T sum so gained would be applied in dim nution of the annual charge, so that should not have to apply to the war tax for much more than one million. He h suggested the propriety of taking a Vo of Credit for three millions for Englan but he trusted that it would not be e pected that he should go at any leng into an explanation of the manner in whi that sum might be applied. There wa however, one circumstance arising out the present state of the continent, whi he felt it to be his duty to communicate the house. Under the existing circu stances of the continent, it was not at t present moment thought desirable, th any definite arrangement should be ente ed into, which should give rise to any e pectation that his majesty would furni his allies with any very considerable pec niary assistance. However anxious h majesty's government might be to assi them in the struggle in which they we engaged, it was not their intention to hol out to those allies any expectation pecuniary aid, during the present year, a greater amount than would be covere by the Vote of Credit proposed. He ha also to state that, though no treaty ha been entered into with the Austrian g vernment previous to the war, nor an engagement made with that power, y an expectation did certainly exist on th part of that power, as to what this countr would do in the event of a war takin place. In consequence of this impressio without having had any communicatio with his majesty's government, the Au trian government, on the commenceme ar, had drawn bills upon this country ch bills it had not been deemed pay, until the circumstance should ioned to parliament. When the ived, he would confess, that it was ntion of his majesty's ministers, to is majesty to recommend to par to enable him to pay them.—If it meet with the concurrence of the . was proposed to pay the bills out Vote of Credit. [What is the pf these bills? was asked across the lord H. Petty] It was not easy tain yet; they might perhaps to 300,000*l.* But before any ap ion would be made for the pay these bills, it was considered ab necessary to procure the consent ction of parliament. This subject at that moment open for any dis nor could it properly be made ect of debate, until some specific uld be proposed upon the subject. asion, however, of stating to the e the Ways and Means of the peared to him to afford the most ate opportunity of communicating cumstance to the house, which, ry ground of propriety and duty, t to be kept back from parliament; whose concurrence no money appropriated to the case. Hav through all he had to state, he d with moving a Resolution for to the terms of the contract for .—On the question being put.

. Vansittart wished to know whe or what portion of the war taxes e saddled with the charges of the .

hancellor of the Exchequer replied, whole of the charges were to be ed from the war taxes, and parti hat part of them which came head of Excise.

I. Petty wished to offer a few ob s on one part of the right hon. n's statement, and particularly ch related to the bills drawn by rian government. The propriety ep would depend on the previous subsisting between the two coun explanation of which, he presum najesty's ministers would feel it ty to offer to the house before nt rose. That explanation would e whether that most extraordi , as he must characterize it, was ributed to his majesty's ministers, strian government. It would be impossible for him at present to touch further upon the subject, without trenching on that more widely extended subject, the propriety of granting subsidies to the powers of Europe in the present state of the continent. On that difficult question he would not attempt to lay down any general principle, for it was a question that must be always tried and determined by a particular reference to the specific cases that might arise, and to the circumstances under which the subsidies were required. This however, he should not hesitate to state, that great deliberation should precede any such issues of the public money, and that the considerations which influenced it should be most seriously weighed. He was willing to admit, that circumstances might arise, when subsidies for the continent ought to be granted almost to an indefinite extent, provided that the expectations entertained were commensurate with them. But this was a most serious consideration, and ought to be very cautiously weighed. If, indeed, any argument should weigh against the system of subsidizing, it would be found in the abuse of the periodical advances which this country had been of late in the habit of making to continental powers. It was notorious that some of these were diverted from the specific purposes for which they were granted; and that others were entirely inadequate to the objects they were intended to effect. This was particularly the case with regard to the Swedish subsidy. At the very time that they were projecting retrenchments in the Civil List, they were in the constant practice of remitting sums to Sweden equal to the whole amount of that branch of the national expenditure. The treaty with Sweden, according to the statements of ministers, had three objects in view. In the first place we were to obtain by it a greater facility for commercial arrangements, and specific advantages that should enable us the better to enforce the Orders in Council; and yet it was found that no commercial arrangement whatever had taken place, from that time to this between Sweden and this country; secondly we were to adopt and establish such a military concert with that power, as would enable her to carry on a successful war. Need it be asked what was done on this head, where a large military armament had been sent out from this country without being permitted to effect any thing? The present condition of Sweden shewed

how that particular object of the treaty had succeeded. The third object was to provide for the maintenance and pay of the Swedish army. The recent Revolution would show that object was answered. And here he must express his most poignant regret at the fate of that unhappy monarch, (for whatever might be his opinion of the policy and government of the king of Sweden, it was impossible not to feel for and lament fallen greatness) a fate which had been brought on by his inability to pay and to maintain his army. It appeared, therefore, that no one object of the treaty was answered; but the very reverse of what was proposed, and confidently expected, took place. With this example staring them in the face, and the considerations arising out of the particular circumstances of the times, and the state of this country, the house would be cautious how they sanctioned the system of subsidies. He wished it not to be supposed, from what he said, that he meant to express an absolute condemnation of the principle. He had no such intention. On the contrary, should an occasion arise to justify such an application of British resources, he would consent to very great sacrifices. To the Loan itself, and the principles upon which it was negociated, as well as the mode proposed for meeting the charges upon it, he gave his cordial approbation and concurrence. He was happy to find that the right hon. gent. had adopted the plan of not adding, during the year, to the burthens of the people. He could not, however, entirely approve the intention of mortgaging any part of the war taxes without providing an adequate fund for its speedy redemption. It would, he was persuaded, be productive, though not immediately perhaps, of much inconvenience. Besides an indefinite mortgage of these particular taxes might tend to excite an apprehension that they would be ultimately converted into permanent burthens. The practice, also, tended to undermine and weaken those great means and sinews of war. When a similar mode was proposed by him, it was with a view that it should be combined with a meliorating principle, by which its inconveniences would be gradually but rapidly remedied. With regard to the terms of the loan, he partook in the general satisfaction of the house. They were convincing proofs of the confidence and prosperity of the country. Although he might perhaps entertain some objections to the
particular funds in which the loan h
been effected, he could not withhold
pressing how happy he felt at so decid
a proof of our national prosperity.

Mr. Secretary *Canning*, although
agreed with many of the remarks of
noble lord, and particularly with t
which stated that the particular circu
stances were to be considered in the gra
ing of subsidies to continental powers,
yet a few observations to make on w
fell from him in the early part of
speech. As to the policy of subsidis
foreign powers it was impossible to
down any general rule on this subject.
any assistance that we might deem it
viseable to afford foreign powers, the p
priety as well as the extent of that ass
ance must depend on the value of the ef
to be made, and the particular circu
stances of the country at the time it
solicited. With respect to the Tre
with Sweden, which the noble lord
seized on as the ground for his argume
he had to state, that it was owing to
instigation of this country, that she
undertaken a war far above her streng
and which had been so disastrous in
consequences. If this country had ne
for many years, inculcated such a lin
conduct, so it was particularly true in
late struggle, when it was perfectly
derstood by Sweden, not only that we
no wish for her continuing the war,
that her making a separate peace, adv
tageous to herself, if it did not oblige
to become hostile to Great Britain, wo
be acceptable to this country. But wh
they did not instigate war, the governm
of this country were not prepared to p
their opinion to the extent of denying
means of supporting the other alternat
if Sweden made that election. The no
lord had not been in the house when
laid the Treaty before them, or that p
of his speech respecting the Subsidy wo
have been spared. With respect to
other powers, the noble lord had mis
derstood his right hon. friend, the Ch
cellor of the Exchequer. The same ab
nence he had noticed in our transacti
with Sweden, had been pre-eminently
tended to in our communications with A
tria. Government had stated that Aus
(as every nation was) was the best ju
of her own interests; that there was
disposition on the part of Great Brita
for the sake of any combination agai
the common enemy, or for any tempor
diversion in the cause of Spain, to h

committed in a premature struggle.
r much they might wish to see the
pposed, they could never desire to
ria engaged in war on any but
grounds. This was the uniform
all their communications with
ver. But they went no further ;
ed, at the same time, that if she
mitted in war with France for her
ence, it was their disposition to
r all the limited assistance which
of the times put in their power.
, therefore, in which she had vo-
engaged, was strictly upon Aus-
unds. It was not connected or
H with any British object or in-
he communications with the Aus-
ernment were few and precarious,
one of these communications was
ific promise of assistance held out
It was, indeed, stated to her, that
s likely to be engaged in an ine-
ontest, there would be a dispo-
assist her ; but that that dispo-
uld be greatly limited by the cir-
ces of the times. Indeed, the as-
n this respect was so restricted,
ad his doubts whether it would
te rather as a check than an en-
ent. There were also physical
in the way of making remit-
hich should convince that power
was not to place much reliance
mises of assistance, even though
cted, from this government. The
ry, however, to any assistance,
estoration of the former amicable
between the two governments.
considered as a just atonement to
try, and it was necessary to ena-
ajesty to make any communica-
pplication upon this subject, to
nt.—With respect to the Bills
d by his right hon. friend, he
nfirm what was already stated,
e the house that the Austrian go-
had no authority for that mea-
he bills were drawn by the Aus-
asury, on the supposition that the
thorized to restore the former re-
tween the two governments would
s country time enough to explain
ity of that step, and the circum-
hat induced it. It would not be
that he should make any harsh
on the conduct of the Austrian
ent ; but he could assure the
at measures had been taken to
ecurrence of a practice so incon-
n many respects ; among which, the very prejudicial effect that it would invariably produce on the course of exchange was not one of the least. No time was lost in transmitting a friendly remonstrance to the court of Vienna on the subject, and pointing out the inconvenience of the practice. They were told that if it was to be done at all, it must be done with the consent of parliament. Whatever extent of assistance was to be afforded to Austria or to any other power, it was not thought proper, for reasons that were obvious, to define it. It was thought best that his majesty should come to parliament and ask such assistance, in the shape of a Vote of Credit. When circumstances changed in every quarter, not only every month, but almost every day, it was impossible to measure the extent of the assistance that it might become the liberality, or be necessary for the interest, of this country to afford. The confidence, that parliament might find it adviseable to repose in his majesty's government, would not be abused. The resources that were placed at their disposal would be managed with caution, and all the discretion of which they were capable. It was unnecessary for him, at this period of the renewed relations with Austria, to say more on the subject.

Mr. *Ponsonby* commended the conduct of ministers in having, as they stated, so long left it entirely at the discretion of the sovereign of Sweden, to conclude peace when he should feel it adviseable; but in his opinion ministers ought to have gone farther, and strongly advised that that sovereign to conclude a peace. According to his judgment, that advice ought to have been offered, and the subsidy granted by this country withheld. No such subsidy ought to have been advanced for the last twelve months. It was not, indeed, improbable, that this money had served in a great measure to urge the unfortunate monarch who received it, to pursue his wild scheme and policy, which led to the overthrow of his government. He was glad to understand that ministers had no concern whatever in advising Austria to engage in the present war. Had they any influence, indeed, they would have used it more wisely in dissuading that government from any such proceeding; and if any money was meant to be advanced to Austria, he begged to be exempted from those who would sanction any such advances, which he was convinced could not be of the least use to Austria, while it would be an injury to this country.—However painful he might feel it to resist the idea of pecuniary assistance to Austria, considering the connection which so often subsisted between that country and this, and considering also the fidelity which that government had always manifested towards us, yet, such was his view of the present state of that power and of the prospects of England, that he could not suffer his sense of duty to be restrained by his feelings. If he thought that any pecuniary aid, in the power of this country to afford, could do any material good to Austria in her present situation, he would be the last man in the world to refuse it. But being persuaded of the contrary, and justly apprehending that as soon as the enemy had sheathed the sword now drawn against Austria he would turn his whole power against this country, which would have to contend against him single handed, requiring of course all its resources to maintain such a contest, he could not consent to any unnecessary waste of those resources. Therefore he would deprecate the idea of disposing of any part of our means, unless with a certainty, or, at least, reasonable probability that they could be so disposed of as to benefit the power to whom they were granted.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* wished to observe, lest his silence should be construed into any acquiescence in the right hon. gentlemen's statement, that ministers would not bind themselves as to the line of conduct which they might feel it expedient to adopt with respect to any pecuniary supplies to foreign powers.

Mr. *Whitbread* would have been much better pleased if the 600,000*l.* stated to have been granted as a loan to the prince of the Brazils had been at once presented as a gift, in order that the people might clearly understand the transaction; for considering the situation, the means, and the prospects of this prince, he thought it quite childish to hold out the idea that any re-payment would ever take place; that one shilling of it would ever be received by this country. It was, to be sure, stated, that the loan was to be repaid by the produce of the Brazils. What produce? He would ask, was it meant to pay it in sugar? The idea was preposterous. He did not like any attempt at delusion, and therefore he would rather have the thing represented as he had mentioned. He did not like to have things called loans which were never at all likely to be repaid. It would be remembered that at the time of Imperial Loan a good deal was said al securities for payment, to which he tended very little at the time, becaus had no reliance upon them, and time tified his opinion, although it was then riously stated, that the lenders could force payment by suing the empero his own courts (A laugh). Others, h ever, entertained a different opinion, the consequence was, they were extrem mortified and disappointed, while he only to lament the folly and credulit putting any confidence in so ridicu and unsubstantial a privilege. But respect to the Brazils, what produce c we receive from thence that would a compensate us? He was still less disp to rely upon the payment of this loa the Brazils, as the nature of the secur was not even mentioned, than he had b with respect to the loans to Austria. in fact, he could not conceive any secu in the power of the borrower in this stance to offer. As to Sweden, he curred with his right hon. friend, that nisters, who had such opportunities being well informed with respect to state and prospects of Sweden, particul upon the return of sir John Moore's ex dition from that country, ought no have continued the subsidy. He also curred with his right hon. friend upon impropriety of granting any subsidy Austria; but he would go further tha right hon. friend, for he would depre the payment of the 300,000*l* bills wh it appeared from the statement of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had b drawn upon our government without authority whatever to do so. That good could be done by any effort of tria now must be obvious. Had she deed, availed herself of Buonaparté's barrassments in Spain, at the period w some French reverses inspirited the niards, there might have been so chance that Buonaparté would have b considerably distressed and distract at least there would have been be prospects of success than could be cal lated upon at the time Austria commen hostilities, when in fact Spain was nea subdued. Austria, however, had not o been defective in prudence in the co mencement of this war, but even in fi lity to engagements which should alw bind a state, whether such engageme were formed with one party or anoth Ministers, in fact, should have advi not to engage in this war. They ot ignorant of her engagements and stances. It was well known that e last war into which she had been d by the counsels of this country, s reduced to the verge of ruin, and er escape and the reinstatement of vernment solely to the will of the with which she now so unwisely war.—It might be said that there precedent for such an interposition concerns of a foreign government, ould recommend on the part of mi- But he would not look to the Mr. Burke said, for direction upon and extraordinary case. Had mi- no penetration, no statesmanlike lge, to enable their minds to judge e propriety of interposing their ad- such an occasion? Were they to e themselves from offering advice Spain or Austria, because there precedent for such an offer; there o precedent simply because the hemselves were unprecedented? espect to the Vote of Credit for nental Services," as it was men- he would rather have it specifically vote of credit for Spain, as there continental nation whatever to any pecuniary grant should be If a subsidy to Austria had been l, he would have opposed it, he had stood single and alone on a of the house. In fact it appeared that they must be fools and mad- persisting to think that Austria ceed in a contest with France by f English gold. What were the s for Spain itself he could not pre- say. But he did not wish to give respecting Spain while life itself d, and therefore he was not willing the hands of ministers on that With the exception, however, of e could not see a spot in Europe n English guinea could be of any noy the enemy. He begged gen- bear in mind the very absurd and calculations sometimes made as to ise times and periods of the ene- akness, which were, in fact, but collect strength, as events had roved. If gentlemen would fol- advice contained in the admirable his deceased friend (Mr. Fox), uld occasionally stop in their and take a retrospect of the the purpose of guiding their con- ons upon the future. Had this advice been attended to, it was impossible that the absurd calculations he had mentioned could ever have had any weight. Having said thus much on that head, he begged to offer a few observations on a matter of domestic consideration contained in the Ways and Means for the present year. He meant the Lottery. Whoever had seriously considered the subject had agreed that it was one of the worst and last modes of raising money that could be resorted to. It was impossible to reprobate in too strong terms the impolicy and injustice of continuing the system of raising a revenue from lotteries; after all the evils which they were known to occasion, the wretchedness, desperation, and suicide to which they led. He was astonished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was himself addicted to no vice of this description, could patronize such a measure, particularly when he considered all that was universally notorious with regard to its tendency and consequences; when he recollected that Mr. Pitt had promised, that at the termination of the war, this odious plan of raising money should be abandoned for ever; and, above all, when he read the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the subject. All palliations were of no avail to cure this evil. For before that Committee, he heard with astonishment, the inspector employed by government (Wood) avow, that if the nefarious practice of insurances so much complained of, and which so many laws were framed to correct, were not tolerated or connived at, lotteries could not go on. Such was the confession of the officer of government, appointed to check this nefarious practice, of which it shewed, that he himself was guilty in conniving at it. He would take the liberty of asking, whether this person, after such a confession, was still in office? He did not ask with any view to submit a motion for his removal, because such a motion might alarm the country gentlemen, who might then determine to make their stand (a laugh). If Wood were brought to the Bar, he would probably say, that he had not done more than others had done before him; and it might be asked, why make any individual a victim for a mal-practice that was so general? Perhaps it would be said, that it was as notorious as the noon-day sun, and therefore ought not to be punished (a cry of hear! hear!). But these nefarious proceedings of insurances, &c. &c. which the Report to which he alluded so fully exposed, were still going on. While laws were enacted to put a stop to "Little Goes," the great "Go" was suffered to proceed without interruption; nay, with encouragement. The poor, the desperate, and the vicious were shut out from the "Little Go;" the "Great Go" invited and received them with open arms. Such a practice ought to be utterly extinguished (a loud cry of move, move!). It was idle and ridiculous to pretend to stop the destructive consequences of either, while the language held out was neither more nor less than this: if you go to the Little Goes, you shall be punished, but if you come to the Great Go, you shall be safe. He was very unwilling to detain the house unnecessarily, but there was one melancholy instance of the mischief attending this immoral mode of raising money, which he begged leave to mention, and which was contained amongst others in the appendix to the Report to which he had already referred. A woman in the middle class of life had unfortunately being seized with this lamentable mania of making a fortune by insurance in the lottery. In adventuring upon this sea of chance, she made away with all the money she was possessed of for family uses; and then, by way of retrieving her loss, she secretly and unknown to her husband, as was generally the case in these transactions, pledged first one and then another article of domestic furniture, till almost the whole was gone, and her ill luck still attending her, she was reduced almost to despair at the idea of being obliged to inform her husband of the imprudence of her conduct. She found, however, it was not to be avoided, and at length confessed her fault, and owned what she had done. The husband happened to be a man of a noble and generous nature, and being sensible of the amiable qualities of his wife, and satisfied with every other part of her conduct, he most humanely and instantly pronounced his forgiveness, which had so sudden and powerful an effect on her feelings, that it deprived her of her senses, and she now remains a miserable living monument of this detestable gambling, engendered and supported by lotteries, The hon. gent. related this fact with a degree of feeling that most sensibly impressed every one who heard him, and he concluded by saying, "that having brought it to a point beyond which he thought it could not go, he would by his vote record his objection to this mode of raising money."

Mr. *Ponsonby*, adverting to what h
fallen from the hon. gent. who had j
sat down, said, his lecture on the g
faith of France and the bad faith
Austria, must have an excellent eff
when spread by our newspapers o
the continent (Hear, hear!). He wish
to know upon what proof the hon. ge
rested the assertion that Austria broke fa
with France. For his part, he was qu
of a different opinion, and that Aus
was in hostility against France, beca
France was bent on her destruction. T
indeed, must, he thought, be obvious
every man who looked fairly at the s
of Europe, and that, whether Austria
tered into hostility or not, she was doom
to perish by the tyrant of France.
from what had escaped the hon. ge
it would seem that, in ascribing perfid
Austria, he meant it to be understood
fidelity was to be ascribed to the coun
of Buonaparté. The conclusion of
mind, however, was directly the revers
that of his hon. friend. With respec
lotteries, he had never any concern
them. He was adverse to the system,
would be ready to support any prop
tion for putting an end to its existence

Mr. Secretary *Canning* expressed an
tire concurrence in the sentiments so
stated by the right hon. gent. who
just sat down, with regard to the p
ciples and conduct of Austria. The
gent. who preceded him had obser
that ministers ought to have advised
tria to abstain from the war; he wi
be glad to know upon what ground
could justify the offer of such an adv
The hon. gent. must take a very stri
view of the character of the French R
if he could suppose that any country c
look to safety from being at peace with
a power. But an independent state
such a case was the best judge o
own views and circumstances. It wa
for the government of this or any
nation to dictate to it. He could say
Austria was in no degree influence
take the steps she had resorted to by
influence of any British interest.
forbid that any such attempt shoul
made! At the same time he must
that as safety was not to be had from p
with France, he should, of course, re
to see a great nation like Austria att
to seek it by tame submission and das
ly acquiescence. Whatever the pr
situation or future fortunes of A
might be, his opinion was, that as

Ruler was resolved upon her de- on, her fate would not be aggravated course she had taken. Upon the e thought Austria acted wisely in up arms, though he would not have t it wise on our part to advise it.

Whitbread observed, that the right cretary had, for the first time since at hon. friend came into that house, m a compliment this night. What! o be understood that there was a of Subsidy with his right honour- end?

Ponsonby assured his hon. friend, valued not such Subsidy! His ob- rising before was merely to correct e thought a misconception on the his hon. friend; by charging upon the bad faith which he attempted pon the counsels of Austria.

hancellor of the Exchequer could not lverting to the astonishment ex- by the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) right hon. gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) en prepared to discover the good Austria, and the bad faith of For his part, he was rather sur- that the hon. gent. who had no n the one side without any evi- whatever, should express so much ment at any difficulty felt by those e of a contrary opinion. He pre- he hon. gent. took his faith from ers of M. Champagny. On the bject spoken to by the hon. gen- it was not his intention to argue ight. The hon. gent. had said it eet with an abler advocate: that ed. The house had seldom or ever rgument come more forcibly home feelings; nor was it possible that ect could ever be in more able It would be for the house on some ccasion after this night to deter- he Lottery should ever again form he Ways and Means of the year. not, however, be taken for grant- use the guards against improper s in Lotteries had once failed, that st always fail. He was satisfied ot to the Lotteries but to the In- that the objection lay. He did that for the sake of a revenue of . a year, the house ought to give ction to any thing immoral or pro- of evil; but, at the same time, he or abandoning a financial resource ind without trying whether some might not be devised to remedy resulting from it. All he wished was, that no vote should take place on the subject this night.

Mr. *Wilberforce* could not rest satisfied without expressing upon this subject an opinion formed after much enquiry and consideration. He thought the speech of the hon. gent. on the floor, (Mr. Whitbread) the most forcible appeal he had ever heard made to that house. He agreed, that when we looked to the widely extended ravages of war, the evils arising from Lotteries might be thought of little importance; but when the vice was seen to have spread through every situation of common life, it seemed to him to be utterly astonishing that it could be defended. He should not press the matter at present. The right hon. gent. said, he should put a stop to the mischief by abolishing insurance; and he was sure his right hon. friend persuaded himself of that, or he would not for much more than 300,000*l.* sacrifice the victims it occasioned; but after the great men who had preceded his right hon. friend in the administration of the country had persuaded themselves it might be, and had been, put an end to, without this being the case, he thought his right hon. friend flattered himself in supposing, that he could do it effectually. Insurance, however, was not the only evil of lotteries. By dividing tickets into small shares, a spirit of gambling was disseminated, which was attended with the most serious evils to the lower classes. If they came to the question of the productiveness of the lottery tax, it would be found to have diminished from 600,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* and there was never any thing more true than that the sum which appeared to be sacrificed to morality would be far more than repaid other ways. By suppressing lotteries many would remain to enrich the country with their labours, whom the lottery would reduce into habits of idleness and extravagance. Where there was one instance of suicide and robbery consequent upon lotteries, there were a thousand instances of smaller evils. Often when the consequences of this practice did not lead to suicide, they went to destroy the seeds of happiness and of domestic enjoyment, and even these he thought it worth an effort in that house to preserve. It was 18 or 20 years ago, since the hon. member had first divided upon this question, and this lapse of time found his opinion unchanged. He had always protested against the measure, and now that its profits were so small, he hoped it would be dropped.

Sir *T. Turton* expressed himself satisfied with the explanation given with respect to Sweden, and his coincidence in sentiment with Mr. Ponsonby on the affairs of Austria. He however disapproved of the Loan, which he considered as less advantageous in the 4 and 5 per cents. than it would have been in the 3 per cents. The present system made too great a fund of the 4 per cents. He commented upon the enormousness of the demand for the expences of the army; and wished to direct the views of economists to the diminution of the standing army. He desired the house not to do any thing in a moment of heat respecting Lotteries, and wished to know if the same scale of exemptions and contributions on the Income Tax were to remain as last year.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said there were to be no new statutes this year respecting the Income Tax, they would act upon old laws.

Mr. *Huskisson* thought it useless to enter into the question respecting lotteries at that time: whatever might be their decision, it would be of little importance, as the subject would be brought before the house, when they would have an opportunity of expressing their sentiments of the measure. The hon. gent. proceeded to shew it would not have been an advantage to the country, had the loan been negociated in the 3 per cents, as had been suggested: for if the interest were less, it should be remembered, that as the capital grew larger, the amount of the sinking fund would increase, and consequently such an arrangement would not appear eminently economical. He concluded, defending the propriety of funding Exchequer Bills in the 5 per cents.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* was extremely sorry to hear his right honourable friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) treat the case of the Lottery as if it fell as a matter of course, to form part of the service of the year, without seeming to pay any attention to the Report of the Committee on that subject. The hon. baronet behind him had talked of not doing any thing in a moment of heat. Did the hon. baronet not know that a Committee had been appointed to inquire into this very subject: that that Committee, had reported during the last session; and that their Report had lain on the table from that time without any thing having been done upon it? The house was now situated as to this subject much in a similar way to
that in which they stood with regard
the Slave Trade some years ago.
house did allow that trade to continue
years after they had evidence of the
istence of the abuses practised in it.
knowledge, he was of opinion, added
finitely to the iniquity of the prac
On the same principle, he thought if
house, with the knowledge they now
of the evils attending lotteries, that t
drove some persons into mad-houses,
others into prisons, allowed the prac
to continue, the situation of things
very different from what it was be
His right hon. friend thought that
should be able to render lotteries
nitely less destructive than formerly,
to rob the system of all its evils. He
lieved the right hon. gent. expected
he would be able to accomplish this
ject. But he warned his right hon. fri
that whilst in so doing he thought he
limiting an evil, he was himself commi
it, though to a smaller extent than it
formerly been practised. He was st
send some persons to Botany Bay, the
they would be fewer in number than
formerly been sent on account of this
tice. He was to send fewer person
mad houses than had formerly been
thither on account of lotteries; but
he was still to continue to send. He
S. Romilly) had formerly attempte
improvement on the criminal law o
country. If the house could pass a
to do away temptations to commit cr
that would be the most effectual mo
improving the criminal code! But
were they now about to do?—to p
law to allow and encourage crime, by
couraging the temptation to comm
The most active agents were empl
to seduce persons to the commissi
the crimes to which Lotteries gave b
and the most ingenious paragraphs
invented to further this purpose.
could point out paragraphs holding
lures to apprentice-boys to embark in
trade, and to begin with their Chris
Boxes, under the assurance that, by p
verance, they would soon ride in
coaches. Formerly these practices
confined to the metropolis; now
were spread through every village in
kingdom. Yet, with all these evil
creased and growing on the system
right hon. friend held out that he w
be able to render the practice less p
cious. The public would thus be p
their guard; the system would spe

with all its pernicious effects;
e eyes of the public would be
for a season, but the system would
v revive.

Chuncellor of the Exchequer said,
ject had been discussed over and
ain, and that the result had been
ly in favour of Lotteries.

Whitbread alluded to the evidence
Wood, the Inspector of Lotteries,
now appeared, notwithstanding
ses which existed, thought he had
s to perform; that his was merely
rnal appointment. He was re-
o make a stand some day or other
Lotteries altogether, and not to
his man, who it appeared betrayed
to the public.

V. Smith considered the bills con-
Lotteries as libels on public mo-
ll as they were sanctioned by go-
nt, all the sense he entertained of
morals amounted to complete

Newport objected to Lotteries as a
ll measure. The test of a good tax
at it put into the Exchequer the
part of what was drawn out of
kets of the people. Here, however
ter part went into the hand of the

Babington opposed the continuance
ries. Though the Chancellor of
chequer purposed to do away a
il, could he shut his eyes against
nained?

Resolutions were then agreed to,
Report ordered to be received on
r.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 15.

ELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.] On the
the day for the second reading of
,

Erskine rose and said:—My Lords;
ow to propose to the humane con-
on of the house, a subject which
g occupied my attention, and
I own to your lordships is very
heart. It would be a painful and
ng detail, if I were to endeavour
g before you the almost innume-
nstances of cruelty to animals,
re daily occurring in this country,
ich, unfortunately, only gather
by any efforts of humanity in in-
s to repress them, without the aid
aw.—These unmanly and disgusting outrages are most frequently perpetrated by the basest and most worthless; incapable, for the most part, of any reproof which can reach the mind, and who know no more of the law, than that it suffers them to indulge their savage dispositions with impunity.—Nothing is more notorious than that it is not only useless, but dangerous, to poor suffering animals, to reprove their oppressors, or to threaten them with punishment. The general answer, with the addition of bitter oaths and increased cruelty, is, What is that to you?—If the offender be a servant, he curses you, and asks if you are his master? and if he be the master himself, he tells you that the animal is his own. Every one of your lordships must have witnessed scenes like this. A noble duke, whom I do not see in his place, told me only two days ago, that he had lately received this very answer. The validity of this most infamous and stupid defence arises from that defect in the law which I seek to remedy. Animals are considered as property only: to destroy or to abuse them, from malice to the proprietor, or with an intention injurious to his interest in them, is criminal; but the animals themselves are without protection; the law regards them not substantively; they have no rights!

I will not stop to examine whether public cruelty to animals may not be, under many circumstances, an indictable offence: I think it is, and if it be, it is so much the better for the argument I am about to submit to your lordships. But if even this were clearly so, it would fall very short of the principle which I mean anxiously and earnestly to invite the house to adopt. I am to ask your lordships, in the name of that God who gave to man his dominion over the lower world, to acknowledge and recognize that dominion to be a moral trust. It is a proposition which no man living can deny, without denying the whole foundation of our duties, and every thing the bill proposes will be found to be absolutely corollary to its establishment; except, indeed, that from circumstances inevitable, the enacting part will fall short of that which the indisputable principle of the preamble would warrant.

Nothing, my lords, in my opinion, is more interesting than to contemplate the helpless condition of man with all his godlike faculties, when stripped of the aids which he receives from the numerous classes of inferior beings, whose qualities,

and powers, and instincts, are admirably and wonderfully constructed for his use. If, in the examination of these qualities, powers, and instincts, we could discover nothing else but that admirable and wonderful construction for man's assistance; if we found no organs in the animals for their own gratification and happiness; no sensibility to pain or pleasure; no grateful sense of kindness, nor suffering from neglect or injury; no senses analogous, though inferior to our own: if we discovered, in short, nothing but mere animated matter, obviously and exclusively subservient to human purposes, it would be difficult to maintain that the dominion over them was a trust; in any other sense at least than to make the best use for ourselves of the property in them which Providence had given us. But, my lords, it calls for no deep or extended skill in natural history to know that the very reverse of this is the case, and that God is the benevolent and impartial author of all that he has created. For every animal which comes in contact with man, and whose powers, and qualities, and instincts, are obviously constructed for his use, nature has taken the same care to provide, and as carefully and bountifully as for man himself, organs and feelings for its own enjoyment and happiness. Almost every sense bestowed upon man is equally bestowed upon them; seeing, hearing, feeling, thinking; the sense of pain and pleasure; the passions of love and anger; sensibility to kindness, and pangs from unkindness and neglect, are inseparable characteristics of their natures as much as of our own. Add to this, my lords, that the justest and tenderest consideration of this benevolent system of nature is not only consistent with the fullest dominion of man over the lower world, but establishes and improves it. In this, as in every thing else, the whole moral system is inculcated by the pursuit of our own happiness. In this, as in all other things, our duties and our interests are inseparable. I defy any man to point out any one abuse of a brute which is property, by its owner, which is not directly against his own interest. Is it possible then, my lords, to contemplate this wonderful arrangement, and to doubt for a single moment that our dominion over animals is a trust? They are created indeed for our use, but not for our abuse. Their freedom and enjoyments, when they cease to be consistent with our just dominion and enjoyments, can be no
part of their natures; but whilst they
consistent, I say their rights, subserv
as they are, ought to be as sacred as
own. And although certainly, my l
there can be no law for man in that
spect, but such as he makes for him
yet I cannot conceive any thing
sublime, or interesting, more gratef
heaven, or more beneficial to the w
than to see such a spontaneous rest
imposed by man upon himself.

This subject is most justly treate
one of the best poets in our langu
Mr. Cowper, in the Task, says:

> The sum is this. If man's convenience, h
> Or safety, interfere, his rights and claims
> Are paramount, and must extinguish thei
> Else they are all—the meanest things tha

He then proceeds in a most affecting
sublime appeal to our humanity and
tice. I have not a sufficient recolle
of it, and I will not destroy the effect
by misrepeating it.

The same subject is touched upo
most eloquent prose, in the theolo
works of Mr. Jones, which were put
my hands the other day by my wo
and excellent friend at your table. [
lord Erskine read an extract.] Mr. Yo
of Trinity college Cambridge, has
published an excellent treatise on the
ject; and many of the most worthy
respectable of the clergy have done ho
to their sacred functions, by impre
upon their congregations the divine
mands, as it regards this important du

Every other branch of our duties,
subject to frequent violation, has bee
cognized and inculcated by our laws;
the breaches of them repressed by pu
ments. And why not in this, where
duties are so important, so universally
tended, and the breaches of them so
quent and so abominable?—But in w
am proposing to your lordships, disi
ested virtue, as in all other cases, will
its own certain reward. The huma
you shall extend to the lower creation
come abundantly round in its co
quences to the whole human race.
moral sense which this law will aw
and inculcate, cannot but have a
powerful effect upon our feelings
sympathies for one another. The
lences and outrages committed by
lower orders of the people are ofte
more owing to want of thought and re
tion, than to any malignant principle,
whatever, therefore, sets them a thin
upon the duties of humanity, more

here they have no rivalries nor re-
sts, and where there is a peculiar
ty in forbearance and compassion,
vident tendency to soften their na-
nd to moderate their passions in
alings with one another.—The ef-
laws which promulgate a sound
rinciple is incalculable; I have
in a thousand instances, and it is
le to describe its value.

rds, it was in consequence of these
views, and on those indisputable
es, that I have framed the preamble
ery short bill which I now present
cond reading to the house. I
without preamble or preface, have
l at once to enact, if not to declare,
nd wanton cruelty to the animals
ended in it to be a misdemeanor,
as I now do to the Commons, to
the sanction of the law by pecu-
enalties. But then the grand effi-
principle would have been ob-
which, if fortunately adopted by
dships, will enact this law as a
eous rule in the mind of every man
ds it—which will make every hu-
om a sanctuary against cruelty—
ill extend the influence of a British
beyond even the vast bounds of
jurisdiction, and consecrate, per-
all nations, and in all ages, that
eternal principle which binds the
iving world in one harmonious
nder the dominion of enlightened
lord and governor of all.

now read to your lordships the
e as I have framed it: "Whereas
leased Almighty God to subdue
ominion, use, and comfort of man,
gth and faculties of many useful
and to provide others for his food;
ereas the abuse of that dominion
and oppressive treatment of such
is not only highly unjust and im-
ut most pernicious in its example,
n evident tendency to harden the
ainst the natural feelings of hu-
" This preamble may be objected
o solemn and unusual in its lan-
but it must be recollected that the
of the bill is most peculiar and
; and it being impossible to give
ble effect to the principle in its
nt, it became the more necessary,
ng a duty of imperfect obligation
egal restraints would be inefficaa-
impossible, to employ language
d to make the deepest impression
e human mind, so as to produce, perhaps, more than the effect of law, where the ordinary sanctions of law were wanting.

It may be now asked, my lords, why, if the principle of the bill be justly unfolded by this preamble, the enacting part falls so very short of protecting the whole animal world, or at all events those parts of it which come within the reach of man, and which may be subject to abuse. To that I answer—It does protect them to a certain degree, by the very principle which I have been submitting to your consideration, and to protect them further, would be found to be attended with insurmountable difficulties, and the whole bill might be wrecked by an impracticable effort to extend it. But I shall be happy to follow others in the attempt. The bill, however, as it regards all animals, creates a duty of imperfect obligation, and your lordships are very well aware that there are very many and most manifest and important moral duties, the breaches of which human laws cannot practically deal with, and this I fear will be found to be the case in the subject now under consideration.

Animals living in a state of nature would soon over-run the earth, and eat up and consume all the sustenance of man, if not kept down by the ordinary pursuits and destruction of them, by the only means in which they can be kept down and destroyed; and it is remarkable that other animals have been formed by nature, with most manifest instincts to assist us in this necessary exercise of dominion; and indeed, without the act of man, these animals would themselves prey upon one another, and thus be visited by death, the inevitable lot of all created things, in more painful and frightful shapes. They have, besides, no knowledge of the future, and their end, when appropriated fitly for our food, is without prolonged suffering. This economy of providence, as it regards animals, which from age to age have lived in an unreclaimed state, devoted to the use of man and of each other, may serve to reconcile the mind to that mysterious state of things in the present fallen and imperfect condition of the world.—This state of wild animals is further strikingly illustrated by the view of such of them as have been spared from the humane huntsman, or the more numerous tribes of animals of prey. They are swept away by the elements in hard winters, retiring, as most of them do, to a solitary, protracted, and painful death.—Old age, my lords, even amongst men, is but a rare blessing;

amongst such brutes, perhaps never. Old age can only be supported in comfort by that aid and tenderness from others, arising from the consciousness of those ties of nature, which it has not pleased the divine providence to dispense to the lower world, but which, as the greatest of all blessings, it has communicated to man. When the brutes have fulfilled their duties to their young, for their protection, they know them no more, and die of old age, or cold, or hunger, in view of one another, without sympathy, or mutual assistance, or comfort.—It is the same to a certain extent with regard to those reclaimed animals devoted to man's use for food, whose faculties, as far as our observation is capable of a just comparison, approach nearer to human reason. The old age even of such animals, for the reasons adverted to, would seldom be satisfactory. When they pass, therefore, from life to death, in a manner which gives them no foretaste of their doom, and consequently no sense of pain or sorrow in the road to it, the ways of God are justified to man.

The Bill, therefore, as it regards wild animals, could not easily have been framed for practicable operation, except by sanctioning, as it does, the principle of the preamble, which will, I trust, insensibly extend its influence to the protection of every thing that has life; by bringing habitually into the view of the mind the duties of imperfect obligation which it inculcates; and with regard to animals bred by man, or reclaimed for food, it will directly protect them against the cruelties which are generally committed on them, viz. the unmercifully driving them and beating them on their passage to fairs and markets, and against unnecessary sufferings in the hour of death.

Before I leave this part of the subject, I think it right to advert to the practice of Bull-Baiting. I did not intend to have touched on it, but as I find that some who support the principle of this bill, feel a difficulty as it regards this practice, it becomes necessary to consider how it will be affected by its operation. A bill was brought into the house of commons, whilst I had the honour of a seat there, to repress this practice, but not upon the true principle. The framers of it were, I am persuaded, actuated by motives of humanity; but they mixed with it very laudable objects of human policy, which rather obscured the principle of protection to the animals. One great object of the bill, and it was laudable on that account, to put an end to sports which led away servants and labourers of manufacture husbandry from the service of their ters.—The attack upon bull-baiting c ing in this questionable shape, was fended as politic by talents capable o fending any thing; but talents (I am re to admit) possessed by a person of as mane and feeling a mind as ever dis guished any man—a man, besides, most beautiful genius, and whom I always esteemed and honoured (Mr. W ham). The truth is, my lords, that matter was never fairly presented to heart, and his intellect had got a wr bias upon the subject. I shall not, h ever, come in contact with my excel friend in his different view of this subj This Bill says not a word about bull-b ing. I only include a bull in my c logue of protected animals. They, the fore, who support the practice, may support it successfully, if they can c vince a court and jury, and the other m gistracies of their countrymen, that it d not fall within the description of wilful wanton cruelty; and if that shall be general feeling of courts and magistra on the subject, the practice will cease to supported.

As to the tendency of barbarous spo of any kind or description whatsoever, nourish the national characteristic of m liness and courage, the only shadow argument I ever heard upon such occasio all I can say is this: that from the m cenary battles of the lowest of beasts (human boxers), up to those of the hig est and noblest that are tormented by m for his degrading pastime, I enter public protest against it. I never knew man remarkable for heroic bravery, wh very aspect was not lighted up by gent ness and humanity; nor a kill-him nor e him countenance that did not cover t heart of a bully or a poltroon.—As other reclaimed animals which are not d voted to our use as food, but which a most wonderfully organized to assist m in the cultivation of the earth, and by the superior activity and strength to lessen h labour, in the whole circle of his co cerns, different protections become nece sary, and they are also provided for by th bill, and without the loss or abridgment any one right of property in such animal On the contrary, all its provisions prote them, as property, from the abuses of tho to whose care and government their own

obliged to commit them. They
ch the owners themselves, if, from
linate desire of gain, or other selfish
ration, they abuse the animals,
operty in which is limited to the use.
uld be wasting your lordships' time
e to enumerate the probable cases
his part of the bill will compre-
It is well observed by an Italian
pher, "that no man desires to hear
e has already seen." Your lord-
annot have walked the streets, or
d on the roads, without being per-
asters of this part of the subject.
nnot but have been almost daily
es to most disgusting cruelties prac-
on beasts of carriage and burthen,
violence and brutality of their dri-
To distinguish such brutality and
l violence, from severe, but some-
ecessary discipline, may at first
pear difficult, and on that account
s objection to the bill; but when
o that part of the subject, I pledge
o shew that it involves no difficulty
ver. But there are other abuses
e frequent and important, which
quire a more particular consi-
.. For one act of cruelty in ser-
ere are an hundred in the owners
s of labour and burthen, sometimes
ed by the owners alone, from a
us desire of gain, and sometimes
t unworthy partnership with their
s, who are equally guilty, with no
all, nor for any motive that it
ot be disgraceful to acknowledge.
my lords, to our unhappy post-
It is not my wish, my lords, to be
l reformer of the world, nor to
at the manners and customs of a
ivilized nation, should be brought
andard of simplicity and virtue, if
uch a standard ever existed upon
I do not seek to appoint inspectors
ne the books of inn-keepers, so as
any excess in the numbers of
ges, as you do an excess of outside
rs on the roofs of coaches. I
ere are very many cases (which
ot be brought strictly within the
necessities) where these poor ani-
st grievously suffer, yet where no
properly reach to protect them.
nands, though not imminent, of
health, and even of convenience;
sional exigencies of commerce;
cise of franchises, and many other
hich must occur to every body,
nish obvious exceptions without

violation of the principle, and which every court and magistrate would know how to distinguish. But the bill, if properly executed, would expose inn-keepers to a reasonable punishment, who will palpably devote an innocent animal to extreme misery, if not to death itself, by a manifest and outrageous excess of labour, rather than disoblige a mere traveller, engaged in no extraordinary business, lest in future he should go to the inn opposite—when the law shall give a rule for both sides of the way, this most infamous competition will be at an end.

For my own part, my lords, I can say with the greatest sincerity to your lordships, that nothing has ever excited in my mind greater disgust, than to observe what we all of us are obliged to see every day in our lives—horses panting—what do I say! literally dying under the scourge, when on looking into the chaises, we see them carrying to and from London men and women, to whom or to others it can be of no possible signification whether they arrive one day sooner or later, and sometimes indeed whether they ever arrive at all. More than half the post-horses that die from abuse in harness, are killed by people, who, but for the mischief I am complaining of, would fall into the class described by Mr. Sterne, of simple or harmless travellers, galloping over our roads for neither good nor evil, but to fill up the dreary blank in unoccupied life. I can see no reason why all such travellers should not endeavour to overcome the *ennui* of their lives without killing poor animals, more innocent and more useful than themselves. To speak gravely, my lords, I maintain that human idleness ought not to be permitted, by the laws of enlightened man, to tax for nothing, beyond the powers which God has given them, the animals which his benevolence has created for our assistance.

But another abuse exists, not less frequent, and much more shocking, because committed under the deliberate calculation of intolerable avarice. I allude to the practice of buying up horses when past their strength, from old age or disease, upon the computation (I mean to speak literally) of how many days torture and oppression they are capable of living under, so as to return a profit with the addition of the flesh and skin, when brought to one of the numerous houses appropriated for the slaughter of horses. If this practice only extended to carrying on the fair work of horses to the very latest period of labour, instead of destroying them when old or disabled, I should approve instead of condemning it. But it is most notorious, that with the value of such animals all care of them is generally at an end, and you see them (I speak literally, and of a systematic abuse) sinking and dying under loads, which no man living would have set the same horse to, when in the meridian of his strength and youth.

This horrid abuse, my lords, which appears at first view to be incapable of aggravation, is nevertheless most shockingly aggravated when the period arrives at which one would think cruelty must necessarily cease, when exhausted nature is ready to bestow the deliverance of death. But even then, a new and most atrocious system of torture commences, of which, my lords, I could myself be a witness in your committee, as it was proved to my own perfect satisfaction, and that of my friend Mr. Jekyll, upon the information of a worthy magistrate, who called our attention to the abuse. But perhaps, my lords, I shall better describe it, as it will at the same time afford an additional proof of these hideous practices, and of their existence at this hour, by reading a letter which I received but two days ago, the facts of which I am ready to bring in proof before your lordships.—Here lord Erskine read an extract from a letter which stated, "A very general practice of buying up horses still alive, but not capable of being even further abused by any kind of labour. These horses, it appeared, were carried in great numbers to slaughter-houses, but not killed at once for their flesh and skins, but left without sustenance, and literally starved to death, that the market might be gradually fed. The poor animals, in the mean time, being reduced to eat their own dung, and frequently gnawing one another's manes in the agonies of hunger."

Can there be a doubt, my lords, that all such shocking practices should be considered and punished as misdemeanors? Here again it may be said that the bill, in this part of it, will invest magistrates with a novel and dangerous discretion. I am not yet arrived at that part of the case, though I am fast approaching it; when I do, I pledge myself without fear to maintain the contrary, to the satisfaction of every one of your lordships, more especially including the learned lords of the house. No less frequent and wicked an abuse is the manifest overloading of c riages and animals of burden, particula asses, and as far as this poor animal is j justly considered an emblem of stupid the owners who thus oppress him are greatest asses of the two. The same n be said of keeping animals without a quate food to support their strength, even their existence; this frequently h pens to beasts impounded for trespasse I have had complaints of this abuse fr all parts of the country. The notice the owner is seldom served, and thus poor innocent animal is left to starve the pound.—As far as an animal is co sidered merely as property, this may all very well, and the owner must f him out at his peril, but when the anima looked to, upon the principle of this bill, impounder ought to feed him, and char it to the owner as part of the damages.

Only one other offence remains, wh I think it necessary to advert to, which is difficult sufficiently to expose and sti matize, from the impudence with which is every day committed, as if the perp trators of this kind of wickedness we engaged in something extremely ent taining and innocent, if not meritoriou I allude to those extravagant betts for tr ing the strength and indurance of horse not those animating races, properly called, which the horse really enjoys, a which, though undoubtedly attended wi collateral evils, has tended greatly to i prove the breed of that noble and usef animal. The contests which I consider wilful and wanton cruelty, are of a di ferent kind; I maintain that no ma without being guilty of that great crim can put it upon the uncertain and merc nary die, whether in races against tim no; not properly so called, but rath journeys of great distances within limit periods, the exertions shall very far exce the ordinary power which nature has b stowed on the unhappy creature, th wickedly and inhumanly perverted fro the benevolent purposes of their existenc

All the observations I have just bee making to your lordships, undoubtedly ap ply to the maliciously tormenting an animal whatsoever, more especially ani mals which we have voluntarily reclaime and domesticated; and yet I fairly ow to your lordships; that as the Bill was ori ginally drawn, and as it stood until a fe days ago, it would not have reached man shameful and degrading practices. Th truth is, that I was afraid to run too rapid rectly against prejudices. But on ng with very enlightened and men, I took courage in my own intention, and introduced the con- clause, which comprehended the v and wantonly tormenting any d animal; the effect of which in I will explain hereafter, when I shew the practicability of execut- law without trespassing upon the ts and privileges of mankind. If dships, however, shall ultimately om me in this part of the subject, strike out this clause in the com- I have purposely kept it quite dis- l separate from the rest of the Bill, inally framed it, being resolved to easy sail at first, for fear of over- ny vessel in a new and dangerous on.

w come, my lords, to the second he case, which will occupy but a rtion of your lordships' time, on am afraid I have trespassed but already. (Hear! hear!) Suppos- , your lordships to be desirous of ing to the principles I have open- u, and to feel the propriety of en- ng to prevent, as far as possible, man cruelties practised upon ani- general and so notorious, as to more particular statement of them essary as it would have been dis- the main question will then arise, v the jurisdiction erected by this shall pass into a law, may be exe- y courts and magistrates, without them with a new and arbitrary n.

rds, I feel the great importance onsideration, and I have no desire from it; on the contrary I invite dships to the closest investigation d for that purpose, I will myself e every possible objection of that on, and give your lordships, in a words, the most decisive answers —How, it may be first asked, are tes to distinguish between the jus- abours of the animal, which from ecessities is often most fatiguing, rently excessive, and that real ex- ch the Bill seeks to punish as wil- wanton cruelty? How are they to sh between the blows which are y, when beasts of labour are lazy tory, or even blows of sudden pas- temper, from deliberate, cold- ferocious cruelty, which we see every day we live, and which have a tendency, as the preamble recites, to harden the heart against all the impulses of humanity?—How, in the same manner, are they to distinguish between the fatigues and sufferings of beasts for slaughter, in their melancholy journeys to death in our markets, from unnecessary and therefore barbarous aggravations of them?

Here, my lords, I am at home; here I know my course so completely, that I can scarcely err. I am no speculator upon the effect of the law which I propose to you, as the wisest legislators must often be, who are not practically acquainted with the administration of justice. Having passed my life in our courts of law when filled with the greatest judges, and with the ablest advocates, who from time to time have since added to their number, I know with the utmost precision the effect of it in practice, and I pledge myself to your lordships, that the execution of the Bill, if it passes into law, will be found to be most simple and easy; raising up no new principles of law, and giving to courts no larger discretion, nor more difficult subjects for judgment than they are in the constant course of exercising.

First of all, my lords, the law I propose to your lordships is not likely to be attended with abuse in prosecution, a very great, but I am afraid an incurable, evil in the penal code. I stimulate no mercenary informers, which I admit often to be necessary to give effect to criminal justice. I place the lower world entirely under the genuine unbought sympathies of man.—No one is likely to prosecute by indictment, or to carry a person before a magistrate, without probable, or rather without obvious and flagrant cause, when he can derive no personal benefit from the prosecution, nor carry it on without trouble and expence. The law is, therefore, more open to the charge of inefficacy than of vexation.—It can indeed have no operation except when compassionate men (and I trust they will become more numerous from the moral sense which this Bill is calculated to awaken), shall set the law in motion against manifest and disgusting offenders, to deliver themselves from the pain and horror which the immediate view of wilful and wanton cruelty is capable of exciting, or is rather sure to excite in a generous nature.—What possible difficulty, then, can be imposed upon the magistrate, who has only to judge upon hearing, from his own human feelings, what such disinterested informers have judged of from having seen and felt. The task is surely most easy, and by no means novel. Indeed, the whole administration of law, in many analogous cases, consists in nothing else but in discriminations generally more difficult in cases of personal wrongs.

Cruelty to an apprentice, by beating, or over labour, is judged of daily upon the very principle which this Bill will bring into action in the case of an oppressed animal.—To distinguish the severest discipline to command obedience, and to enforce activity in such dependents from brutal ferocity and cruelty, never yet puzzled a judge or a jury, never at least in my very long experience; and when want of sustenance is the complaint, the most culpable over-frugality is never confounded with a wicked and malicious privation of food.—The same distinctions occur frequently, upon the plea of moderate chastisement, when any other servant complains of his master, or when it becomes necessary to measure the degree of violence, which is justifiable in repelling violence, or in the preservation of rights.

In the same manner the damage from a frivolous assault or of a battery, the effect of provocation or sudden temper, is daily distinguished in our courts, from a severe and cold-blooded outrage. A hasty word, which just conveys matter that is actionable, is in the same manner distinguished in a moment from malignant and dangerous slander. Mistakes in the extent of authority, which happen every day in the discharge of the complicated duties of the magistracy, are never confounded for a moment, even when they have trenched severely upon personal liberty, with an arbitrary and tyrannous imprisonment. Unguarded or slight trespasses upon property, real or personal, are in the same way the daily subjects of distinction from malicious deprivations of rights, or serious interruptions of their enjoyment.—Similar, or rather nicer distinctions, are occurring daily in our courts; when Libel or no Libel is the question. A line must be drawn between injurious calumny, and fair, though perhaps unpleasant animadversion; but plain good sense without legal subtlety is sure to settle it with justice; so every man may enjoy what is his own, but not to the injury of his neighbour. What is an injury, or what only a loss, without being injurious, is the question in all cases of nuisance, and they are satisfactorily settled by the common understandings and feelings of mankind.

My lords, there would be no end
these analogies; if I were to pursue them
I might bring my whole professional li
for near thirty years, in review before yo
lordships.—I appeal to the learned lor
of the house, whether these distinctions a
not of daily occurrence; I appeal to n
noble and learned friend on the woolsac
whether, when he sat as Chief Justice
the Common Pleas, he found any difi
culty in these distinctions; I appeal to n
noble and learned friend, who sits just b
him, whose useful and valuable life
wholly occupied amidst these questio
whether they are doubtful and dangero
in the decision, and whether they are n
precisely in point with the difficulti
which I have anticipated, or with a
others which opponents to the Bill c
possibly anticipate; I make a similar a
peal to another noble and learned frien
who has filled the highest situation, I d
not see him at this moment in his plac
but to him also, I might make the sam
fearless application.—I cannot, there
fore, conceive a case on which a magi
trate would be exposed to any diff
culty under this bill, if it should pass in
a law.—The cruelties which I have alre
dy adverted to, are either committed b
owners or by servants charged with th
care and government of horses and oth
cattle. If the owner unmercifully direc
them to be driven to most unreasonab
distances, or with burthens manifestly be
yond their powers; if he brings them u
when past the age of strength, not for
use correspondent to their condition, bu
upon the barbarous and wicked computa
tion of how long they can be tortured t
profit; in neither of these cases can th
cruelty be imputed to the servant who
you meet upon the road, struggling t
perform the unjust commands of his em
ployer. The master is the obvious cul
prit; "respondeat superior;" the specta
tors and the servant are the witnesses; an
these are the cases where an indictmen
would operate as a most useful example
without oppression to those who thus of
fend systematically against every princi
ple of humanity and justice.

On the other hand, when no cruel com
mands are given to the servant, but hi
own malice offends at once against hi
master and the unhappy animal which h
wickedly abuses, he of course is alone re
sponsible; and these are the cases i
which a summary jurisdiction would b
most generally resorted to, as more fa

e at once to the disinterested in-
and to the offender, who would be
nished with a small penalty, and
ered from an expensive prosecu-
The other house of parliament will
t accomplish this in the further
s of the bill.

in neither of these cases, which
end indeed every abuse which the
ends to, is there any kind of danger
will work oppression, or produce
nty in decision.—A man cannot, if
er, be the subject of an indictment,
he may have been less considerate
rciful than he ought to be; nor if
nt, for an unreasonable blow of
upon an unmanageable charge.
r lords. Every indictment or in-
on before a magistrate must charge
nce, to be committed maliciously,
h wanton cruelty, and the proof
rrespond with the charge. This
kes no act whatever a misdemeanor
s not plainly indicate to the court
strate a malicious and wicked in-
ut this generality is so far from
ng uncertainty, that I appeal to
member in our great profession,
, on the contrary, it is not in fa-
the accused, and analogous to our
erciful principles of criminal jus-
far from involving the magistrate
tful discriminations, he must be
shocked and disgusted before he
o exercise his authority over ano-
He must find malicious cruelty;
t that is can never be a matter of
nty or doubt, because nature has
a standard in the human heart, by
may be surely ascertained.—This
ation surely removes every diffi-
m the last clause, which protects
ful, malicious, and wanton cruel-
eclaimed animals. Whatever may
reatures which, by your own vo-
act, you choose to take from the
hich nature has allotted to them,
t be supposed to exercise this ad-
lominion, for use, or for pleasure,
curiosity. If for use, enjoy that
s plenitude; if the animal be fit
enjoy it decently for food; if for
, enjoy that pleasure, by taxing all
ties for your comfort; if for cu-
indulge it to the full. The more
ourselves with all created matter,
or inanimate, the more we shall
up to the contemplation of God.
er let it be said, that the law
ndulge us in the most atrocious of all propensities, which, when habitually indulged in, on beings beneath us, destroys every security of human life, by hardening the heart for the perpetration of all crimes.

The times in which we live, my lords, have read us an awful lesson upon the importance of preserving the moral sympathies. We have seen that the highest state of refinement and civilization will not secure them. I solemnly protest against any allusion to the causes of the revolutions which are yet shaking the world, or to the crimes or mistakes of any individuals in any nation; but it connects itself with my subject to remark, that even in struggles for human rights and privileges, sincere and laudable as they occasionally may have been, all human rights and privileges have been trampled upon, by barbarities far more shocking than those of the most barbarous nations, because they have not merely extinguished natural unconnected life, but have destroyed (I trust only for a season) the social happiness and independence of mankind, raising up tyrants to oppress them all in the end, by beginning with the oppression of each other. All this, my lords, has arisen from neglecting the cultivation of the moral sense, the best security of states, and the greatest consolation of the world.

My lords, I will trouble your lordships no longer than with admitting, for the sake of the argument, that there may be cases, especially in the beginning, where the execution of the bill may call for the exercise of high judicial consideration, through the dignity and learning of the supreme court of criminal jurisdiction. And here I cannot help saying, that it adds greatly to the security I feel upon this part of the subject, that when the bill shall have received the sanction of parliament, it will be delivered over to my noble and learned friend, who presides so ably in the court of King's Bench. From his high authority, the inferior magistracies will receive its just interpretation, and from his manly and expressive eloquence, will be added a most useful inculcation of its obligations; for I must once again impress upon your lordships' minds, the great, the incalculable effect of wise laws, when ably administered upon the feelings and morals of mankind. We may be said, my lords, to be in a manner new created by them. Under the auspices of religion, in whose steps they must ever tread, to maintain the character of wisdom, they make all the difference between the savages of the wilderness and the audience I am now addressing.—The cruelties which we daily deplore, in children and in youth, arise from defect in education, and that defect in education from the very defect in the law, which I ask your lordships to remedy. From the moral sense of the parent re-animated, or rather in this branch created by the law, the next generation will feel, in the first dawn of their ideas, the august relation they stand in to the lower world, and the trust which their station in the universe imposes on them, and it will not be left to a future Sterne to remind us, when we put aside even a harmless insect, that the world is large enough for both. This extension of benevolence to objects beneath us, become habitual by a sense of duty inculcated by law, will reflect back upon our sympathies to one another, so that I may venture to say firmly to your lordships, that the bill I propose to you, if it shall receive the sanction of parliament, will not only be an honour to the country, but an æra in the history of the world.

The *Lord Chancellor* approved of the principle of the bill, but thought the application of it attended with some difficulty. That, however, was a matter of consideration for a Committee, and in that stage of the proceeding he would give the measure every possible attention.

The bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 15.

[STORE-KEEPER IN HYDE-PARK.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose to call the attention of the house to a subject, trivial certainly in one point of view, though of some importance in another, and relative to which he proposed to offer a motion. It was a disgusting circumstance which ought not to exist; namely, the appointment of a person to the office of Ordnance Store-keeper in Hyde-Park, with a salary of 120*l.* a year, a comfortable house to live in, with allowances of coals, candles, and other perquisites; and this a person who never had served the country an hour in army or navy, and also a foreigner. This situation ought to have been conferred on some meritorious old officer, worn out in the service; and many hundreds of such, he was sorry to say, there were pining out the evening of life in penury, any one of whom would be glad of such a situation. The person who held this appointmen might have been for years perhaps th faithful servant of some honourable gentleman or noble lord, who, no doubt, recommended him to the patronage of the ma ter-general of ordnance. It was certainl right that long and faithful services shoul attach the regard of a master to his se vant, and it was desirable that meritorio persons in such stations should have comfortable provision for old age; but, the persons in opulent circumstances shoul make that provision at their own expenc without trenching on that source whic should exclusively belong to military me who had claims upon the generosity their country, when worn out in her se vice. The honourable member conclude by moving for a copy of the appointme of Christian Frederick Walter to the sai office of Ordnance Store-keeper in Hyd Park, and an account of the salary, and a emoluments attached to the said office.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* said, he was the pe son who had five years ago recommende this Mr. Walter to the situation, in consequence of an application from lord Cha ham, then master of the ordnance, to him requesting him to look out for a trust person to fill that office; and it was h also who had named the salary of 100 as a reasonable allowance for the service Mr. Walter, he said, certainly was a Han verian, who had been 37 years in Englan the greater part of which time he had bee a faithful servant in the employment Mr. Villiers, and maintained an unimpeachable character. Had he (Mr. Pole conceived the employment, which require constant attendance, to be of such a natur that a military officer could look upon it a acceptable, he certainly should have recommended the place to be filled by such gentleman; but having no such idea, h recommended the present store-keeper and took upon himself the whole responsibility for whatever was blamable in th appointment.

Mr. *Whitbread*, in explanation, said, h had thrown no blame on any person whatsoever; all he had said was, that in hi opinion the military were the proper persons on whom such appointments shoul be bestowed; and he was sure he coul get a hundred officers who would be happy to accept it. He also thought th Master General of the Ordnance shoul have looked out for some such, upon whom to bestow it.

The motion was agreed to.

of Offices Prevention Bill.] order of the day for the further ration of the report upon the Bill ent the Sale of Offices being

Ponsonby observed, that there was a ce between the manner of appoint- Masters in Chancery in Ireland this country; such appointments ade by the crown in the one, while re made by the Lord Chancellor her. In consequence of this dif- it had become a practice for such as were about to retire to dispose places for money. A case of this ccurred while he had the honour the seals, and being applied to as sanction the sale, he hesitated, ng it rather extraordinary that a r the administration of justice be sold for money. However, ing informed of the custom, and person seeking to dispose of the d himself bought it, he gave his on condition that the place should n be sold by the purchaser. Yet ircumstance of such purchases on of other masters created a case ard to Ireland, to which the pro- of this Bill would not in equity e suggested the propriety of intro- clause upon that subject.

hancellor of the Exchequer expressed ness to support a clause to meet referred to, and recommended the n. gent. to propose it.

onsonby intimated his intention to

hancellor of the Exchequer then stat- if it was the wish of any member se further amendments, he would a re-committal of the Bill.

Folkestone said, the bill in its pre- e was perfectly nugatory. He erly had it in contemplation to in- clause into it, but on its being point- him that the clause he thought ng forward would countenance nuation in place of a person who ured his appointment by corrupt in consideration of his having ds given information against others, not submitted it to the Committee. of opinion, that it would be pro- old out some inducement to per- situated to inform against others d in such corrupt practices that the offenders might be punished move, move! from the Oppo- The noble lord concluded, expressing an inclination to make a motion to that effect.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished the bill to be made as effectual as possible. He had no objection to give the noble lord every opportunity to improve it by the introduction of a new clause, and he would therefore move that it should be recommitted.

The Bill was then ordered to be recommitted, and the house resolved itself into a Committee.

Lord *Folkestone* then moved "That for every such offence the party should be liable to forfeit and pay the sum of 500*l.* which sum should be given to the informer. The convicted offender being punished by fine and imprisonment, or by the one or the other, as the judges should direct."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, as he understood the noble lord intended to bring forward another clause, he wished to hear that; that knowing the substance of both, he might be able more correctly to judge of the measure suggested.

Lord *Folkestone*, in reply, stated it to be somewhat on the same principle as the clause which he had formerly been induced to suppress; namely, the exonerating from punishment those who informed for having participated in the offence: Though he would have the party disabled from holding a situation obtained through such improper and unconstitutional influence.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not think the Committee could go to the length of the noble lord's proposal. Were there no other ways of gaining information of such practices, it might be expedient to resort to the mode he had pointed out. But in the present state of things, he did not think it proper to hold out such a temptation to false evidence, or obtain true information by such means, and under such circumstances; possessing, as they did, other means of obtaining information, it was unnecessary. The temptation held out to false information, by adopting such a measure, he thought extremely dangerous, as the artifices of an infamous scoundrel might procure him 500*l.* in some instances where the provision that the informer should lose his place, could do him no injury, which sum his benefactor, though far less culpable, might be compelled to pay.

Mr. *Tierney* thought the objection of the Chancellor of the Exchequer not a very strong one. If the benefactor of an infamous scoundrel were liable thus to be punished, what argument was it against the clause? He ought to have had nothing to do in such an affair.

Lord *Folkestone* observed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said it was unnecessary to resort to such an expedient to obtain information, as sufficient information could be derived from other sources. This he denied; without the evidence of some one concerned, to obtain information was difficult, and perhaps in some instances impossible. He never thought the bill would do much good, but from the view he then had of it in its present state, he thought it might do harm. He thought with the right hon. gent., that it was but fair if the patron of an infamous scoundrel should suffer for endeavouring to advance such a character to a place of emolument or trust.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared his mind was open to conviction. The words of the right hon. gent. had had some effect on him, and if they could satisfy him that such a measure would be likely to benefit the country, he would give it his support. The noble lord had spoken as if information thus gained must be true; but that he thought extremely doubtful. He was of opinion, punishment would frequently fall where it was least deserved. Men might have exerted their influence with others to obtain a situation for scoundrels, who had got round them, and who might be wholly unknown to the person who gave them their situations. Yet against that person might they give information, though no party in the corruption. He might have given places to various persons on the recommendation of others, on whom he thought he could rely, since he had been in office, and a man thus appointed, might, were such a clause received, accuse him of corruption. Information might be given of the wrong, and, wrong or right, the informer would be rewarded.

Lord *H. Petty* knew of no information that could be procured from accomplices, which would not be attended with such concomitant evils. He, however, thought the informer more likely to accuse the right than the wrong, for this plain reason; it was more easy to substantiate the fact in the former case than in the latter. He thought with the noble lord, that the bill in its present state was useless. That which it proposed to make a misdemeanor was before punishable by law, but no proceedings had ever been instituted ag any one. Why? Because no ind ments were held out to call forth nesses to substantiate the fact and fu evidence.

The *Attorney General* opposed the cl on the grounds that punishment migh where it was least deserved. A a might be trafficing for a place, w B might obtain for A, through influence of C, who might be wh ignorant of the traffic between them being dead, A might charge C with ruption, though only culpable in yie to the solicitations of B, and bestowi office on a person he thought deservi such a situation. A might, in fac more likely to accuse C than B, ho culpable B might have been; as A a might be supposed to be friends, whil tween A and C no connection wha might have existed.

After some further observations house came to a division upon the A ment proposed by lord Folkestone,

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 3
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 7
Majority against the Amendment - - - - - - - - - - - - -

[IRISH DISTILLERIES REGULATION I Mr. Foster moved the second read the Irish Distillery Bill.

Mr. *Bernard* rose to oppose this m He said, that this bill went mer amend the laws as they now existed to continue a principle of finance had been proved to be ineffectual. under these laws, and the principle of of collecting the duties by what was ed a system of survey, that is, by m ing the wash, low wines and spirit all the illicit distillation had flour and still continued to flourish. He he was borne out by the Commission Inquiry in desiring that this system be departed from, as they had r mended another system, called the li system, under which a distiller had to take out a licence, and pay for cording to the number of gallons o rits which it was presumed he could in a year, by which means the re was sure of being very considerable the distiller was left at liberty to without the vexatious interference excise officers. He was of opinion unless small stills were allowed to the illicit distillation would never down. He referred to Mr. Croker' dence to prove, that a small still

ore duty comparatively with a
ne; but so long as the right hon.
ersevered in his system of giving
of 8*l.* and 10*l.* per cent. on the
id by distillers using large stills, it
possible that a small still could
competition with them. He said
tem of encouraging large stills was
urious to the landlord and to the
; it took away the market from
rior of the country, for grain, which
er would have if persons were ad-
to work small stills; and as to the
ade, it was obvious, that if a large
had no vent for its grain, and no
upply of spirits, there always would
t distillers. He then said, that the
n. gent. meant by this bill to dou-
fines on townlands; this was a
way to meet the complaints of the
of Ireland against these fines. He
m a Report of the Commissioners
iry a statement shewing, that in
nty the amount of fines imposed
year was 80,000*l.* but that only
ad been able to be collected, and
expence which it cost the public
the seizures for which these fines
be levied was 50,000*l.*, so that the
enefit of the system was, that of
se officers, and no stop was put to
istillation. He, therefore, feeling
bill did not go to attain the ob-
ch it professed to do, and which
sired by all the Irish members,
, to admit small stills to work, would
hat it be read a second time this
ee months.

J. Stewart said, that though he
for the most part with what had
rom the last speaker, he thought it
let the bill go to a Committee.

eorge Hill was surprized at the mo-
his hon. friend for putting off the
reading of this bill. Having been
many conversations between the
s and the Chancellor of the Exche-
Ireland, he bore testimony to the
n with which every suggestion
em was received, and was sure
fullest consideration would be
any amendments which honour-
ntlemen might be disposed to pro-
the Committee.

Parnell said he rose to support the
ent of the hon. member who
st but one. He thought with him,
bill ought to be opposed on its
, which was to continue a system
ting the duties on spirits, which had been proved to have failed by the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, and which, though amended session after session, was still ineffectual, because it was notorious to every one who knew any thing of Ireland, that illicit distillation was at this moment carried on there to a great extent. The Commissioners proved that in one year the loss of revenue was near two millions, and this loss can be attributed to no other cause than a great defect in the system pursued in attempting to collect it. They had not only, however, proved the extent of the evil, but they also proposed a remedy; this was to adopt the system of Scotland, and permitting distillers to work very small stills under a licence, the amount to be paid for which was calculated on the number of gallons which his still could work in a year. He said that this mode appeared to him to be the only one that could effectually put down the illicit distillation, because it was absurd to imagine that the exertions of the revenue officers could ever be adequate to counteract all the plans which illicit distillers have it in their power to adopt; the only way to proceed was to encourage persons to set up legal stills over the whole country, by suffering them to work with small capital, and without the vexatious oppression of the laws as they now stand in respect to regulations, and powers given to the revenue officers. For so soon as legal distillers were so established, they would be so interested in preventing illicit trade, that they alone, without the aid of the revenue officers, would soon clear the country of it. The policy of this method of proceeding had been fully established in Scotland. Before 1786, the system of collecting the duties on spirits was exactly the same as it now is in Ireland; the whole country was supplied by illicit distillation. In that year the licence system was adopted, and it is proved in the evidence given before a committee of the house, that in the first year 18,000*l.* was collected, whereas 18*s.* had never before been collected; that the legal distillers detected and punished the illegal distillers, and that the increased demand for grain soon contributed to the general improvement of the agriculture of Scotland, and changed altogether the face of the country. Under the circumstances of the Commissioners of Inquiry having recommended a specific remedy to be adopted, it appeared to him very extraordinary that the right hon. gent. should propose a

measure to the house in direct contradiction to their recommendation, without shewing that it did not deserve to be attended to. For his part he thought that when parliament had appointed commissioners to enquire into the collection of the revenue of Ireland, to whom they had paid an immense sum of money as a reward for their trouble, it was the duty of the right hon. gent. either to adopt their advice, or shew why it ought not to be adopted; for it would be of no use to the public to pay these Commissioners so largely, if by no possible means the information and advice which they afforded the public was to be wholly neglected. The hon. member then said that he knew very well that the right hon. gent. was ready to say that his bill went to admit small stills of 50 gallons content to work. So it did; but what purpose would it avail to have such a power given in one clause, if in the next such regulations were laid down that would break any man who attempted to work a small still. It was absurd to hold out such a concession, for no man in his senses could for a moment conceive it possible for a small still to work, so long as the bounty of 16 per cent. was given to a person working a 1,500 gallon still; who, even without the bounty, would, in consequence of his large capital, and the large scale of his work, have great advantages over the person working a small still. He said that it was of vast importance to the Irish members, and the people of Ireland, that the decision of the house should be a correct one; because, if the system of the right hon. gent. was to be persevered in, the same deficiency of revenue was still to be calculated upon; and as this had been computed at two millions, it stood to reason that new taxes would be imposed to provide for this deficiency, whereas if a system was adopted, by which the whole duty on spirits made in Ireland could be collected, no necessity would exist for any new taxes, so far as a sum to this amount was in question. He also said, that the licence system proposed was attended with this peculiar advantage, that but few excise officers would be wanting to assist in collecting the duties; and this was a circumstance which rendered it peculiarly applicable to Ireland, because the only justification which the right hon. gent. could advance when a charge was lately made by a right hon. baronet near him against an officer, was, that every other officer of the excise had been equally pable.—He said he thought that the member who spoke immediately prece him, had taken a wrong view of the ject, when he said that he conceived bill might be considered in the comm so as to meet the wishes of the Irish m bers; in his opinion, if it even got in committee, no such amendment could made to it, because the alteration w was desired, went to a repeal of all laws by which the duty on spirits was charged, and the enactment of a new founded upon a new principle.—He ho therefore, that this opportunity would be thrown away of getting rid of a which could never provide an effec remedy for the evil complained of.

Mr. *Foster* said, it was admitted the laws on this subject wanted ame ment: he knew that they did, and it an object that the bill should go to a c mittee to find out the best mode. Th was not one clause in the bill contrar the opinion of the committee; there a clause expressly for the encouragem of small stills, and if any gentleman w ed to read the clause, he would read i him [a laugh]. The right hon. gent. t read the clause, and argued that it one of the leading principles of the bil license small stills. His object for in ducing it was, that it would afford market throughout the country for sm farmers to sell their corn. Whether t duties were raised by survey or licen he was sure they could never be collec without the co-operation of gentlemen a farmers, but he would make great sa fices to public opinion, to forward the ject in view. He concluded with recon mending to the house to go into a Co mittee on the bill on Thursday next.

Sir *J. Newport* said, he would allow bill to go to a committee if it were lik to answer the object. The officers un the survey system had been guilty great fraud, and he had complained of c who was subsequently promoted; the p sent bill went to the indemnification of officers who had been guilty of collusi seizures, and he could not think the bi likely to go to a committee; it was i capable of emendation, and he wished to be rejected altogether.

Col. *Barry* said he had heard no obje tion but what could be answered in th Committee, and would therefore vote f its committal.

Mr. *French* would wish the bill to

if it were likely to have any good
ut the principle of the bill was
went to punish the innocent for the
If a still were found in a parish,
lords and the inhabitants were to
fine; it went to cover the acts
fficers, to afford those indemnity
was known, had received three
on one still: first they got a fine
then returned it, and again re-
50*l.*; and thus till they obtained
A Bill which could encourage such
s, such an odious Bill—ought to
ed out of the house.

Dennis Browne said, where private
es were put down, loyalty increas-
he knew it was in the power of the
co do so. If the Chancellor of
equer gave up his penal clause, it
ive life to illicit distillery and
y.

Huskisson thought the bill should
ed to go to a Committee, in which
s and the drawback allowed to
stilleries might be so regulated
vent their being injurious to the
ones.

Fitzgerald was glad to hear the
nt. argue as he did, but thought,
ed on his theory, he would vote
the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
e sentiment of that right hon.
hers must have a higher opinion
mplacency than he had, to think
d give way in the committee to
he substance of the bill.

arry said, his object in wishing
to go to a committee was, that its
s might be softened.

Barnard withdrew his amend-
d the bill was then read a second
.

tinique Trade Bill.] On the
that the Martinique Trade Bill
e read a second time;

arriat said, he was surprised that
sure should be brought forward
any attempt to prove its expe-
It was not beneficial to the
West India islands, but it would
ious injury to the sugar refiners
country, by bringing the sugar
nique in competition with theirs
foreign market. Another class
n it would be injurious was the
nts of Martinique themselves,
agreed not to obstruct the army,
quence of a proclamation which
that they should be restored
me government they had before; such was the condition held out, and they were now about to legislate in violation of it.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he could not help thinking the gentlemen who belonged to the British plantations good judges of their own interests. With respect to the Sugar Refiners, he admitted they would incur some disadvantages from the bill. As to the promise held out in the proclamation, it could not mean that they should be restored to their former government and state, but signified a general expression of kindness which was not violated by the bill before the house. By it they were placed in a situation little inferior to the British planter; and by the 13th article of the capitulation, provision was made to keep that measure open to the adoption of the legislature. Where then, he asked, was the breach of faith? It had been said that a remonstrance was coming over; it might be the case, but he could not believe that it would be signed by the officers who commanded until he saw it.

Mr. *Jacob* contended that they were to construe the capitulation, not according to the intention of the officers, but to the sense in which it was taken by the people who were the subjects of it.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that the public faith of the country was not pledged to the proposition stated by the hon. gent. The officers could not use a language capable of such an interpretation. They had gone out unshackled, and there was no stipulation or understanding between them and the inhabitants of Martinique previous to the proclamation. Upon that ground, therefore, the question was to be argued; he lamented that the principle of that measure was not taken up at an earlier period, as much benefit would result from it. Upon the whole, the motion had his approbation.

Mr. *A. Baring* said, as a mere question of policy it was necessary to cultivate the militia of the island; for when we were last in possession of it, they repulsed several attacks made by the enemy from Guadaloupe, and as the bill did not go to give that encouragement, he would give his decided opposition to it, as he conceived Martinique was entitled to the same favour bestowed on other conquered islands.

Mr. *Hibbert* said a few words in opposition to the bill.

The gallery was cleared, but the house did not divide. The question was carried, and the bill was read a second time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 16.

[Writ of Error in the Case of Hart and White.] John Harriott Hart, Printer, and Henry White, sole Proprietor of a Sunday Newspaper, called the "Independent Whig," Plaintiffs in Error, *v.* the King, Defendant in Error.—Pursuant to the Order of the day, the Counsel in this cause, Mr. Clifford, on the part of the Plaintiffs, and Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor-General, on the part of the Crown, appeared at the Bar about three o'clock, when,

Mr. *Clifford* addressed their lordships as follows: "My lords, in this case, I have the honour to appear before you on the part of the Plaintiffs in Error. The question now under your lordships' consideration is of so much importance as necessarily to command attention. I should, therefore, hold it a waste of your lordships' time, if I made any prefatory remarks upon it. My lords, this is a Writ of Error against a Judgment given in his majesty's court of King's Bench, in a case originating in an information filed by the Attorney General against the Plaintiffs in Error, John Harriott Hart, and Henry White. The venue of the information was laid in the city of London, where the Trial also took place. The Plaintiffs were afterwards brought to the Bar of the court of King's Bench, where Judgment was passed upon them, the one to be imprisoned in the county gaol of Dorset, and the other in the county gaol of Gloucester, for 18 calendar months, after the expiration of which, each party to be farther imprisoned for the like term; and, at the end of this imprisonment, each of the Plaintiffs in Error to give security for their good behaviour for five years, themselves in the sum of 500*l.*, and two sureties in the sum of 250*l.* each.—Upon this Judgment, my lords, this Writ of Error is brought before you, and I hope satisfactorily to convince your lordships, that this was an erroneous Judgment, and therefore ought, in justice, to be reversed and annulled by this high and honourable court. This Judgment, my lords, admits of two great and leading grounds of objection: the first, as the gaols of Dorchester and of Gloucester in which the Plaintiffs are imprisoned under the Judgment of the court, being neither of them the immediate prisons of the court, or the gaols of the counties where the offences were committed, nor the court of King's Bench being, at the time of passing tence, sitting in either of these count and secondly, to which another par my arguments shall apply, as to the se rity required from the Plaintiffs, whi contend is illegal and excessive, therefore, should not be required of Plaintiffs. Upon this assignment of Er the Attorney-General, on behalf of crown, pleaded generally, that neithe the record and proceedings, nor in Judgment, was there any Error. question now for your lordships' cons ration is, whether on these two point either of them, the doctrine asserted upheld by the Attorney-General, or views of the case which I shall have honour to submit to your lordships, is best founded in the law and constitu of the country? There are some p connected with a general view of this which I may not think right to urg the first instance; but with which, I according to what shall fall from the c sel for the crown, touch upon, at the portunity furnished me by your lords rules, in replying. In discussing this no want of candour in viewing it, sha fairly attributed to me. I admit, t that all the gaols in the kingdom are majesty's; that the court of King's B is supreme in criminal jurisdiction thro out England; that it may commit fenders to any prison it thinks prope case the court, at the time of passing sentence, should sit in the county to w such prison belongs. I admit every of these points. My lords, the prin laid down by the Attorney-General in ference to this part of the case, is a general principle; to the length I stated, I fully go with him, but by means to the extent. The courts of tice, and prisons, are held by the law constitution of the realm, to be the ki for special and particular purposes flatter myself, I shall be able to conv your lordships, that the legal pur for which the gaols were allotted for finement of offenders, was for the im sonment of those who were guilty of fences in the body of the counties in w such gaols were situated. In advan this, I do not mean to contend, th would be illegal to have sent the Pai to any gaol in the county of Middle for there the sentence was passed; n any gaol in the city of London, bec there the offence was committed. I quest your lordships to bear in mind rons which I admit, that the court d persons either to gaols in the where the offences had been ed, or in those where the court e time of passing sentence. In imes, when the power of impri- ndividuals was exercised by other as well as those constituting his s courts, these persons, with a he extortion of money, instead of the objects of their power to the gaols, used to send them to their les. These were chiefly justices eace, and by an act of the 5th of , chap. 10, that power was taken d it was enacted that individuals e imprisoned no where but in the Now, my lords, I know full well ing away the jurisdiction from f the peace was not to take it om the court of King's Bench; rather too much to contend, that, es of the peace had usurped this f jurisdiction, that, on their being of this usurped jurisdiction, it essarily transferred to the court of Bench."—The learned counsel erred to a case occurring in the Edward 4. Having stated the ances, he observed, "If at that was held the undoubted right of t of King's Bench to commit to it thought proper, because all majesty's prisons, there would ave existed any thought of an in- on what particular prisons those hould be sent to! What I am now state is extremely strong; it re- e consideration whether the sheriffs nd be officers of that court." In n of this, he referred to a case g in the 21st of Edward 4, the gainst Winkfield, as reported by in which it was held that the Middlesex was not the imme- cer of the court, except for things that county. "This latitude of n in the Court of King's Bench ted; but it appears that it could ly exercise such a power, because ff is not the officer of the court, r things done in his county.—If o, in what possible way can the f Dorset or Gloucester be held as f the court, or have persons com- the way before us, legally trans- their charge? This quotation oke is given not only as he found ecided, but with his observations tional remarks. Having stated these cases from rather remote periods of our history, I come to one of comparatively modern date, and which bears materially upon the subject. In the 34th of Elizabeth, complaints had been made that the Star-Chamber and privy-council had acted in a most arbitrary manner, especially with respect to the imprisonment of individuals, some of whom were sent to distant gaols. Writs of Habeas-Corpus were issued in consequence, and the persons were liberated. Disputes arising between the courts and the Star-Chamber, a reference was made to the twelve judges, who delivered their opinions in writing, upon the points referred to them, in which statements it was observed that some of the persons so delivered had been committed to prisons in secret places! It was acknowledged by those judges, that individuals were confined in secret prisons, and not in ordinary places. Every prison at a distance may be regarded as a secret prison, at least from the families of the unhappy persons so immured, and this emphatically is the case of the plaintiffs confined in the gaols of Dorchester and Gloucester!" Having described the functions and powers of the court of Star-Chamber as regulated by the act of Henry the 7th, the learned counsel proceeded. "But in what way, my lords, was this court authorized to punish? Not according to any new fangled discretion of its own—it was restricted to the pronouncing of such judgments as were warranted by the common law of the realm. Afterward, when the abolition of this tribunal took place, 'all that was good and salutary of the jurisdiction of the court of Star-Chamber,' in the language of Mr. Justice Blackstone, 'reverted to the court of King's Bench,' but no farther was it vested with those powers of imprisonment, so stigmatized in the court of Star-Chamber. I shall now proceed to the reign of Charles the First, which furnishes us with some memorable cases, upon which I shall beg leave to trouble your lordships: I mean those of Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwick. The sentence which was passed upon them by the court of Star-Chamber, took place in the year 1637—they were doomed to stand in the pillory, sentenced to a considerable fine, and to be committed to close custody to the gaols of Launceston, Lancaster, and Caernarvon; they were sentenced to stand in the pillory in Palace-yard, Westminster, to a fine of 5,000*l.* and to incarceration in

those remote prisons I have mentioned.* The case is so far precisely parallel with that for which I have the honour to stand before your lordships. My lords, I can entertain little hope that any thing stated by a person while undergoing such a sentence, can have much weight with the deliberate wisdom of your lordships; but the sentiments uttered by Dr. Bastwick, under the circumstances, deserve some consideration. In order to excite sympathy and compassion, he addressed the populace, and particularly dwelt on the measure of sending the sufferers to remote places of confinement as new, unjust, illegal, and oppressive. It is not likely that a man in such circumstances should have so openly asserted a direct falsehood, which must have been apparent at the time, and have rather hurt than benefited his cause; but what he advanced was never contradicted, and the practice complained of was conceived by the people, at the time, as a novelty, and contrary to law. Petitions were afterwards presented to the house of commons, on behalf of Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwick. The petition of Mr. Prynne, particularly complained of the hardships inflicted upon him and his fellow-sufferers, and in the prayer of his petition he requested that the house may take their grievances into its most serious consideration, in order that such novel practices may not become precedents to the prejudices of others. We all know, my lords, that Mr. Prynne was one of the best lawyers that ever appeared in Westminster-Hall, and that such a person was not likely to be ignorant of the laws of his country, or so foolish as to state, on such an occasion, to parliament, that the punishment they had undergone, by being sent to a place of confinement out of the county in which they were sentenced, was illegal and a grievance. As soon as those petitions were read, my lords, they were referred to a committee to consider and to report upon the several abuses therein stated, as committed by the court of Star-Chamber, or any officer under its authority. From these proceedings we may fairly infer that the conduct complained of was an abuse of the authority of the court, and contrary to law. It was afterwards resolved that such practices were against the law, injurious to the liberty of the subject, and ought to be prevented. A distinct resolution declared
that the sentence of the privy council fi
sending individuals to distant prisons fi
confinement, was illegal. Mr. Prynn
was ordered to be restored to his degre
in the University of Oxford, and to h
chambers among the Society of Lincoln
Inn. It was ordered by the house
commons, in March 1640, that a com
mittee should be appointed to consider
the Court of Star-Chamber, and to prepa
a bill concerning the same. In May 164
a bill was passed in the commons for ta
ing away the power of the Star-Chambe
This act was now on the statute-book
the 16th Charles 1, chap. 10. The b
underwent much consideration in the lorc
as appeared by their lordships' journa
and after some difficulty it was passe
The illegal practices of the court, and t
grievances occasioned by them, were du
noticed, particularly in the preamble
the act, which prescribed that from a
after the 1st of August 1641, the court
Star-Chamber should be actually dissolv
and abolished. It appeared that at fi
there was no intention to abolish the Sta
Chamber, and the idea was not ente
tained until after the report of the com
mittee. Now, my lords, what was t
report of that committee? I should fi
observe, that the committee itself orig
nated in the petitions I have adverted
which particularly dwelt on the illegali
and grievance of the imprisonment in d
tant gaols. The committee only report
upon the abuses complained of in the
petitions. Upon hearing these, the hou
of commons directed its committee
prepare the bill, and to consider at t
same time of the enormous sentences pr
nounced by the Star-Chamber. The co
cluding clause of this memorable b
enacts, that no court in future shall ha
the like jurisdiction as that court w
vested with or had used to exercise.
appears, my lords, from the time of pr
senting the petitions I have mention
until the bill received the royal asser
that the only abuses which led to the d
struction of the Star-Chamber, were t
abuses complained of in those petitio
the prominent point in which was the il
gality and grievance of imprisonment
distant gaols; and I can confidently
vance that the Court of King's Bench dc
not, legally, possess a shadow of t
power, unless his majesty's attorney-g
neral produces some modern statute whi
invests them with that power. Nothi
short of such an authority can, legall

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* 3 Cobbett's State Trials 711.

nfer the power of inflicting such a pu- hment, and I must decidedly protest ainst the idea that any precedent of dern date can vest such an authority the court of King's Bench; and I do mbly, but confidently contend, my ds, that the court in question possesses such legal power, unless the attorney- eral can shew a statute which gives m that investiture. In the year 1642, my ds, it is to be found, at the time that dis- es had arisen between the king and the liament, that the latter being at a loss money, when it had passed an ordinance the raising a large body of the troops for service, and for the purpose of enabling m to do so, an ordinance was passed for payment to the state of a twentieth t of the property of individuals, and ards the enforcing of which the process distress was authorized. It was farther ained by the parliament, with respect the raising of this money, that de- lters, or persons refusing to answer, re to be brought before the house of mmons, which should have the power of prisoning, in such case, at its discretion, se persons, in such places in the king- m as it should think fit, and to direct, t the families of such persons should e no longer any intercourse with them! m this proceeding, we may clearly in- that no such power as that of consign- offenders to distant places of imprison- nt, was held to exist in the court of ng's Bench; if such an authority resided that tribunal, it would hardly be deemed cessary to pass an ordinance. This markable measure was afterwards com- nted upon on the part of the king him- , when it was properly observed, that power of imprisoning his majesty's jects in places distant from the scene of ir offences, was a latitude of judgment ich no court of law could challenge to elf. This, my lords, was the construc- n put upon this assumed power, in op- sition to the parliament, by king Charles mself. Of the illegality of such a prac- e, I ask, my lords, can there be a onger authority? The allegation on the t of the king, was, that the sending sons to confinement in distant places, s a latitude of judgment which no court ld challenge to itself! This assertion of g Charles is equally clear and compre- nsive. In the next reign, the house of mmons, by an act passed, seems so arly to have acknowledged, that no such wer as sending persons to places of distant confinement could legally exist, that no mention whatever of such mode of imprisonment was made therein; but, a clause was inserted in the bill to prevent illegal imprisonment in parts beyond the seas. In the 36th of the same reign, viz. in 1684, a clergyman of the name of Rosewell was indicted for preaching a treasonable sermon in the county of Surrey. I knew not what doubts could exist with respect to the place of confinement, as the prison of the court is situated within that very county; but, from this case, it appears, though the Attorney-General of that day, who was known to be a considerable lawyer, that doubts were entertained in that respect, but those doubts were removed by a remarkable assertion of the then clerk of the crown, who said, that the Gate-House might be the prison, as the court then sat in the county of Middlesex: it follows, by necessary inference, that the court could not be justified in sending persons for confinement out of the county in which the courts sat, the words of the clerk of the crown were held to be decisive, as to the point. My lords, I have next to request your attention to an instance which occurred in the reign of James 2. It is the Case of the King against Beale, of which it is stated, that Mr. Attorney-General moved, that the court would order execution against a soldier for an offence which was committed in a distant county, and for which the government judged it expedient that he should be exemplarily punished. A question arose, whether the court of King's Bench had legally the power to do what the Attorney-General moved for? The Lord Chief Justice, in substance, said, that the motion was irregular, as the prisoner was never before the court. In consequence of this, the prisoner was, under a writ of Habeas Corpus, brought before the court; upon which occasion, the case states, that it was laid down, that the thing required could not be done;—that it may be done in Middlesex, by the prerogative of the judges who then sat in that county. From this decision of the court itself, my lords, it incontestibly appears, that the court of King's Bench cannot order such things out of the county where the offence was committed, or where it is actually sitting at the time. The Report to which I refer goes on to say, that it being judged of some importance at the time, to make an example of the soldier in question, the Lord Chief Justice was removed to another court: two of the judges forthwith received their quietus, and the seats filled with judges of a more pliant character. The soldier was again brought up, and his execution ordered by the new Chief-Justice, as desired by the government. Thus, we see, my lords, that the court of King's Bench, even at that time, as legally and regularly constituted, declared, that the act moved for by the King's Attorney-General was contrary to law, in the infliction of such punishments out of the county where the offence was committed, or of that where the court sat for the time. The same court so soon after were composed of judges so very different in point of character from their immediate predecessors, who, to the loss of their offices, protested against shedding the blood of their fellow subjects contrary to law. Does not this invalidate the legal and constitutional judgment made by the court in the freedom of decision? That such would be the conduct of the newly formed court was well known to those, who, for the purpose, placed the new judges in their situations. There were several cases of a similar nature in the same reign. But, my lords, the case to which I shall next call your attention, did not occur in such times as those to which I have just adverted; it took place in, perhaps, the best times this country ever knew, I mean, my lords, the reign of king George 1. The case to which I refer is reported in the 6th volume of the State Trials, namely that of Christopher Layer, which occurred in the year 1723. He was tried at the bar of the court of King's Bench, and executed in Middlesex.—This was on the express motion of the Attorney-General, who said there were several precedents for the execution of offenders in counties different from the scene of their offences: the cases of lord Audley, and Fitzpatrick, were mentioned as instances; but, my lords, from what transpired on this well-known Trial, it appeared, that so late as the year 1723, the Attorney-General entertained doubts, Whether the court had, legally, the power of ordering executions any where but where the offences were committed?—These are the only cases of this kind upon which I shall trouble your lordships; but, I am borne out in the principle I have laid down, by authorities in matters of a different kind. In Hale's Pleas of the Crown, 462, a case is referred to of a man who was tried for murder, in the county of Kent;—he was found guilty, and in a note, it is said, the award was for the marshal to do executi the prisoner having been removed to t custody of the marshal, as the immedi officer of the court. A respectable le authority tells us, that where judgment death is given in the court of King's Ben the execution is to be by the marshal the court; and by another it is stated, t execution is not to be awarded in a di rent county, except it be where the co should then sit. My lords, having go through, or referred to, those differ cases, it seems to me, that the conclus to be drawn is, that in every case wh imprisonment has taken place out of county where the offences have been co mitted, and in every case where executi have taken place out of the county— every one of those cases some excuse offered, some doubts expressed, and so reasons given, why such punishme should not take place in the coun where the offences had been committ On a memorable occasion, of no very tant occurrence, when an impeachm was preferred at the bar of your lordsh house, it was well said, that 'innovati in law had crept in like heresies in r gion, slowly and silently, leaving, in end, nothing but the false and corr semblance of each!'—In the variety cases to which I have solicited the att tion of your lordships, the legality of mode of punishment complained of by Plaintiffs, is either doubted, denied, or c troverted; and it is shewn that for orc ing that species of imprisonment, court of Star-Chamber was actu abolished. My lords, I have referred or laid before you various cases and tutes for your serious consideration as their tendency and effect. I do not it necessary at present to enter into a ge ral line of argument upon them. It is ficient for me at present to state the ge ral grounds upon which I defend th for whom I have the honour to appear fore you. I am the less solicitous ab entering into such a line of argumen present, because it will depend upon w falls from the learned counsel, how fa shall have to trouble your lordships in respect. I understand that it is meant the other side, to quote some precede On this topic I shall generally refer to sentiments of a great constitutional l yer. Upon the well-known occasion the question of General Warrants, and ders issued by Secretaries of State for breaking open of chests, in order to se

papers; and, on the action brought by
. Wilkes against the under secretary of
te, lord Camden, in summing up to
jury, said, that all the precedents since
. Revolution afforded no justification for
ractice in itself illegal, and against the
nciples of the constitution!—And in
s doctrine, my lords, that great and
nerable lawyer was certainly well-
nded!—Here we have the authority of
d Camden, and his opinion of the value
l effect of official precedents. In the
e which subsequently occurred, of the
ion brought against the king's messen-
rs, for breaking open trunks to search
papers, lord Camden maintained and
strated the same sound, legal, and con-
utional principles; he deprecated the
ctice of recurring to modern precedent
justification which never could militate
inst clear and established law; he ad-
tted the authorities founded upon deci-
ns of the twelve judges, but the twelve
ges, he said, could not make law! I am
ignorant, my lords, of the cases which
y be adduced of modern or recent oc-
rrence to countenance the illegal prac-
es complained of. Among these are
cases of Mr. Redhead Yorke and Mr.
lbert Wakefield, the one for an offence
nmitted in Yorkshire, and the other for
offence in Middlesex, were confined in
tant prisons; that of Mr. Kydd Wake
was of a similar description. It does
t follow, my lords, that, because those
rsons never complained to your lord-
ps, their sentences were not illegal. It
s most likely, as lord Camden said upon
particular occasion, that their poverty
d prevented their contending against
e power of the court. We know, my
rds, that it is not every person who has
e means of bringing a Writ of Error be-
re the high court of parliament.—Hav-
g now gone through the first part of the
se, I shall trouble your lordships with a
w words on the second part of it: I mean,
y lords, that part of the sentence which
quires the Plaintiffs to give security for
eir good behaviour for five years after
eir respective imprisonments. My ob-
ctions to this part of the sentence, are
the ground of their being excessive,
usual, and therefore contrary to law;
d, viewing the whole of the case of the
aintiffs, I am rather at a loss to tell why
is security is to be given, or what is
eant by it. Your lordships will observe
at the sentence is for the publication of
hat is said to be a libel, and a libel upon
a court of justice, but the information does not state whether what was advanced be true or false! Is it as a security for good behaviour in every case? Would the security be forfeited by writing a true and faithful account of, and making true and just observations on, the conduct of courts of justice? The information, no one can tell whether it proceeds on the ground of every thing advanced being true, or every thing advanced being false. The parties will necessarily be bewildered if any persons, in such a state of uncertainty, should be bold enough to come forward as their securities. It must be known, or are the parties to give up their newspapers, or never to write a line respecting courts of justice, because if either true or false, they may be come upon for their security, if it cannot be exactly stated what will amount to a forfeiture of the recognizance. I humbly contend that even in this view of the case, this part of the sentence is illegal, unconstitutional, and void.—In another point of view, my lords, this part of the sentence is equally liable to uncertainty and doubt. Suppose that they cannot get the security required, are they to undergo five years imprisonment in addition, and then to be liberated? No such thing; as the sentence stands at present, they may be imprisoned to the end of their lives, and in places far distant from their families, their friends and their connections! Such a Judgment, my lords, is, I contend, unusual, oppressive, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and therefore contrary to law! Before I conclude, I beg leave shortly to recapitulate what I have submitted to your lordships consideration. I have stated the conduct of courts of law in former times, with respect to cases similar to that before us, and the principles which governed that conduct. I have stated a case from which the court of King's Bench doubted, or decided negatively, as to its own powers with respect to confining persons in distant gaols. I have shewn that upon all occasions there have been some particular grounds or special reasons assigned, for a departure from what was known to be a general principle of law, in those instances where such modes of punishment were awarded by the courts. Even so late as the year 1723, doubts were entertained by the judges and lawyers upon these points; I have shewn the difficulties under which king James the second struggled, in order to carry a sentence into execution according to his wish, so much that he was

obliged to displace the judges of the court, and appoint new ones, creatures of his own! In the reign of king Charles the first, that prince himself protested against the arbitrary and unconstitutional power assumed by parliament in punishing his subjects in the way now complained of. Such my lords, were the ideas which so long prevailed in the country upon these points; such was the conduct of the judges, even in the reigns of the Stuarts, when, if it was found impossible to give such a mortal stab to the liberties of the people, I am sure that under the influence of that family which came to restore and to secure to us those blessings of which the Stuarts in vain attempted to rob us; under the reign of the monarch who now adorns the throne, whom this house and the country look up to as their last and best guidance and support; that upon all such occasions this high and honourable court will oppose the assumption of a power contrary to law, and hostile to the best principles of the constitution.

Mr. *Attorney-General.* I now come to trouble your lordships, and to assure you that the Judgment, in support of which I appear, does not deserve the hard names bestowed upon it, such as were never before used in a court of justice—of cruel, oppressive, and unusual. In good truth, my lords, I believe there could be no reason for bestowing these epithets upon the Judgment, except the knowledge that it was impossible for your lordships to enter into the considerations upon which the court pronounced that Judgment, and measured the punishment it should inflict, because the learned gent. is wise enough to know, that it was not merely from the face of the Record, but from the consideration of extrinsic circumstances, the court measured the Judgment it thought proper to pronounce. That imprisonment is a species of punishment for libellers, and to require security for their good behaviour after their imprisonment, is a very usual practice, must be so well known to the learned gent., that I shall not condescend to shew either a principle or a case for the purpose of supporting that doctrine! In a great deal of what has fallen from the learned gent., I shall not follow him, because a great part of his statements carry with them their own refutation. But in answer to such of his arguments as have any shadow of bearing upon the question before your lordships, I contend that the court of King's Bench has unlimited jurisdiction throughout the whole kingdom; that his majesty has this jurisdiction als through his first criminal court, the King Bench. No matter whether it sits in on part of the realm or another, it possess supreme jurisdiction through the whol In support of these petitions, as the ge nuine and established law of the land, could adduce numberless cases; that the King and White, in lord Hardwicke Reports, is all I shall trouble your lord ships with. The case was that of a con stable at Scarborough who was attache by order of the court of King's Bench f destroying a warrant from the Lord Chi Justice, to be executed in that quarter this alone would serve, that the court question possesses a criminal jurisdicti throughout the whole country. T learned gent. does not dispute that all th gaols in the kingdom are the gaols of th king; but he says, they are gaols to b used in a certain qualified way; he deni the right of the king to send persons any gaol not in the county in which th offence is committed, or where the cou is not present. I have in my hand, m lords, what I believe you will agree wi me is some authority on those point Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown. Speakin of the court of King's Bench, he say that, 'so high a trust does the law repos in the justice and integrity of this cou as generally to leave it to the discreti of the judges to inflict such fine and im prisonment, and even infamous corpor punishment on offenders, as the nature the crime, considered in all its circum stances, shall require; neither doth it co fine them to the use of its own prison, b leaves them at liberty to commit offende to any prison in the kingdom which the shall think most proper, and doth not su fer any court to remove, or bail any pe son condemned to imprisonment by them —This is the language of that profoun and accurate lawyer, and I wonder th any man of the diligence of the learne gent., who could have read this authorit and viewed the question on both side could have departed from it and affect refer to the foolish saying of a clerk of th crown! Viewing this and the numero authenticities and precedents to which mean to refer, how is it possible to av that sending persons to the gaols in Glo cester and in Dorchester, is an illegal a or beyond the power of the court? W the learned gentleman say that if a publ cation of the libels in question took pla the county of Cornwall, the parties ight not have been tried and convicted ere as well as in Middlesex?—The urned Attorney General then proceeded the exhibition of a long series of cases d precedents, all occurring since the evolution, but a great part of them since e year 1786, for the purpose of shewing at the court of King's Bench had exer- ised a discretionary and legal power in mmitting offenders to prison in different d distant places from the scene of the fence or the session of the court, and at it ordered up delinquents from distant rts to be tried, at its bar, and caused the fliction of punishments in different places it deemed expedient; and in the exer- se of those powers it was always undis- rbed and unquestioned; and he dwelt on the instance of lord Thanet's com- ittal to the Tower of London for an of- nce committed in the county of Kent, as proof that it was not the poverty of the fender that prevented him from calling e authorities of the court into question. -With respect to the observations of the arned counsel for the Plaintiffs upon the curity required from them, and the dif- culties they would labour under in con- quence, he said, "I dare say if the arned gent.'s clients were to ask him hether such and such a particular act ould not incur a forfeiture, that his an- wer would be, 'I will not tell any man ho contemplates a seditious publication, meditates any other illegal act, how ear he may go, and yet clear the law; w near the wind he might go without dangering himself!'" The security re- ired, he observed, was to guard against ture libellous publications, the better to otect the public peace against future obable invasions of it, and proceeded on e same grounds and principles that va- ous other sentences of the kind were pro- ounced.

The Attorney-General having conclud- , the Lord-Chancellor moved, that the rther hearing be adjourned to Thursday. —Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 17.

[MR. DICK AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.] r. *Madocks* observed, that understanding report had gone abroad, that the case hich he felt it his duty to submit to the onsideration of the house in the course of st week, was brought forward at the instigation of Mr. Dick, he thought it proper to state, that his information upon that subject was derived from another quarter, and that he had not brought the business before the house either at the instigation or with the concurrence of Mr. Dick.

Mr. *Foster* said, that being a relation of the gentleman whose name had been just mentioned, and having been long a friend of his and his father's, he had received a letter from him upon that subject, to which the hon. member alluded, from which letter the right hon. gent. read the following extract: "I beg to assure you that the statement of lord Castlereagh having suggested to me that I ought to resign my seat rather than vote against the Duke of York, is totally unfounded."

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 18.

[WRIT OF ERROR IN THE CASE OF WHITE AND HART.] Their lordships met at two o'clock, and most of the Judges attended.

The *Solicitor General* (Sir Thomas Plomer), spoke for about two hours in defence of the right of the court of King's Bench to pronounce such a sentence as it had done in the case of White and Hart, the editor and printer of the weekly newspaper called the "Independent Whig," who had been convicted of a libel on that court in the administration of justice. He contended that there was no foundation for the theory laid down by the learned gentleman (Mr. Clifford) on the other side, on Tuesday last, when he attempted to maintain that the court of King's Bench had no right to execute its sentence except in a gaol of the county wherein the offence was committed, a gaol in a county where the court actually sat, or their own peculiar gaol. He reviewed the historical part of that learned gentleman's speech, and examined his arguments as drawn from the instances of distant imprisonment in virtue of sentences passed by the court of Star Chamber. He controverted the statement that the court of Star Chamber owed its abolition in any principal degree to such punishments. The punishment which gave offence to parliament of this nature, was not one that sentenced to distant prisons (as they were called) in England, but, in the cases of Prynne, Bastwick, and others, who were sent to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly. It was not correct in historical fact, to say, that the abolition of the jurisdiction of that court was owing to such causes. There were other and weightier causes assigned for that measure. It was in point of fact, not the sentences passed, but the whole proceedings of that court previous to the passing of such sentences, that alarmed the fears, awakened the jealousies, and procured the votes of parliament which effected its abolition. In support of his observations, he referred to lord Clarendon. He noticed some expressions which had fallen from the learned gentleman, respecting words used by Bastwick when undergoing his sentence in Palace-yard, and desired to know by what modern lights it was discovered that the sayings of a man in Palace-yard, addressed to the mob, were to be introduced by lawyers, or received in a grave and learned assembly as matter of illustration, reference, or precedent. He observed that the cases in which the learned gentleman attempted to make out any thing in his support were all anterior to the Revolution. That learned gentleman, he contended, was, from various instances, of which he cited several from which he endeavoured to shew the weakness of his arguments, erroneous in his notions respecting the right of the court of King's Bench, even previous to the era of the Revolution. There was much said about good times and bad times; but he should like to know into what political dictionary he was to look for a definition of which were the good times, and which were the bad times. There was always enough of that sort of argument to be met with whenever legal precedents were resorted to, whatever be the nature and necessity of the case. Coming down, however, to the period of the Revolution, he believed it would be obvious that in those best times, the mode of punishment now asserted to be illegal, was most frequently practised, and yet no doubts had then been raised as to its propriety and its legality. The learned solicitor then asserted that in the times of seven chief justices and twenty-two judges, he had not less than twenty-one cases in point to offer to the notice of their lordships. Beginning with lord chief justice Holt, he continued with other instances from lord chief justice Parker, lord chief justice Mansfield, lord chief justice Kenyon, &c. up to the present time, during all which course so many excellent constitutional puisne judges had also sat on the bench in that high criminal court; in all which cases judgment had been given and executed wrongfully and illegally, if the judgment

in the present case were to be deemed i
legal. He dwelt particularly on severa
individual cases, especially one in which
man was found guilty of perjury before
committee of the house of commons on th
Hindon election, and was sent to Hindo
to be set upon the pillory in that place
where his example was likely to produc
the most beneficial effects; and anothe
in which for a crime committed in Wale
the convicted person suffered at Kenning
ton, in Surrey. He mentioned another ca
of a distant crime, for which the executio
took place at St. Thomas Watering, Ken
and an old instance of a man sent to Port
mouth to be executed for desertion o
cowardice, because that was the plac
where the execution of that sentenc
would probably be most exemplary ar
beneficial. He recited all the cases me
tioned on Tuesday by Mr. Attorney G
neral, and contended for the strict appl
cability of the more recent instances. B
it was not merely on the cases he ha
cited, but on the general principles of th
question that it ought to be decided. Th
court of King's Bench was the chief crim
nal court in the kingdom. It was so d
scribed by all the ancient, as well as m
dern lawyers of repute. It was so calle
by Coke, who stated its antiquity and i
power. It had a great part of the ancie
Justiciarum Angliæ. Its jurisdiction w
called *capitanus* and *generalis,* to shew i
universality and general superintendenc
Hawkins, in his Pleas of the Crown (o
of the best writers and authorities) ha
fully stated its extensive powers. It coul
he contended, be restricted by none
those restrictions which confined t
powers of inferior county courts. A
were the decisions of the judges of such
court to be treated like the practices of t
office of a secretary of state, and such a
guments supported merely by what lo
Camden had said of the usage of su
offices; usage that had never before be
made the subject of a solemn decision i
court of law, or by any arguments again
the exploded practice of the explod
court of Star Chamber? In the ma
recent instances of imprisonment in di
tant gaols, was it to be believed, that t
poverty of the individuals was the reas
that prevented them from trying the m
rits of the practice of the judges? H
they not always sufficient legal assistanc
Was there not a learned lord then at th
bar of which he was the great ornamen
who had so often exerted the greatest e

nce the bar ever knew in defence of
h individuals, and who left nothing un-
e that zeal and talents could effect?
d would he have left a stone unturned
behalf of his clients, if he had conceiv-
the possibility of attacking the legality
the sentences pronounced upon them?
th respect to the demand of securities
good behaviour, the practice was old,
used in the best times. It was absurd
alk of its operating as a perpetual im-
onment. The prolongation of impri-
ment would depend on the bad charac-
of the individual, whose friends could
trust to his good behaviour, even after
experience that had been taught him
his confinement. As to the difficulty
understanding what was meant by
d behaviour, he could not enter fully
ugh into the motives, views, and dis-
tions of certain persons to under-
d their difficulties on that subject.
od behaviour was what they might not
ly understand, and cared little to learn.
they might easily enough learn it.
re was a chapter in an elementary
rk, (sir William Blackstone's) that
ld explain to them what was necessary
now on that subject. All the instances
had noticed were viewed by the other
as too recent They must go up to
her antiquity, they must mount up to
conquest or beyond that period. Every
g he and his learned friend had to offer
too young for the modern school, they
ld begin *ab ovo.* The learned gentle-
r must know that they could not in-
tigate accurately the nature of the
tence. The whole object of this appeal
to depreciate the character of our
rts. "Humanitas," for that was the
e signed to a libellous letter in the
ndependent Whig," had considered the
ular notion concerning the administra-
of our laws by juries as too exalted.
se lovers of freedom, in their new dis-
eries, attacked the institutions best cal-
ted to preserve it. The object was
y to raise a ferment in men's minds, to
ow discredit upon the judges of the
d, and to take from our wisest establish-
nts that public respect in which they
been held, and which they so much
erved. But the decision of our chief
rts of justice, and not the speech of a
n to a mob in Palace-yard, would in-
nce that decree which their lordships,
trusted, would then, in their wisdom,
e? After a number of other remarks,
hon. gent. concluded.

Mr. *Clifford* began his reply by animadverting on the conduct of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in the bad motives they had presumed, so liberally but so unjustly, to impute to those who had advised, or were concerned in bringing before their lordships the present appeal. He solemnly denied that it was done with any intention to depreciate the character of the judges of the court of King's Bench, at which bar he himself practised, and where the present judges, he was sure, if they had done any thing in the exercise of their judicial functions which was founded on a mistake, would be quite as willing to rectify that mistake, on being shewn the error, as any that had preceded them on that bench. He was confident that so far from this measure being considered as bearing the character attributed to it, it must be seen as one which gave the best and fairest opportunity for bringing this great question to an issue, by appealing to their lordships *en dernier ressort.* Nothing more was attempted to be done but what the law of the land authorised, and what the cases of the individuals required. While he should forbear from following the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General in the field of declamation and invective into which they had wandered, he must express in some degree, his gratitude to them for the greater part of the speeches they had delivered. They put him in mind of a fable which was lately quoted by a person of eminent abilities and character, in noticing the speech of a learned gentleman in some other place; it was the fable of the ass, who went into a field attracted by a thistle, but who went round and round about the thistle, fearful of touching it. The learned gentlemen, in like manner, went about and about it, but were extremely shy of touching on the principle of the question then before their lordships. He begged to re-state to their lordships, that the constitutional and legal principle he laid down with respect to the power of the court of King's Bench, was this: that they had no right to send persons into imprisonment, in execution of a sentence pronounced by that court, except to the jail of the county where the offence was committed, the jail of the county where that court sat, or their own jail. He maintained that no case had been cited to destroy the truth of his positions. The exceptions were not such as could furnish a rule.

Hardly a case could they bring to bear on the subject that had not occurred since the Revolution, and he contended that if it was not legal to do so previous to that event, that event could not possibly make it legal. He had been told to produce an enactment to make it illegal; but he asserted that the liberties of the subject depended not upon enactments. Enactments ought to be produced to him to shew him and their lordships that the practice had been rendered legal. This was the true principle of the constitution on such subjects. What he had said of the case of Bastwick had been observed upon with a triumphant sneer, as a foolish saying addressed to the people, who are styled by the learned gentleman the *mob*. But he had seen quoted the expression of an individual suffering a punishment as a precedent on a legal opinion. He had only quoted it as an illustration of what was the general feeling at that time, for it was scarcely in human nature that Bastwick should have used the expressions he did, had they been founded in falsehood, since his hearers must have very well known whether the practice was a new one or an old custom. Bastwick, in the spirit of those times, while he complained of the practice of sending persons to distant jails, attributed the origin of the practice to the Jesuits. As to the opinion of lord Clarendon, it should be recollected, that the fourth article of impeachment against that nobleman, stated this as one of his offences; and his lordship, long afterwards, in noticing this circumstance, states, that he thought it a hard case for him to be charged and tried for an offence which he had only been guilty of, in common with others of the privy council. This was that noble lord's excuse. Reverting to the case of the abolition of the Star Chamber, which was said by the learned gentlemen to have been occasioned by an objection to their proceedings, and not to their sentences, he shewed by a quotation from the parliamentary resolution, that the sentences, as well as the proceedings, formed the grounds of the abolition of that oppressive court. The authority he had quoted from lord Camden had been sneered at, the memory of that learned and venerable lord depreciated, and the hallowed precincts of the tomb violated by viperous slander. It was asked, What! would lord Camden have spoken of the decisions
of the court of King's Bench, as he
of the usage of the Secretary of Sta
office? No! but the house of lo
were then in the same situation relat
to that court, as lord Camden, when
judge, was to the Secretary of Sta
office! With respect to the Hin
election, he stated a question that ar
respecting the payment of the expen
which the sheriff refused, and the co
of King's Bench could not compel
to make them good. He wished
learned gentlemen to look into the
neral principles of our laws more ac
rately, they would see reasons for
view of the nature of county jails,
the authority of courts. These jails w
the county jails; they were built,
paired, and maintained at their own
pence. They were obliged to keep
prisoners, they were liable to fines
offences committed within their cou
limits, which it was presumed they ou
to have prevented. All the jails w
the king jails, it was perfectly true,
so were all the courts of justice, but
this was so, for the purposes of pu
benefit and public protection, and
limited by a variety of restrictions, c
ditions, and limitations. All the h
roads, in the same way, were the ki
roads, (though much of these might
private property;) but they were
king's, for the convenience and prot
tion of his subjects in passing from plac
place. The cases of imprisonment or
ecution in the city of London, pursu
to sentences passed in Westminster,
sented no difficulty, since in fact the
riffs of London were sheriffs of Middle
and the prison of Newgate was the pr
of both. The learned gentleman w
through a wide field of argument
illustration in support of the princi
which he had asserted. He shewed
hardships of the practice of requi
sureties for a length of time after the
piration of imprisonment. He quoted
declaration of the Bill of Rights against
cessive bail, and unusual and cruel
nishments, and concluded after a var
of other observations, a very argume
tive and ingenious speech by
testing against the imputation of evil
signs in this case, and deprecating s
insinuations against the people of
country.

The Counsel having left the bar,
Lord Chancellor rose, and briefly st
that he had no doubt on his mind

ting this question. Important as it , it was not attended with much culty. It was his intention to move uestion to be put to the learned ges upon the subject. His lordship moved, That a question be referred he Judges for their opinion, Whe- the court of King's Bench could any person convicted in their court Westminster to any jail in England?

arl *Stanhope* said, that having been rtunately and unavoidably absent, consequently not having heard the sel who stated the case of the plain- to the house, nor the answer of the rney-General, he should not give a on the present occasion; but still e was a certain principle to which the e should conform, and it should pro- with the utmost regularity and deli- tion to the decision of the point at before them, and particularly as to severity of the punishment. He had ys understood that it was a funda- tal principle of the law of England the parties were precisely on a level, the scales of justice should be kept , and that no improper questioning pplication of motives should be to- ed in the counsel on either side.— learned counsel for the prosecution not charged the counsel for the n with any improper motives; but he other hand he must say, that the sel for the crown, one of whom he onally and highly respected, as a diligent and able man in his pro- on, (Mr. Solicitor General,) had no , at the bar of the house of lords, to ute improper motives to a counsel came to perform his professional The present was not a charge of lty, it was a charge of error! and, rding to an act of parliament passed e first year of William and Mary, Bill of Rights—it was, at least, an eous judgment. The 10th article of important statute says, that exces- bail shall not be required; nor ex- ve fines imposed, nor cruel and un- punishments inflicted! And would Solicitor General say, that a thing contrary to the prescriptions of statute was not error, at the least. did not mean to argue or to give an ion upon the particular case before house, but he thought before it decided ould have been better informed as to recedents referred to in support of the ments advanced at the bar, and that the house ought to have laid before it an account of the different judgments which had been given, touching the case, down to a certain period. With respect to the nature of the security required in such a case as the present, he could not help contrasting it with that of the persons who were some time since convicted of attempting to blow up the King's Bench Prison, they were sentenced; as the present parties before them, to three years imprisonment. But what was the security required of them for their good behaviour after the expiration of their imprisonment —of persons convicted of an offence in which the commission of deliberate murder must be contemplated? None; not to the amount of one shilling! In a conviction of perjury, no later than November last; an offence so injurious to the well-being of the community, what was the sentence of the court? It was, that the offender be fined one shilling, imprisoned for three months, and farther until the said fine should be paid! Their lordships should bear in mind, in deciding on the case, that there was a scale of punishments, and take care, as far as in them lay, to render the punishment commensurate to the offence.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed that the crime, as it appeared on the face of the matter on which those two prisoners were convicted, was one of the most dangerous description. He referred to several instances of punishments early after the Revolution, for libels, and shewed that punishments in such cases of latter times were, comparatively speaking, far from being severe. His lordship, after some farther observation, amended the question to the following effect: "That it be referred to the judges to know their opinion whether the court of King's Bench, in the case of the conviction of a person at Westminster, could legally send such person to any prison in England, other than the prison belonging to the court, the county prison where the offence was committed, or that where the court held its sittings? And also to know whether sureties for a reasonable time, for the good behaviour of such person, could be legally required?"

On the question being handed to the Judges, their Opinion was delivered to the house by sir James Mansfield, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas. His lordship began by observing, that it was now fifty years since he had been made a member of the profession of the law, and he had never during all that time doubted or heard a doubt started of the right of the court of King's Bench now called in question. Many cases had been cited which it was not his intention, or that of his brothers, to enter into. A sufficient number of instances both in ancient and in modern times, had been shown to prove the practice. The removal of persons from their friends by imprisonment was often unavoidable, and might occur in either of the cases specified. The judges had no doubt whatever upon the authority of the court to send persons to prisons in England, other than those specified in the question referred to them. As to the second point they were equally of opinion unanimously, that the court possessed authority legally to require such sureties for a reasonable time.

Lord *Erskine* could not act so unmanly a part as to avoid giving his opinion. He considered the appeal by writ of error as a grand proof of the excellence of our constitution, which in so many ways provided checks upon the constituted authorities of the land. The case of libel law had been brought as near perfection, as was perhaps, possible: though, in earlier life, he did not think that the practice of the courts was right and legal in some points, yet he lived to see it remedied. He could not pretend to enter into the merits of the particular case of punishment, as that was not before him, though he must say that it was a strange thing to be forward in condemning an acquitting jury. He had not been so long in the profession as the venerable judge who had just delivered the opinion of the Bench; but he had never entertained a doubt of the power of the court of King's Bench upon this point. Had he even done so, he should most certainly have availed himself of many opportunities in his professional practice, for the sake of those clients who had put themselves under his protection, to bring the question to a solemn discussion.

After a few words from the Lord Cancellor, his lordship put the question, and the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench was unanimously affirmed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 18.

[MONUMENT TO CAPT. HARDINGE.] Mr. *R. Ward,* in rising to address the house
on this subject, moved, that the entry
the Journals respecting a motion to t
same effect as the present be read. (Here t
Clerk read from the Journals an account
the debate which ensued upon the moti
for erecting a monument to capt. Faulkn
of the Blanche frigate, who fell in acti
in the year 1795. Upon the ground o
claim from general services the moti
was rejected; but upon being amen
ed by stating his services as perform
towards the islands of Martinique a
Guadaloupe, it was agreed to). The h
gent. said, that on this occasion he rose
move a great national honour to a gr
national hero. He trusted no one wo
impute to him any affectation of do
himself honour by coming forward as
did. With reluctance he undertook
task, and was only led to do so from
adventitious circumstances of situation.
felt it here necessary to call the attent
of the house to the gallant services
capt. Hardinge. Though he was bu
stripling in years, yet he was a vete
in achievements. His short career
marked by the most brilliant exploits,
in every service and upon every occas
he met with merited approbation from
commanders. He had served under t
distinguished officer sir S. Smith, at
siege of Acre. He next served with ca
Miller, and was reserved by fate for m
important services to his country at
time that brave officer was blown up in
vessel. The next situation in which ca
Hardinge would be found was the c
mand of a gun-boat on the coast of Eg
and here his peculiar merits acquired
him the reward of a gold medal. A
this he was raised to the command of
Terror bomb, at the bombardment
Granville, on the coast of France.
his zeal and ability on this occasion si
Saumarez bore the most ample testim
in the report which he made of it.
vessel in which he served having b
rendered unfit by the damages she
ceived, capt. Hardinge was next promo
to the Scorpion sloop of war. In
vessel he acquired considerable fame
cutting out from a port on the coas
Holland the Atalanta gun-brig, a vesse
far superior force. This service was
more brilliant as it was performed by
boats only. And here it would be an ac
injustice to pass over the merits of c
Perry, who assisted in the enterprize,
ing put himself under the comman
capt. Hardinge. The modesty of c

rdinge, in his account of this transac- n, did not form the least worthy trait it. But his commanding officer (lord th) did not however overlook the ser- e performed, because it was modestly resented, and accordingly it would be nd that in his dispatch on that occasion gave full scope to the dictates of his ling, in the representation which he de of the service performed by cap- ns Hardinge and Perry. There was ther circumstance in this transaction ich the hon. gent. could not help men- ning. It seems that the Dutch captain ring defended with conduct and valour vessel to the last extremity, refused ry proffer of safety which was made to n, and died like a hero in the discharge his duty. Such was the assimilation of ling, that the gallant capt. Hardinge ld never mention this occurrence with- bursting into tears. The subsequent, unfortunately for his country, the last vice performed by this brave officer, s when in command of the San Fio- zo frigate, he was placed under the ers of sir Edward Pellew in the Indian s, for the protection of our commerce that quarter. The enemy had employ- in those seas for a long time, a class of gates whose object was not so much di- ted to special hostile encounters with the e description of force, as to a general tem of commercial depredation. Of se frigates there was one (La Piedmou- se) mounting fifty guns, and furnished h a complement of French sailors and scars, not less than 566. She was fact the terror of those seas. In month of March, 1808, the good tune of capt. Hardinge brought him r this vessel, in his ship of a far inferior ce, mounting no more than 38 guns, and nned with no more than 150 men. The ion which ensued was not one in which her victory or death was the conse- ence of a moment, for it lasted three s. On the first day, in consequence of damages, the ship under capt. Hard- ge's command was obliged to fall back order to repair. The Frenchman did same, and took that occasion to sheer

On other minds this circumstance y have operated far differently than it on the mind of capt. Hardinge. After ving refitted, he proceeded not out of enemy's course, but again came up h and engaged him. The result of this ion deprived the service of a most gal- t and distinguished officer. The hon. gent. could not here, he said, neglect to pay the deserved tribute to the exertions of lieut. Dawson, who seconded with vigour and effect the operations of his lamented officer. The hon. gent. felt that the address he was now making was directed to an assembly composed of those who were acquainted with the acts by which a gratitude for and admiration of such acts were to be created in posterity. They were men who knew how to appreciate the incentives to casting off a life of luxurious ease, and embracing the rugged duties of a life devoted to the service. It was well known also what feelings were entertained on this head at periods of the remotest antiquity.—After having read the account of this last gallant exploit performed by capt. Hardinge, as transmitted officially by sir Edward Pellew, the hon. gent. called the attention of the house to the request made by sir J. Mackenzie, a man, who well knew how to estimate true glory and great achievements; that the inhabitants of Bombay would erect a monument to the gallant capt. Hardinge. He also noticed the letter of gen. Maitland, governor of Ceylon, which spoke in the strongest commendatory terms of the services performed by the fallen hero. Those testimonials must be highly pleasing to the friends of capt. Hardinge. Admiral Tyler stated his ardent wish that a monument should be erected to the memory of this distinguished officer. A great and illustrious commander (earl St. Vincent), in his letter on this occasion, broke out into most rapturous expressions on the bravery and conduct of so young a man. The hon. gent. felt it necessary to state what he did, as some dissent to his proposition might arise. He trusted, however, that if any dissent did take place, it would be only created by an adherence to the cold forms of office. It would be seen that capt. Faulkner was rewarded for a single action. It was not his wish by extending the grant of honours by any means to cheapen them.—The hon. gent. concluded by moving, "That an humble Address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct that a monument be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, to the memory of capt. George Nicholas Hardinge, of the San Fiorenzo frigate, as a reward for the services performed by him in the course of a short but gallant life, and particularly for the protection he afforded to the Indian trade, in successive actions with a vessel of superior force, in the month of March 1808; and his majesty's faithful Commons will make good the expences attendant on the same."

Mr. *Windham* felt himself under the necessity, however reluctantly, of opposing the motion; because, if once the principle were to grow into practice of voting a monument to every officer whose valour might lead to a loss of his life in actions with single ships or frigates, not only would the claims upon the country become innumerable (such was the prominent valour of our naval officers), but the thing from its frequency would cease to be, what it now was, an honourable distinction, the very rarity of which constituted its chief value. This was not the kind of case in which the country had been accustomed to vote monuments; it was not that great and signal victory of vast national importance, by which the gratitude and the enthusiasm of the country were wound up to such a pitch, as in fact to run before the house in the wish of distinguishing the memory of the deceased.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that on occasions such as the present, it had been the invariable practice of parliament to vote its thanks to those who distinguished themselves in the service. There was a class of actions which he said was not at all inferior in importance to those of a general nature, he meant actions between individual vessels. There was no species of merit greater than that of individuals, on such occasions. In the present instance, death ensued to the individual, but it was death connected with victory, and met by the opposition of an inferior to a superior force. The principle of the present motion he should consider not only as fair, but extremely advantageous to the interests of the navy. Had it not been brought forward by his hon. friend, he would himself most eagerly have undertaken it.

Mr. *Wilberforce* concurred in the original motion, and thought the country had no ground for disagreeable sensations, in the apprehension of such a consequence as that predicted by the right hon. gent.; namely, that if we were to vote too frequently distinctions of this sort, we were in danger of being overwhelmed with monuments to the brave, whose valour would call for such honourable distinction in death. On the contrary, he feared we were rather too niggardly of our honourable distinctions to the army and navy,
and he only regretted that the plan f
establishing distinct orders of honour
the navy, which was arranged, digeste
and every thing but adopted by his la
right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) previous
his death, was not now in operation.

Mr. *W. Adam* followed upon the sa
side, and said, that it had been admitt
that since the year 1760, there had be
but four instances of the same servic
Had captain Hardinge survived that gl
rious victory, his majesty no doubt wo
have made him an object of the royal
vour: as he had fallen, that house oug
not to refuse him the only mark of pub
gratitude, that they now could con
upon his memory.

Mr. *Marryat* thought, that if they we
to erect monuments to every heroic offic
that fell in the service, they would ha
to raise buildings, in the first instance,
contain their monuments.

Mr. *C. Wynn* professed as high a sen
of the merits of captain Hardinge, as a
gentlemen who heard him; but he thoug
it necessary to draw some line of distir
tion. Captain Cook had got no mon
ment; captain Farmer, who was blown
in his ship, the Quebec, disdaining to q
his post, though inevitable death was t
result, had got no monument. He cou
not agree to this motion, though at t
same time he did not wish to give it a
rect negative. He should therefore mo
the previous question.

Mr. *Long* supported the original motic

Mr. *Curwen* thought it would be cru
to stop the practice in this particular ca
The respect of the country to their m
mories was the only reward which t
brave men who fell in its defence cou
receive.

Mr. *W. Smith* did not conceive by t
present vote, that the value of the hon
would be at all diminished. He thoug
the monument ought to be voted, and th
unanimously and honourably.

Admiral *Markham* bore his testimony
the particular merits of captain Harding

After a few words from sir C. Pole, a
Mr. Whitbread, the previous question w
negatived without a division, and the v
for the monument was carried *nem. con.*

[DIVORCE BILLS.] Lord *Porchester*
to move, that a committee be appoint
to inspect the Journals of the house
lords as far as related to any Standing C
der with respect to the introduction of
vorce Bills into the upper house.
commented at some length on the ha

o of prohibiting any Divorce Bill from ng admitted into the house of lords, un- such bill contained a clause prohibit- the intermarriage of the criminal ties. This, the noble lord contended, calling upon an individual to mix and found his own particular interests with alledged great public object; it was ating that just principle of regulation erved in the lower house, by which a tain time was appropriated to private iness, and the rest to public. He ught, too, that it was a measure of un- alleled cruelty to some individuals, who uld be thereby deprived of all hope, abandoned to a life of despair, exclu- n and penance, that the hardiest of their ucers would shrink from the bare con- plation of; besides that, there was in nature of such an Order an unwarrant- e interference with the privileges of t house. He concluded by moving, hat a Committee be appointed to inspect Lords' Journals for any Standing Order pted in the present session on the sub- t of Divorce Bills."

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could follow the noble lord's argument to conclusion which had been drawn from The alarm which the noble lord de- ed to excite on this subject appeared to n most unfounded. There could be no abt that the lords had the power to in- duce such a clause into a bill, without y Standing Order; and this house had hing further to do with it than to can- s the propriety of the clause when it ne up in any bill. The order, he said, not provide that the bill should not go of the house without such a clause; went merely to regulate the mode in ich Divorce Bills should be introduced. e lords had done nothing more than ridge their own privileges to a certain ent. Both houses were perfectly com- cent to regulate their own modes of pro- ding. They had nothing to do with s till they came before them. This s a regulation binding merely upon the ds themselves. He therefore objected the motion.

Mr. *Ponsonby* thought the stile of argu- nt of the right hon. gent. very extraor- ary. He said that it was a regulation to the introduction of bills; but the aning was, that no bill should go out of house of lords without such a clause. e object was, to compel this house ei- er to do individual injustice by rejecting ill, or to pass it with this clause. This, therefore, was an attempt to force legislation on the house of commons. It was a general measure of legislation; and an attempt to force this house to legislate according to the views of the house of lords. This was a most unconstitutional proceeding, highly derogatory to the other branches of parliament, and ought to be resented by this house.

Mr. *Windham* contended, that the motion ought to be adopted, in order to see what the exact nature of the order was. If it should be found that it had any effect on the privileges of this house, then this house would have to consider how it should defend itself. He argued strongly upon the unfairness of not being permitted to discuss any individual case, without being shackled by such a clause as this. No evil could arise from an inquiry into the nature of the case; and there was sufficient ground to authorize such an inquiry.

Mr. *Bathurst* said, that the house would have to discuss every bill on its own merits. If the clause in question should be rejected, then the lords themselves would have to consider whether they would sacrifice the principle or the views of the parties. The inconvenience rested with the lords themselves, and not with this house.

Mr. *C. Wynn* observed, that while this was confined to bills originating in the house of lords, he saw no objection to it. Both houses had a right to regulate its own proceedings. But these bills might originate in this house; and the words of the order were, that the lords would not entertain any bill without such a clause. It was possible, therefore, that they might apply to bills sent from this house. For this reason he would vote for the motion.

Sir S. *Romilly* contended, that the spirit of the order must be, that the lords would not in any way entertain a bill of Divorce without such a clause. To prove this, he quoted the rules with respect to Naturalization Bills. If it could be supposed that this was the meaning of the order, then it was a most serious measure, and ought to be examined. The difficulty on this house would be extreme, as they would be called upon in every particular case, to beware, because, if they rejected this clause the bill would be thrown out. He was surprised at the objection of his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The object was to see what the order was. At present it appeared to be an attempt by the house of lords to legislate on an important point, without the concurrence of the other branches. The house was highly obliged to the noble lord who was so careful of its privileges, when by the course of nature he had a prospect of spending so great a portion of his life in the other house.

Mr. *H. Smith* deprecated the injury to which individual parties might be subject by a difference of opinion between the two houses of parliament on an abstract question. With a view of giving an opportunity for an assimilation of their sentiments, he should vote for the motion of the noble lord.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* observed, that although the lords, by their Standing Order, declared that they would not receive a Divorce Bill without a clause to prevent the guilty parties from intermarrying, they had not declared that they would not receive such a bill from the house of commons. It was fairly to be presumed that they meant to confine the influence of their Order to bills originating in their own house. Conceiving that the noble lord had not made out any breach of the privileges of the house, as having been attempted by the lords, he should give his negative to the motion.

Mr. *Barham* could not conceive that the lords would have been so foolish as to make a Standing Order without intending that it should have its effect. That purposed effect appeared to him evidently to be, that no Divorce Bill should pass them without such a clause as the one alluded to. If, however, their object were confined to prevent the introduction merely of a Divorce Bill, without the clause in question, still he conceived that the step taken by them was highly objectionable. Adverting to the principle of the standing order itself, he expressed his disapprobation of it, and his conviction that it would not contribute to the cause of morality.

After a short reply from lord Porchester, and a few words from Mr. G. Johnstone in favour of the motion, a division took place, For the motion - - - - 43

Against it - - - - - - 67

Majority against the Committee—24

[Bill for preventing Seditious Meetings.] The Attorney-General rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Act of the 39th of Geo. 3, which respected Seditious and Treasonable Societies. His object would be to strike out of that act certain words which referred to the act of th 36th George 3, respecting houses wher debating societies were held, on subjec therein specified, and where money wa received at the doors without a licence which houses were declared disorderly.

Mr. *Ponsonby* supposed that the hon and learned gentleman would not hav brought forward a proposition of this na ture without having some good end i view; although he professed himself pe fectly at a loss to comprehend his mean ing, and requested he would have th goodness, for the benefit of himself an his friends near him, to be a little mor explicit.

The *Attorney General* entered into more detailed explanation of his objec By the act of the 36th of George 3, it ha been enacted, that houses where debatin societies were held on certain subjec therein described, and where money wa received at the doors, should be licenced and that those houses in which such d bates were held, and where money wa received at the doors, without a licenc should be punished as disorderly. By th act of 39 Geo. 3, it was enacted, tha where debating societies of the descriptio alluded to were held, and money receive and where the houses in which they wer held had no licence, those houses should be deemed disorderly, "within the mean ing of the 36th of George 3."—Now, if th 36th of George 3, had created the offenc of disorderly houses, then the significatio of those words would have been plain, an it would have only been necessary t refer to the 36th for a definition of th term; but that was not the case. Th 39th of George 3, had full operation, a declaring what was disorderly, and wha was punishable, although the 36th wer out of the case. But as he understoo that by the introduction of the words re ferring to the 36th, doubts had arisen wit respect to the meaning of the 39th, hi object was to repeat those words, and leav the 39th without them.

Mr. *Whitbread* would have an opportu nity, on the second reading, of stating h opinion of the bill. At the same time h must observe, that he thought the honour able and learned gentleman must hav some cases to state to the house as th ground of his motion, or he would not, afte the lapse of ten years, touch so delicate question. He did not mean to disser from the motion for bringing in the bill but he begged not to be understood a cluded by that from opposing the mea- in any future stage, if it should appear im to be objectionable.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] Mr. wen moved the second reading of the s in Parliament Bill. The bill was then a second time, and on the question it be committed,

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, he thought it right to take that oppor- ity of mentioning to the hon. gentle- , and to the house, the objections ch pressed upon his mind as to this bill. should not say that these objections ht not be obviated; but he felt it de- ble to state them in that instance, in r to give gentlemen an opportunity of ing them in their minds, with a view bviate them if possible. His first ob- on applied to the manner in which bill described the offence; his next ction was, to the manner in which the nce was to be punished; and his third ction was against the manner, in which precautionary provision, it was pro- d to prevent the recurrence of the nce. If the bill were to pass in its form, it would comprehend a variety of acts and conduct, which he was uaded had never been in contempla- of the honourable framer. It would y not only to the sale of seats in that e, but to the sale of property or inter- which might give influence in the rn of members to that house. If this were to pass, no burgage tenures d be sold, nor any property that would y with it influence at an election, out incurring the penalties of the bill. was an insurmountable objection to its present form. Besides, it would prospectively and retrospectively, di- y and indirectly, so that no man who a vote at an election, could at any receive a favour from a member. was an operation of the bill, which as convinced had never entered into mind of the honourable gentleman. ad himself turned his thoughts to the and discovered difficulties which d not be obviated without getting rid everal clauses which the honourable ber wished to retain. It was not a factory answer to say that a jury d not construe the act to extend to cases as were not obviously in- ed to bias the particular election. house should not leave that to a jury ecide, and besides it was highly objectionable to legislate penalty without a precise and definite exactment. With respect to the manner in which the punishment was to be regulated, he could not conceive, until the blanks should be filled up, how that was to be settled; whether the question was to be sent to the courts of law, without any limitation of time, and not referred to a committee of that house. But he doubted, whether that house would consent, under any circumstances, to commit questions of that description concerning the validity of seats within its walls, to the jurisdiction of the courts of common law. His next objection was to the oath. If an oath was to be introduced, it ought to be precise, so that what members were to swear should be clearly and distinctly known, and he was sure the house would not admit any other form into the bill. What would have been the situation of members under the treating act, if there had been such an oath as first proposed in this bill, when what one committee decided not to be an offence against the act, another committee declared to be an offence, so that if the oath were to have been imposed, the same act would in one case prove perjury, which in another would be wholly innocent. He had thought it incumbent upon him to state these objections to the house, not with any idea of giving opposition to the bill, but for the purpose of giving gentlemen an opportunity of obviating them if possible.

Mr. *Curwen* congratulated the house that the objections of the right hon. gent. were not to the principle of the bill. What the right hon. gent. said, had certainly considerable weight with him. It was never in his intention to destroy the right of disposing of burgage tenure, because that would lead to the destruction of the right to dispose of freeholds. But when the bill should come into the committee, he hoped that means would be devised to get rid of all the difficulties stated by the right hon. gent. As to the Oath, he thought it ought not to be imposed in the detail, if not in the wholesale. At all events, nothing could tend so much to set that house right with the public, as to shew that no persons could get improperly into it. If parliament did not reform itself, it would, according to the saying of a great man, be reformed with a vengeance from without. When abuses were proved to exist, it would add to the dissatisfaction of the people, if the necessary remedies should not be applied to correct them.

Mr. *Windham* thought, that his honourable friend, when his bill had been suffered to take its chance for a second reading, had no occasion to make the harangue he had delivered, or to utter the menaces against that house with which his speech concluded. He had himself determined to remain till the question of the second reading of this bill, though he was jealous of its progress. He would not admit that parliament had lost the confidence of the public, at least of the thinking part of the public; and he did not allow that the corruptions alluded to by his hon. friend existed, at any rate not in the sense in which his hon. friend said they did. He had risen only to protest against the harangue of his hon. friend, and to lay in his claim to an unfettered exercise of his judgment upon the merits of his bill.

Mr. *Bathurst* thought, that when the house had agreed to the second reading, it sanctioned the principle of the bill; and that they had a right to know from his right hon. friends, whether they thought the abuses proposed to be remedied by this bill were such as ought to be corrected. He considered the house as placed in a situation in which it had never been before. It was new to parliament to have the practices proposed to be corrected by this bill admitted within that house. This bill was not to interfere with the sale of property; neither would it touch, in the remotest degree, the question respecting a reform in the representation in that house. It was intended to correct an evil acknowledged to exist, and upon which the house had a right to expect an opinion from his majesty's ministers. As to the first objection of his right hon. friend, it might be got over by leaving out a few words. The other objections also, he was of opinion, might be got rid of in the committee.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* was of opinion that parliament had not lost the confidence of the public; and if it had, this bill was not calculated to retrieve it, for it had not met with the approbation of the Solon and Lycurgus of the Crown and Anchor.

Mr. *Curwen*, in explanation, stated, that he had not been present at the meeting at the Crown and Anchor.

Lord *Folkestone* did not think it necessary to argue with the right hon. gent. whether the house had or had not lost the confidence of the country. The right hon. gent. had not lately been found in attendance on the debates of the house, and probably from that circumstance, and from his having spent more of his tim among the public, he esteemed himse better qualified to speak as to the degre of confidence the public reposed in tha house. The right hon. gent. probab knew that the house, by the votes they ha lately come to, had procured univers approbation and applause, and stood high than it had ever done at any former perio in the public estimation. His lordsh doubted not the right hon. gent. had foun all this to be the case, during the time had been absent from the house. (lord Folkestone) however would tell hi what had passed here during the interv of his absence. A question had be brought forward, charging some of his m jesty's ministers with bargaining for a selling Seats in that house; and so from being denied, the offence was ende voured to be palliated and extenuate Farther, various members professed the belief of the existence of a train of abus of the kind, and the investigation into the was not gone into, because it was ev held out that all the public men in house would be found to have been in plicated. If the right hon. gent. h heard these things, and moreover had be informed, that they were as clear a notorious as the sun at noon day, the no lord left it to him to say, if the prese bill was the effect of popular clamour.

Mr. *Lockhart* should object to this me sure if it were intended to stop here, a allow the rotten boroughs to be held their present tenures. He had alwa been of opinion that a moderate refo was necessary.

Mr. *Ponsonby* understood the discussi of the principle of the bill to have be postponed till the question for the Spea er's leaving the chair. Many membe he was convinced, were now absent that understanding.

The bill was then ordered to be co mitted for to-morrow.

[Lotteries.] Mr. Wharton broug up the Report of the Committee of Wa and Means of yesterday.

Mr. *Whitbread* restated his objections Lotteries, and declared his determination take the sense of the house on the Reso tion on this subject. A Committee h been appointed to consider the subject, a after a laborious investigation their rep had been unfavourable. There was argument advanced on the other side, th such was the spirit of gambling existi in the country, that whether parliam ctioned it or not, it must produce the ct complained of. For his part, he ight that as far as this spirit of gam- g was directed to Lotteries, parliament ld easily devise a remedy, as they nselves were the cause of the mischief. as the government themselves who en- raged the spirit of adventure in eries, which had produced all the evils ed in the Report of the Committee. hing could be more injurious in a coun- where habits of economy and sober stry were instilled into young people he sure means of arriving at wealth, to have in view a scheme where lth was not to be earned by labour or stry; but to come merely from for- . It must be evident to ministers that eal wealth was produced to the coun- by those adventurers in the Lottery. sober and religious view of the sub- he thought it most improper that go- ment should countenance the distri- on of wealth in any other manner than e reward of merit. The government only held out encouragement to the to hope for wealth without labour, but held out encouragement to part with hey had, with all that honestly or dis- stly they could appropriate, in order e in fortune's way. The many evils resulted from lotteries were suf- ntly apparent, but the little good that to be derived from them he should take into his consideration. When it proposed that 300,000*l.* should be ed in the way of lottery, it must be idered, that a million, or at least six dred thousand pounds were actually n out of the pockets of the public, and in the most distressing way that was able. In that point of view alone the would be inexpedient, if it were not uctive of vice and immorality; but it ld be observed that a very great degree ice and immorality were always pro- ed by the lottery, in the encourage- t they gave to insurance, and other ulations contrary to law. This was a ct which Mr. Pitt was never able to edy, and he could tell the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer, that to certain knowledge there were persons his town who would outstrip him in ulations to evade the penalties of any lative provisions he could propose. e Chancellor of the Exchequer would put off his lottery scheme for a single , he would venture to say, that it d be easy to provide for any deficiency that might be occasioned by it. When it was recollected, that our whole expence was near seventy millions, it could not be supposed that a deficiency of 300,000*l.* could be seriously felt, or if it was felt, it could be easily supplied from some source that did not affect the morals of the country. There were now many widows and orphans who bewailed the ruin that was brought upon them by the lottery. Without expatiating on the quality of vice that was produced, on the number of servants and apprentices who were tempted to rob their masters, on the number of fathers of families who were induced to spend upon wild speculations the fund which ought to have provided for their children; he would say, that there was a sufficient quantity of vice and immorality proved to result from the lottery, that the right hon. gent. should decline to propose such a measure. There was a society existing for the Suppression of Vice, and he understood that one of the rules of this society was, that no man should be a suppressor of vice unless he was a member of the established church. This regulation would certainly be highly relished by the No-Popery gentlemen of the present administration; but if they were to set their faces against minor offences, and yet countenance the lottery, it would be like casting out seven devils from a man, when a legion of other devils were immediately to enter. He believed that there was no sin pointed at in the Decalogue which was not encouraged by the lottery. It was a speculation which always began in covetousness, and often led to theft. The instances were not new, where murders, and particularly self murder, had been instigated by losses in the lottery. A person had been introduced to him that was said to be perfectly acquainted with lotteries. The man, however, would not confess to him that he knew any thing about insurances, although those that were acquainted with him declared, that he had been three times ruined in the lottery. The lower class of the people were dreadfully deluded by such men as publicans and waiters in public houses, who were always ready to persuade the idle to adventure in the lottery. The profanation of the Sabbath, and many other evils much to be regretted, often proceeded from the same source. Besides these publicans and their waiters, there were dreamers of dreams and calculators of horoscopes, who also deluded the ignorant with respect to lotteries. The whole ing. He, I am bound to say, communicated his sentiments to me upon the subject, in the most candid and explicit manner, and informed me, as afterwards he also informed the house, that the subject had been under the consideration of his majesty's ministers; that it would so continue to be, and that he hoped to be able in this session to bring forward a measure to afford relief to the people of Ireland. The measure of which he gave me an outline was that of enabling incumbents to make leases to their parishioners of their Tithes for 21 years. It appears, however, by an answer given to me early this session by the right hon. gent. to a question which I put to him on the subject, that he is not now prepared to bring forward this measure. The business has, therefore, reverted to my hands, and under these circumstances, it has been for me to decide what course to pursue. If I proposed to the house, to refer the petitions on the table to a committee of the whole house, which I believe is the customary way of proceeding, no other advantage could have been derived from it than that of the discussion of the general subject, because I am sure there was no ground to calculate upon the consent of the right hon. gent., or of a majority of this house to such a step; and without it, no measure could have been the effect of the motion. If, however, I propose, as I intend to do, to move for leave to bring in a bill to enable incumbents to make leases for 21 years, I obtain the benefit of a general discussion of the subject of Tithes, and, at the same time, I propose a step to which I have good ground to expect the support of the right hon. gent., and therefore I propose to the house what probably may lead to an effectual issue. But even if the right hon. gent. should not continue to be of the same opinion now as he was last year, as to the policy and practicability of this measure, I shall not accuse him of inconsistency, because that certainly was a qualified opinion; but I am able to say that I am free from blame for bringing forward a measure without having good authority for my proceeding, and also to say, that the cause of those who are advocates for an alteration in the system of Tithes, have gained much ground by the sanction of the right hon. gent.'s admission, that an alteration might be made, to the extent which I propose, without danger to the church.—I am relieved from the necessity of anticipating and answering all that I should have had to anticipate and answer if I had not the protecting shield of the righ hon. gent. to cover me, about the doctrine of divine right, and the danger of innovation. I need not fear the clamour of certain gentlemen about our present happy and enviable condition, nor need I apprehend that my motion will call for a declaration of the necessity of making similar *stand* for the purity of the church to that which to some it appeared to be wis to make for the purity of the state. I have in fact, nothing to do but to state, a briefly as I am able, such measures as induce me to think that the house ought t support the motion which I shall have th honour to submit to it. In the first place if a power should be given to incumbent to make leases of their Tithes for 21 year some of those objections which are made t the present system of tithes, in consequenc of its being detrimental to the agricultu of the country will be done away; fo when a farmer shall have made his bargai with the clergyman of his parish, he will b able to carry on his improvements withou that great drawback on his profits, whic is the consequence of the clergyman's righ to a tenth of the gross produce of his lan Upon this head, the following are th opinions of two very great authorities, D Adam Smith and Dr. Paley.—Dr. Smit says, "The tithe as it is frequently a ver unequal tax upon rent, so it is always discouragement both to the improvemen of the landlord, and to the cultivation the farmer. The one cannot venture make the most important, which are generally the most expensive improvements nor the other to raise the most valuabl which are generally the most expensiv crops, when the church, which lays out n part of the expence, is to share so ver largely in the profit."—Dr. Paley say "But of all institutions, which are in th way adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of tithe Tithes are a tax not only upon industr but upon that industry which feeds mankind; upon that species of exertion whic it is the aim of all wise laws to cherish an promote; and to uphold and excite whic composes the main benefit that the community receives from the whole system trade and the success of commerce."—H further adds: "No measure of such extensive concern appears to me so practic ble, nor any single alteration so beneficia as the conversion of tithes into corn rents —Besides these authorities, there is a stat ent of the practical bad effects of tithes, Mr. Thompson's Annals of Agriculture, hich will throw considerable light upon e subject. He says, "There are 200,000 res of land in Herefordshire, which might brought into a proper state of cultiva- n, by an annual expence of 10*s.* per ce. This additional expence would pay e farmer 10 per cent. profit, and bring o the market 110,000*l.* besides employ- g 5,000 labourers; but the tithe owners uld take 11,000*l.* out of the increased oduce, and therefore the farmers would e all their profit, and 1 per cent. on eir capital." But, Sir, if there are these neral objections to tithes, on account of eir injury to agriculture, the house should sider how much more injurious they st be in a country like Ireland, where ch improvement is wanting, for in such country, the whole improved value of the d depends upon personal labour, skill h industry, and the advance and risk private property; whereas in England, ere lands have been regularly and well tivated for a great length of time, there no very great hardship in occupiers pay- g tithes; and for this reason in particular s very desirable, that such a measure as ow propose should be adopted. Such measure will also contribute to remove ne of the objections which are com- nly urged against tithes, as a way of rying money from the people. Accord- g to the present system, the sum which ch person is bound to pay is not cer- n, but arbitrary: the time of payment, e manner of payment, the quantity to paid, are none of them clear or plain the contributor, or to any other person; hereas it is an established maxim of taxa- n, that the tax which each individual is und to pay ought to be certain, and not bitrary; and the time of payment, the anner of payment, the quantity to be id, ought all to be clear and plain to the ntributor, and to every other person.—Where it is otherwise, (Dr. Smith very ly observes,) every person subject to e tax is put more or less in the power the tax-gatherer, who can either aggra- te the tax upon any obnoxious contri- tor, or extort, by the terror of such ag- avation, some present or perquisite to nself. The uncertainty of taxation en- urages the insolence and favours the rruption of an order of men who are turally unpopular, even where they are ither insolent or corrupt. The certainty what each individual ought to pay is, in taxation, a matter of so great importance, that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil, as a very small degree of uncertainty." Now, Sir, if the parishioner shall be able to make a contract with his clergyman for his tithes for a certain number of years, at a certain fixed annual sum, tithes, instead of being a tax subject to all these objections, will be one subject to none of them, and therefore the bill giving such a power will greatly contribute to amend the present system of tithes.—In the next place, as the occupier of land in Ireland suffers principally under the present system, from the manner in which the collection of tithes takes place, this measure will be productive of very beneficial consequences, inasmuch as it will contribute to alter this mode of collection. But, before I proceed to shew in what degree the people of Ireland are now aggrieved by this mode of collecting of tithes, it is necessary for me to state to the house, that the mass of the people of Ireland are circumstanced in respect to tithes differently from the people of any other country. The wealth of Ireland has not yet made that progress as to produce that first symptom of extensive improvement in a country, the division of labour to such a degree of perfection as to establish a distinct class of people, who live by the wages of their daily labour, and provide their subsistence by expending their wages in purchasing of it. The consequence is, that every poor Irishman is under the necessity of obtaining a piece of land, from which he may procure the means of feeding himself and his family. In Ireland, therefore, the whole mass of the common people are landholders, and accordingly chargeable with tithes. From this state of things two consequences flow, which give rise to all the grievances which belong to the collection of them. The first, that if the clergyman being unable in his own person to collect his own tithes, and, therefore being obliged to employ Proctors, or to let them to Tithe Farmers. The second, the impossibility of the lower orders to protect themselves against the illegal exactions of the proctors or farmers, in consequence of their poverty disabling them from procuring legal redress in a court of law against such illegal exactions.—And it is also in consequence of this state of things, that the people of Ireland, in respect to tithes, are in a condition quite different from that of the people of England in respect of their tithes. No man in England is liable to be called upon to pay them who is not to a certain degree a person of property; if he is not, the improved condition of society in this country would deter a proctor from treating him cruelly, and even if he was so treated, he would easily find means of obtaining redress—in fact he would obtain it by compelling the clergyman to draw his tithe. But in Ireland this privilege of obliging the clergyman to draw his tithe is virtually taken away from the parishioner; for though he may have the right to do so by law, he is made liable by a modern law to an action for conspiring against the clergyman, if there should be the least appearance among the parishioners of any attempt to annoy the clergyman by calling upon him to take his tithe in kind; and so completely has this law taken away this remedy from the parishioner, that the practice of taking tithe in kind is now seldom heard of. The usual mode of proceeding is this; the proctor, with an assistant, views the crops in July, and again before or after they are saved. He notes the crop and value in his field-book. He generally estimates by the acre, but sometimes by the barrel; he usually at the second view makes a bargain for the tithe with the occupier on the spot; reducing the charge to a certain degree, and the farmer passes his note for it. If no bargain is made the proctor makes a return to the clergyman agreeable to the field-book. The payments are generally tardy, the tithe is not paid frequently for near a year and a half. Debtors for 40*s.* are summoned before two magistrates, who hear the proctor's proofs, and give a decree accordingly. Debtors above that sum and under 10*l.* are processed before the Quarter sessions. For sums above 10*l.* citations are served to appear before the Bishop's Court. If the proctor chooses to oppress a poor man, he may cite for a few shillings. There are no acts of the proctor deemed illegal in the ecclesiastical courts. He is the favoured person who replenishes their coffers. The only remedy which land-holders have against any new and extraordinary demands of the clergy or tithe-farmers is faction and intimidation, and slight: and as the land-holder has no legal remedy against exactions of the proctors and by the farmers, the mass of the people are positive slaves to them, they have it in their power always to ru a poor man, first by giving him long cred and then by suing him for interest, cos and tithes in the Bishop's Court. Th consequence is, that the proctor, and th proctor's family and friends rule wi despotic sway in the parish. In corrob ration of this statement, I will read, Sir, short extract from the speech of Mr. Li well, at the Meeting of the County of Ti perary. "The power of the proct over their little properties is nearly de potic. Do you find any fault (he says the parishioner) with my valuation of yo crops; you shall smart for it, if you do I will have you instantly served with citation or process; I will harrass you litigation; I will ruin you by costs proceedings; I will take you from yo business and employment; I will hold y up to the gentlemen of the county as disloyal man, who refuse to pay yo tithes, and raising an outcry against t church establishment."—Such a bill would enable the clergyman and his p rishioner to make a bargain for a fix term of years, at a fixed annual rent, wou relieve the clergyman from the necessi of employing a proctor to value or dra his tithe, and enable him to collect th sum stipulated to be paid in lieu of himself; it would do away altogether th existence of that still more odious chara ter the tithe-farmer; and it would relie the parishioner from the tyranny and e action of those most obnoxious instr ments of the church.—I will add, S only one more proof of the mischievo and fatal consequences which flow fro the present mode of collecting tithes Ireland, and which arises from a circum stance which took place so late as in th month of last February, in the county Kerry. In consequence of the disturb state of that county, great exertions we made by the gentlemen and particularly b the Catholic clergymen, to persuade th people to return to a state of tranquillit These exertions proved successful, and a place appointed multitudes attende gave up their arms, and took the oath allegiance. They declared, however, their oaths, that the great suffering whic goaded them to madness, sprung from pro torship, or the manner of collecting tithe Of the cess itself, unconnected with cl rical agents, they did not complain; the contrary, they distinctly declare they felt no evil whatever when dealin solely and immediately with the clerg

n.—Now, Sir, I conceive it impossible
the house, after having heard these
ements, to hesitate about the expe-
ncy of adopting some measure to re-
n the abuses belonging to the present
tem of collecting tithes in Ireland.—
., Sir, though I think these are circum-
nces which ought to obtain for my
ion the support of the house, I am
e to confess that the point of view in
ch I am principally induced to con-
er the bill which I propose to introduce
a good measure, is, that of its being a
asure which will very much facilitate
carrying into effect at some future day
e plan for an entire commutation of
hes, and I beg the house will clearly
erstand that I propose the limited
asure of granting leases for Tithes, only
ause I see no chance now of carrying
a plan into effect, and by no means
ause I think that such a plan ought not
r to be adopted. This in truth, sir,
he measure which the people of Ireland
ire, and this is the measure which his
esty's ministers would themselves
pt, if they could fully comprehend all
evils which flow from tithes, as affect-
the public peace and security: and
hey could justly appreciate all the be-
cial effects which would attend a full
cession to the feeling of the people of
and upon this subject. As a mode of
ying from the people a pecuniary re-
neration of the clergy, they are most
ectionable; they are a tax upon the
duce of land, and not upon the surplus
he produce which is left after defraying
expences of cultivation, which last is
only fund that ought to be taxed.
ey are a tax also completely at variance
h the maxim, that each person ought to
tribute as nearly as possible in propor-
n to his ability.—But, Sir, if Tithes are
ectionable as contrary to the true prin-
les of taxation, and as obstacles in the
of agricultural improvement, how much
re objectionable are they when viewed
h reference to their effects upon religion.
ey are the source of perpetual strife and
vill, and the cause of inveterate and in-
able disagreements between the clergy-
n and his parishioners; and by being
they materially affect his ecclesiastical
racter, and tend to defeat the sole ob-
of ecclesiastical persons. They are a
werful cause of many quitting the
rch, and creating new sectaries, and
unquestionably one great source of the
rease of religion and morals. But, Sir, if there are these objections to Tithes generally in whatever country they exist, how aggrieved must the people of Ireland be by them, when of the whole people 1-10th belong to the established church? I have the authority of the most recent enquiries into the population of Ireland to take it at five millions, and that the Catholics are to the Protestants as 4 to 1. And I can quote the authority of Dr. Woodward, late bishop of Cloyne, to shew, that of the Protestants, one half are Dissenters from the established church. I feel that it is not necessary to add one word more to prove how repugnant Tithes must be to the people of Ireland.—And now, Sir, after what I have said of the poverty of those who have to pay Tithes in Ireland; of the manner in which they are collected, and of the people not belonging to the church for whose support Tithes have been established, is it wonderful that a succession of outrage and insurrection should have disgraced the page of Irish history? And here, Sir, I must take the liberty of saying, that it is not to the people that the blame of these insurrections attaches, but to the law which has established the system of Tithes, and heaped regulation upon regulation to compel the payment of them. I cannot refer to more decisive proof of the influence which Tithes have always had in leading people into a resistance to the laws, than to the evidence of Dr. M'Nevin, one of the principal leaders in the rebellion of 1798:

'*Speaker.* Do you remember Mr. Grat-'tan's motion about Tithes; was not that a 'short cut towards putting down the estab-'lished church? *M'Nevin.* If the stability 'of the established church depends on the 'payment of Tithes, the church stands on 'a weaker foundation than in civility I 'would have said of it; but sure I am, 'Sir, that if Tithes had been commuted 'according to Mr. Grattan's plan, a very 'powerful engine would have been taken 'out of our hands.'

I have now, Sir, only to add one more argument in favour of the claims of the people of Ireland for redress of the grievances of Tithes. Mr. Pitt, Sir, when he proposed to the people of Ireland the measure of Union, in a speech which was circulated at the expence of government, did hold out to them that some mode should be adopted for relieving the lower orders from the pressure of Tithes, which, according to his expressions, "operate as against practical evil."

This offer on his part was considered by the people of Ireland as a part of the Union compact; for though not made an article of the Union, under the circumstances in which Mr. Pitt stood as minister of this country, and particularly under the circumstances of the publication of his speech by the Irish government, no other construction can in justice be given to the transaction, than that it amounted to a promise to the people of Ireland, and which promise the people of this country have yet to redeem.

Before I sit down, Sir, I must request that his majesty's ministers will seriously contemplate upon the consequences of refusing to grant redress of the grievances of Tithes, and that they will calculate upon the evils which under the present circumstances of the continent, may flow from such a refusal. If they will listen to the voice of the people of Ireland, and do that which will conciliate their feeling towards them, no danger need be apprehended of conquest by a foreign power; but if they do not conciliate them, then they will place the empire under circumstances of risk and danger, to which it ought not to be exposed, and they will be responsible even for the existence of the empire. I hope, Sir, that these observations will produce their due effect; and I shall conclude with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable ecclesiastical persons, having a right to Tithes in Ireland, to demise the same for a term of twenty-one years."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in rising to give his most decided opposition to the measure now proposed, felt himself also bound to state his reasons for that opposition, and though he owned he had felt himself in some degree waver in his opinions, in the course of the conversation he had with the hon. gent. on the subject, yet, upon the most mature consideration he could give it, he was now already of opinion, that nothing radically beneficial could be effected. He had even so strong a wish on the occasion as to go the length of preparing a bill for the purpose, although the hon. gent., in all he had said, had not stated how his plan was to be carried into excution. In the course however of his investigation, he had found such difficulties in his way, so various and so multiplied, as obliged him to abandon his intentions, as altogether impracticable. He wished to look at it as a measure likely to calm the disquietudes that existed; and now he felt bound object to the measure proposed, as seemi likely to excite an expectation of som thing more to follow on the back of and thus effecting the very mischief tended to be allayed by it. The l argument used by the hon. gent. was th nine-tenths of the people of Ireland we not protestants: this shewed that so great diversion of Tithes from the p sent system was intended, and therefo he conceived they were called on pause before they proceeded, witho accurately knowing how far they mig be called on to proceed. They should guarded in their expression of the exi ence of evil; the hon. gent. had said t people of Ireland were anxious for a co mutation of tithes; is there any plan that purpose? had the hon. gent. diges any such? had he formed any system substitution? For his part, he believ that in the event of any such being ado ed, and if the consequence was found be that they paid more than they do present, the people of Ireland would n be very much in love with the alteratio and yet such he firmly believed would the probable case in such an event, in much as he was satisfied, that on the wh the tithes did not, according to their p sent mode of collection, produce 50 perce of their real value. Besides, what must th do in proceeding to carry the propos measure into effect? They must in the fi instance institute a commission for the p pose of ascertaining what was the real va of tithes, in order to know what was the co mutation at which it was to be fixed; a did gentlemen suppose, that any pl founded on such principles, could affo ease to the people? He thought the ve reverse would turn out to be the case, a tend rather to produce than allay the d content so much complained of.—H then could it be said that the people we in favour of an abolition of tithes? It mig be true they were so now; but wou they be so if they found they were to p so much more than they do at prese upon a commutation founded upon a f and full estimate of the value of th tithes? The landlords might indeed favourable to the measure, as the surp beyond the present rate would probab find its way into their pockets. But, af all, where was the hardship to be fou in the payment of tithes?—What owner land could say he was entitled to lan either by purchase or descent, which

not hold among other terms subject to
payment of tithes? if, then, he had no
t to complain, still less had the tenant
took them, knowing they were sub-
to the incumbrance. He particularly
himself bound to oppose the present
on, as the hon. gent. had expressly
d that the present was to be consider-
s a step merely leading to other inno-
ons, which he could not approve.
had watched the hon. gent. through
whole of his speech, and he could not
out any specific plan which he meant
ropose. Was it intended by his bill
nable the clergy to make leases of
tithes, or was it intended to go fur-
, and compel them to do so? If the
er of these was intended, the act
nt become a mere dead letter. By
aw, as it now stood, the clergyman
d grant a lease of his tithes during his
incumbency; and if he did not feel
inclination to adopt such a measure,
ings now stood, it was not to be ex-
ed he would be more likely to do so
passing the act. With respect to the
er proposed of binding the successor,
evil was obvious in the danger of the
mbent being induced by the tempta-
of a present fine to make a lease,
h would be highly prejudicial to the
rests of those who were to come after
or else to submit such leases to the
obation of the bishop. This would
ound to be a duty impossible to be dis-
ged conscientiously, besides being at-
ed with considerable expence to poor
nts for the making out their leases;
even if they were willing to be at the
ence, would be found to be a mere mat-
f form, from the impossibility of the
op being acquainted with the merits
each particular case. These were
ng the difficulties which, in his at-
ot to frame a measure likely to be effi-
t, he had found so strong as to induce
to abandon all hope of being able to
ove them. There were, besides these,
r difficulties in the way. To whom
the leases to be made, to the tenant
the landlord? If to the latter, the
nt would surely not be benefited by
measure, but rather to the contrary, as
at case the landlord would put in his
et that which now, by the lax mode
evying tithes, fell to the share of the
nt. Besides, he considered, that if
system were proper to be adopted at
t should not be partial or confined to
part of the empire, but rather be universal in its operation, and as such he had intended it in case he had found it practicable. He trusted he had shewn to the satisfaction of the house, that it was upon sufficient reasons, and not caprice, he had altered his opinion on the subject; and he thought it better at once to negative the proposition, than to hold out a false hope, where no possible benefit could be expected to follow from it. In regard to the pledge stated to have been made, relative to the commutation of tithes, as an event to take place consequential to the Act of Union, he could only say he had never heard of such a thing before; but be that as it may, who ever heard of such a pledge as binding between two countries, instead rather of looking to the articles themselves of that union, in order to judge of their infraction or preservation?

Mr. *Tighe*. Sir, as I intend to support the motion of my hon. friend, because I conceive it might be of some service in doing away part of the evil, which results from the mode of collection according to the present system, yet I can not support it without declaring that I consider it totally inadequate to give that relief which I should wish to give to the people of Ireland, and consequently that it will be unsatisfactory to that nation. And moreover, this discussion must be attended with something more than disappointment to the people, when they know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer having, as he says, long contemplated a similar measure, and even prepared a bill for the purpose, was induced by what he calls an infinity of difficulties, to abandon even his inadequate modifications. And having contemplated in his mind what was little more than futile, to have ended his purposes in nullity. For I agree with my hon. friend that nothing but a general measure can be satisfactory to the people: a measure of complete commutation or abolition. And as the right hon. gent. intended the bill which he contemplated as a bar to future relief, so I may doubt that, even if the present motion were passed, it might not be considered rather as an impediment than as an assistance to the speedy accomplishment of a general and perfect relief from the system of tithes. At any rate it would be only a slight palliative to an inveterate disorder.—Nor can I ever agree to consider the declarations of the British ministers at the time of the Union as less than pledges on the part of Britain. So were they held out to the Irish nation, and so

were they always received in that country. And the declarations of Mr. Pitt made in this house on the part of government, and uncontradicted, were even stronger than what were stated by my hon. friend. In those declarations, and in the pamphlets dispersed in Ireland by the government previous to the Union, under the name of Speeches of Mr. Pitt, that minister was made to declare, not only that "some mode ought speedily to be adopted for relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes," which he described as "productive of great practical evil," in that country, but he made it precede the other promises he held out to the Irish nation, and which he combined with it for the purpose of deluding that nation, namely, of giving a fair consideration to claims of the Catholics, which never has yet been given, and of providing an adequate maintenance for their clergy, which has never yet been provided. But moreover, sir, Mr. Pitt declared, that "these were the grounds on which he ventured to propose a legislative Union." Observe, sir, they were the grounds on which he ventured to propose that measure. Did Mr. Pitt, then, mean to build the Union, with those base materials which he used, and then to take away the grounds and foundations on which he professed to rear that ill-compacted fabric? Or did Mr. Pitt mean only to deceive the Irish nation? Which opinion will his imitators and successors attribute to him? or which line do they intend to adopt? If Mr. Pitt spoke with sincerity, then the most omnipotent minister of England would not venture to support an Union, unless these measures were subsequently to be adopted: the first of which was the relief of the lower orders from the pressure of tithes. Mr. Pitt himself would not even venture to propose it!—that is to say in other words, that the most confident minister of England thought the attempt would be dangerous to the connection of the two countries, instead of useless, unless it was cemented by those measures of which he artfully held out the prospect.—But, sir, what power, what ability, what strength have the present discordant members of the cabinet, so superior to Mr. Pitt, that they indeed can engage to satisfy the people of Ireland, and to retain that country for Britain, upon grounds he did not venture to adopt? pocketing the independence of Ireland, and withholding the price; as soon as their draft was honoured, denying the debt.—But then we are to-
night informed that his majesty's Chanc
lor of the Exchequer has year after y
been contemplating upon some meas
for a modification of tithes; but that y
after year the Chancellor of the Exc
quer has been so bewildered in his co
templations, that he has been forced
abandon them altogether; and after
his contemplations he has not been able
bring forth one single simple proposit
on the subject, nor produce one atom
information. Now, sir, is this the way
which an injured and dissatisfied coun
is to be amused? is it the respectful m
of treating the claims, the interests,
expectations of a populous nation? a
tion whose destiny hangs over your p
tical horizon now, like a dark and sil
cloud. Is it the way to fulfil the prom
held out at the Union? or is this a per
to hesitate at any attempt of acknowledg
amelioration? to delay inevitable refor
to stand like a puny child on the mar
of the sea, fearful to wet its feet, thou
conscious that it soon must plunge in?
it a time to neglect the interests of a pro
injured and brave people, when every pa
ing moment is fraught with change? wh
the scenes of the European drama
shifting with such great rapidity, that
actors themselves are unprepared for th
exits and their entries?—I stand, sir,
the same predicament as several other Ir
representatives, that of having been
structed by my constituents to suppor
parliament, not any particular or spec
mode of relief, but to support any mod
cation whatever which may be propo
with regard to tithes; and, for that r
son, I shall vote for the present measu
though I think it totally inadequate to
complish any general or perfect worl
relief. But so little do the people of I
land concur with the Chancellor of
Exchequer in finding that infinity of d
culties in the subject, that they say,
with truth, that any system whate
would be preferable to the present.
the reason of this difference of opinio
obvious; he speaks from unwillingnes
grant the relief, but they from the sens
pressure of the evil. Let the right h
gent. propose any modification whate
that may have occurred to his conte
plations, and it will be received with g
titude by the people. And this is
mode in which they reason on the diffi
ty; that is, in spite of legal sophistry,
the arguments of the right hon. gentlem
they cannot help considering tithes to

their nature and their origin, which lly and truly considered they are, and be nothing else, namely a mode of sation for the maintenance of the clergy; so it does not appear that there uld be great difficulty in substituting other mode of taxation or any other appriated fund for the present; because that mode by which the salaries of the rgy might be collected in Ireland uld be preferable to the present: and etter tax might be easily substituted one which is the worst possible in its cts. But, says the right hon. gent., es are not a tax, because he purchases estate subject to them. May he not chase his estate subject to the land-? and is it therefore a less tax, from burthen of which he may be relieved the legislature, or which may be modi- in any way or exchanged, or sold, as ctually has been, when the public ser- may require? And why may not es as easily find a substitute? If the ment must proceed from the land y, why not substitute a per centage n rents? or if the salaries of the clergy ht to be paid by all subjects equally, not substitute a property tax on any er fund appropriated to the purpose? l as there are now actually in Ireland one establishment only, but three reli- us establishments recognized by law, h a tax would enable the state to give adequate maintenance to all the three blishments. And according to com- n policy and justice, it should appear t all the ministers of religion acknow- ged by law should be amply supported the public, or at least so far as to ren- them respectable to and independent their congregations. And if a fund established for this purpose, even part by the sale of the ecclesiastical es, contrived with any other means, the plus of such funds might be applied to eem the lay impropriations.—Now, I could wish with regard to every sub-, but more particularly with regard to , that the gentlemen of England were y apprised of the situation of the sister nd; and principally with the situation the lower orders. With regard to es Ireland is peculiarly circumstanced, in all respects differently from Eng-. In this country they are in general by the members of one church to the isters of the same church: but in Ire- they are chiefly paid by the poor, and the support of a clergy of a different persuasion. In England wherever there is a modus or a composition the payment of tithes is no grievance: it is cheerfully paid; or it ought to be so; and I doubt if I should vote for any alteration in the system of tithes in England. But will you teach the people of Ireland not to consider their grievances according to their own ideas and feelings; where the tithes are principally paid by the poorer orders of catholics; where all the pastures of the rich protestant grazier, where all the gardens, plantations and demesnes of the rich protestant proprietor, resident, or non resident, pay nothing to the support of their own church, while the cottier or labourer, who lives, or rather rots at his gate, cannot dig a meal for his children from his garden, at least in the south of Ireland, until the proctor's arbitrary demand is satisfied: and let it be what it will, it must be satisfied, or the wretch is threatened with what sounds more dreadful in his ears than the echo of French artillery would do, he is threatened with a citation to an Ecclesiastical court; that is to say, a citation to ruin. And this for a church from which he receives neither temporal comfort nor spiritual consolation: for a church whose doctrines were never promulgated in Ireland, at the time of the Reformation, by the messenger of peace nor the minister of the gospel: whose dogmas and whose articles were never preached in Ireland but by the thunder of British musketry, nor ever written on the hearts of the Irish nation but by the sharpness of British swords: an establishment which never obtained in that country much more than a name, a mere outward form, a sort of sketch of existence, under the bloody banners of Elizabeth and Cromwell. And moreover, the mode of payment by tithes was not of prescriptive right in Ireland, nor even of ancient standing; and I doubt if they were known, or levied, or ascertained by law in Ireland, previous to the Irish acts for their collection under Henry the eighth; and though the preamble to those acts may recite a supposed claim of the clergy, yet there is no evidence of their having been, unless very partially, established in the country before that period. And from that period, to the present day they have been the constant subject of grievance and resistance; the pretence for every insurrection, the watch-word of every rebellion, the everlasting spring of every animosity to Britain. The Irish parliament was generally and earnestly petitioned on the subject. This house would have been generally petitioned but for the peculiar circumstances of the country. Two pretty strong petitions have been read to the house this evening, and several counties have very strongly expressed their opinion on the subject in Resolutions and Declarations. All might have done so, but for the anxiety on the part of the government to suppress the voice of the nation. A right. hon. gentleman cries, no: and I will therefore mention one instance in which they shewed more than anxiety, if the information which I received is true, and what was rather extraordinary and unconstitutional, if I am informed right, for I do not speak from personal knowledge; a sheriff of a southern county, at the commencement of the present administration, was, in a very unusual manner, superceded in his office, for attempting to obey the requisition of respectable freeholders to summon a county meeting upon the subject of tithes.—Sir, were the opinion of Ireland left free, and were no inclination to appear on the part of this parliament, to redeem the pledge which England gave at the Union, for as a pledge it was received by Ireland, it is not for those measures which I mentioned, in conformity to the promissory declarations of Mr. Pitt, that your table would probably be soon covered with petitions from every county and town in that kingdom, but for that measure which would indeed at once relieve you from the pledge, and relieve Ireland from her present state of anxious and sickening expectation, namely, for a repeal of the Act of Union.

Mr. *D. Browne* thought it was the most serious duty of government to attend to the evils arising out of the present system of tithes in Ireland. He was friendly to the motion of the hon. member, and to any proposition which had for its object the amelioration of the state of the Irish peasant. He feared it was too late in the session to enter with due deliberation on so important a subject? but if it was brought forward early in the next, it should have his support.

Mr. *Grattan* observed there was no subject that pressed more upon the feelings of the Irish people than tithes. It affected them in every way. First, it came in the shape of the proctor to the door of the poor man's hovel, backed by an indefinite demand, and followed by a law-suit and a charge for agency.—The proctor was odious
to the Irish peasant. He was the greate
little oppressor that ever roused the indig
nation of a people. He was a characte
who, having no connexion with religio
yet in Ireland seemed identified with it.—
Indeed, with the powers that the prese
system of tithe-collection gave him,
must always be an oppressor. He wa
also a dishonest man. He not only o
pressed the poor peasant, but he cheate
the parson. He was also the cause of th
odium incurred by the clergy. The rig
hon. member avowed himself a friend
commutation for tithes. In establishin
that, he was for all care being taken th
the clergy should not suffer by the depr
ciation of the value of tithes. He thoug
that the plan he once had the honour
propose to the Irish parliament very pra
ticable, and that much of the disturbanc
that afterwards prevailed in that countr
might have been avoided by its adoptio
As the system now stood, it operated wi
peculiar hardship upon by far the great
portion of the population of Ireland. It w
a hardship upon the catholic to pay tw
churches—one which he paid from choic
and another from necessity; from t
latter of which, as it was well expresse
by his hon. friend (Mr. Tighe) he recei
ed neither spiritual consolation nor politic
protection. He was convinced the po
in Ireland would derive great advanta
from a commutation. The question i
self was to be debated on two ground
both as respecting the measure itse
proposed, and as leading to a system
commutation. To the latter he profess
he had been always friendly; he was a
ways friendly to the church establishmen
yet he could not but think that the natu
of tithes served only to render the clerg
disrespected. He would not diminish the
income, although he considered it abu
dantly ample; but he would not have
remain uncertain. He allowed there w
difficulty in applying a remedy to the ev
but he would not allow it was impossibl
If gentlemen will not enquire, they cann
expect to be informed; and the only w
he knew of to acquire information, was
go into a committee, and therein to lea
the state of the Irish church. If the rig
hon. gent. had good grounds for the chan
in his sentiments, he thought he w
equally well founded in adhering to h
It was idle and ridiculous to talk of inqu
ing into the real value of tithes, for if th
did so, they would equally inquire in
their application, and the purposes

ch they were originally granted; and, hat event, he apprehended the clergy ld be found to be no great gainers by inquiry; the true object of inquiry ld be, what was a fit and proper sup- t for the clergy? and upon that inquiry was sure they would not be left less ; and he did not wish they should be e so.—A great hardship in tithes was, they were not merely a tithe upon produce of the land, but also, of neces- , upon the labour in the attainment of produce. The uncertainty of that luce was likewise the foundation of utes every year, unless they did that agreement which should be done by of parliament. He had himself at two erent periods, proposed what he consi- ed a remedy for the evil, and he thought er of them was preferable to the pre- t system; in like manner he consider- the present Bill, as proposed, at least ible. At the period of the existence that description of disturbers called ite Boys, he had proposed, and a cler- man had adopted a system of commuta- a, by which he had obtained an income siderably larger, and with mutual satis- tion, than he could have obtained by regular mode of levying tithes.—The tem of leases he by no means consider- as impracticable; and they would cer- ly have the good effect of enabling the ner to follow and enjoy his industry hout the dread of any fresh demand ng made upon that industry. He con- ered the principle a good one, and com- tation eligible, as securing to the farmer greatest blessing he was capable of re- wing—a security against uncertainty; if the right hon the Chancellor of the chequer doubted it, the best mode of iding the question would be to establish ommission to inquire into the subject. acreable rate, he understood, would sa- y the parishioners, and improve the in- ne of the clergyman.

Mr. *M. Fitzgerald* supported the motion, in doing so, represented the hardships million of the people of Ireland, who re exposed to greater burdens in regard tithes than the people of England: and Ireland no poor rates and no paupers re supported at the public expence, ile those here were supported by poor es and in workhouses. He thought the of the Irish peasant not superior to that the negro. The present measure went his amelioration, and therefore he con- ded it ought to be voted for.

Mr. *M'Naghten* argued against the motion. He should be glad to hear of any plan that was likely to effect a change that could add to the comforts of those paying tithes, but he had as yet heard of none that could meet with his approbation. He recommended to gentlemen not to bring forward any measure of this sort until they could prepare a proper substitute for that which they meant to remedy.

Mr. *Croker* said, that he had often turned his attention to the subject of the tithe system of Ireland, and never had done so without coming to a conclusion that this system was a great inconvenience, if not a severe grievance to that part of the empire. No one could feel more desirous than he did to amend or alter the oppressive parts of it; it was the conviction of his mind, that some modification would be useful, and he felt it to be his public duty to take the first fair and favourable opportunity of effecting it; but it was those very feelings that obliged him to oppose the motion of the hon. gent. which he sincerely thought would render more difficult, if not altogether impossible, the effective remedy of the evils complained against. In the first place, the time at which this measure is proposed is totally unsuitable: at so late a period of the session, to enter on a subject of such vast importance, of such intricate detail, and such various interests, would be in fact to insure its defeat, and by such defeat to create a prejudice against it, when hereafter brought forward at a fitter season. He thought, too, that as a remedy of the system, it was totally inadequate, and he could not think that enabling the clergy to make tithe leases for 21 years, would in any considerable degree alleviate the pressure on the peasant and the poor. But his great objection to the motion arose out of his anxious wish to ameliorate the existing system, because the proposed bill went in fact to perpetuate it; it went to pledge the good faith of parliament to its continuance for 21 years at least, during which time no change could be proposed; but it went farther, and extended its existence for 21 years, from the date of any future lease that might be made under it, before the actual change should be approved; so that at whatever time we should agree to a modification of the system, 21 years must elapse before it could become effectual. Under these circumstances, and from this pressing consideration, he felt himself obliged, as a friend to the principle of tithe reform, to oppose the introduction of the present bill, which must inevitably delay, and would probably prevent for ever that reform which he desired.

Mr. *Hutchinson* supported the motion. He thought the tithe system in England was perfect in comparison to that of Ireland, and although the present proposition did not go to remedy the evil, yet it pledged the house, that early in next session they would turn their attention to it.

Mr. *French* moved the Previous Question, as he saw no prospect of the house being able to discuss the measure during this session, and it was only encouraging a feeling which they could not gratify.

On the Previous Question being put from the Chair,

Mr. *Wilberforce* rose, and stated his anxiety that some remedy should be adopted for the evils complained of, but he saw no prospect of effecting any thing effectual during the present session. The house were at present much in want of information upon the subject of Irish policy, a circumstance which was much to be regretted, but as it could not proceed to propose a remedy, he should wish this question to be disposed of by the previous question, rather than an actual negative.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* thought it amounted to the same thing, whether the house disposed of this question by a direct negative, or by the previous question being put, as it was evident to him, that the time, propriety, or expediency of the measure, held out no prospect of its being possible to remedy the evils complained of during this session. It was not by sudden fits nor starts that any great evil could be got rid of; but there must necessarily be many considerations of all its bearings, and much discussion upon every point, and every interest affected by a change previous to its adoption. Although the union of the two countries had identified the interests of them both, yet still there was a necessity for nice discrimination before any alteration of a particular system should take place as to, or so as to assimilate it with that of the other, as much depended upon local circumstances. He should vote for the previous question, although it was not usual to propose it upon the bringing in a bill, as he did not object to the motion upon principle. If, however, he thought, that it had been proposed with a view to infringe upon the established church, he should ce tainly object to the measure upon its pri ciple.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said there was no reaso to apprehend that the measure for re medying the evils complained of could in fringe upon the Protestant Church, as was one of the essential provisions the Union that that should be maintain as the established religion of the lan He understood that the generality of th ecclesiastical bodies in Ireland were all favour of a change in the system of co lecting tithes, and it was only a few the higher order who objected to it.

Mr. *Parnell* said in reply that he by n means desired an abolition of tithes that he did not wish for any alteratio but such a one as would secure the clerg a fair equivalent for what they now po sessed; that the inference he drew fro the relative numbers of Catholics a Protestants went merely to this, that nine-tenths of the people were to pay t clergy of the remaining one-tenth, th ought to be permitted to pay them in t way the most easy and agreeable themselves. He said he was extreme surprised to hear it objected to his moti that the period of the session was too la for entertaining it; because the Iri Chancellor of the Exchequer would Wednesday next propose to the house lay new taxes upon the people of Irelar to the amount of 2 or 400,000*l.* per a num. If then it was not too late to im pose new burthens upon the people, ho can it be too late to redress a grievance which the people of Ireland universal complain?

A division then took place, when t Previous Question was carried by a m jority.

For the Previous Question - -	137
Against it - - - - - - - - - - -	62
Majority - - - - - - - - - - - -	75

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill]—M Curwen moved the order of the day for Committee on the Seats in Parliame Bill.

Lord *Folkestone*, after the long discu sion which had already taken place, su mitted whether it would not be desira to postpone the debate upon this importa subject to a future day.

Mr. *Curwen* was at all times anxious hear the sentiments of the house up this question; but as he was aware th some of the clauses in the bill were d roved of, he should not feel indisposed ostpone the discussion, because he ld thereby have four or five days to nsider these clauses.

r. *G. Johnstone* thought, that after a ussion which had lasted for six hours, question could not receive a full ussion and he was therefore for the ponement.

n the motion of Mr. Curwen, the tion having been put that the Speaker eave the Chair,

r. *Ridley Colburne* declared, that if bill were to pass, four-fifths of the ughs would be affected by it. The on of which an honourable friend of nad given notice for a Reform in Parent, was less objectionable than this sure, and therefore this bill should his decided negative.

r *W. W. Wynn* observed, that he was deded from those persons who had origid the acts against bribery at elections, for the trial of controverted elections, consequently a friend to any measure, lated to promote the objects professed hose acts. Those who gave money their seats, did it with a view to get ack; and, though some of those who into parliament in that way were good bers, others were bad, and consently he should support the bill.

r. *George Johnstone* rose and spoke as ws:—Mr. Speaker; I much approve he sentiments expressed by the hon. . (Mr. Ridley Colburne) who first ce in this debate. He has stated suffit ground to satisfy the house, that if it to adopt the remedies proposed by author of the Bill, there would ensue much greater than those which it is sought to cure. But there are rea- still more cogent, which induce me elieve, that it is the duty of the house eject the proposition in its present e. This is a measure of no ordinary re; my hon. friend modestly pros to desire only to carry into effect Resolutions which stand recorded on Journals; but his Bill is broad and prehensive in its enactments; and, if ed into a law in its present shape, will the composition of parliament in such gree, that few, indeed, of the persons ve now the honour to address, could n their seats, if they complied strictly all the obligations about to be imd.—It appears to me, that there is no ient ground stated for the house to pt measures of so dangerous and so indefinite a nature. The constitution, under which we enjoy so many blessings, is not the work of art; it is not the work of human wisdom alone, but has been produced by a happy combination of circumstances, during the lapse of ages; and to hazard the safety of such a fabric by measures of dangerous reform, whose consequences the house cannot calculate, seems to be the height of folly and presumption. The hon. baronet (Sir Watkin Wynn) has quoted, with great approbation, the Treating Act, the Bribery Act, and the Act for regulating Elections; I concur with him in the applause that he has bestowed upon those wise statutes; but I wish the house to regulate its conduct by the conduct pursued by our ancestors on those important occasions. It was not on any speculative principles that those acts were adopted; it was not until the evils they were meant to remedy were felt and observed, in their practical effects. Our ancestors were long aware of the consequences of excessive treating at elections; but it was not until the year 1696, when great and extensive evils were endured, by the competition among the great families to obtain returns to parliament, that any legislative remedy was judged necessary. In like manner, bribery may have been coeval with the importance attached to seats in this house; but it was not until the evil was brought before the view of our ancestors, in an aggravated form, at the election for Beverley, that the present act to prevent it was adopted. So, also, the partial decisions on controverted elections had been complained of for a length of time; but it was not until the disease assumed a more malignant character; it was not until parliament, reviewing the repeated decisions it had pronounced, under ministerial influence, on the case of Mr. Wilkes, became ashamed of its own conduct, and applied the remedy contained in Mr. Grenville's Act.—Since all legislative provisions are in themselves evils, by restraining natural liberty, it is not a sufficient ground to have recourse to them, that certain habits prevail which seem unbecoming and improper. We must trace them in their practical consequences; and before the house adopts a legal remedy some practical evil should be apparent, of a plain, distinct, and unequivocal nature. — Now, Sir, whatever may be the various means by which gentlemen attain the honour of sitting in this house, where shall we find the practical evils of the present constitution? Is it in the admission of persons unworthy of so high a trust from education, from character, or from manners; or is it in the neglect and misconduct of parliament itself? I am aware, that parliament, out of doors, is charged with every degree of misconduct. I know that we are said to be utterly unworthy of public trust; but because we are calumniated abroad, let us not calumniate ourselves. Let our proceedings be carefully examined; let our conduct be compared with the conduct of other public bodies, in other nations, intrusted with similar power, or compared with the conduct of our ancestors in the best periods of our history; and let the country decide whether we have discharged our duty. Let us be judged with reference to what has existed in any age, or in any country. From such an ordeal we shrink not; but let us not be tried on the theoretic principles of virtue, which have never had a practical existence, and are, in fact, inconsistent with the frailties of human nature.—To listen to what has been expressed out of doors, and what indeed has been hinted within these walls, it might be supposed that the Parliament of England resembled the Senate of Venice, legislating only for its own benefit and advantage; but what foundation exists for this and other charges? Have the members of this house been found to exempt themselves from the public burdens in any instance? or, on the contrary, is it not notorious that, amidst the difficulties induced by extended taxation, whenever we are at a loss for a new tax, we have immediate recourse to that class of tax, which bears more immediately upon ourselves—to the assessed taxes? Have we, in any instance, sought peculiar privileges for ourselves? Is not every one of those, which existed at his majesty's accession to the throne, now abolished? And so little effort did this seem to require, that the Bill by which the last of our privileges was extinguished, (Mr. Serjeant Best's Bill,) passed through the house almost without notice; and the process of the law is now, in every respect, the same towards members of this house as towards the lowest and meanest individual in the land. Gentlemen appear to be surprised that I should even mention such topics, so little does the idea enter into the mind of any one among us; but let it be recollected, that to obtain exemptions and privileges for their members, has

been the first effort of all public bodies
foreign countries, possessing powers si
lar to our own.—But are we less care
of the public money than were our anc
tors? Is parliament more disposed to lav
the resources of the state than in ot
times? Amidst facts innumerable, since
Revolution, it is sufficient to state, t
even so late as in this reign, when,
1769 it was proposed to pay the debts
the Civil List, parliament voted the n
ney required; and yet ministers refu
to produce the accounts, by which al
the propriety and necessity of the gr
could be judged. In the present time, d
there exist a minister so lost to all se
of propriety as thus to conduct himse
or, if such a minister could be found
there a man within these walls who wo
not raise his voice to express his indig
tion?—But it is said, that there prev
the greatest abuse in the expenditure of
public resources, and that we are unw
ing to make a reform.—Is there any tr
any justice, in the charge?—The kn
ledge obtained upon this subject is, in
self, a proof of strong desire to refo
and amend; since it is the result of the
bours of committees appointed by par
ment, with a view to examine, and
rect, whatever of evil may exist in
system. But with all our diligence,
all our researches, what is the amount
the abuses we have discovered, and w
the conduct we have adopted? The ab
discovered in the naval branch of exp
diture, by the laborious diligence
most meritorious commission, must be p
nounced as very considerable, compa
with the extent of the service. And e
the abuses that existed were chiefly car
on in the West Indies, which is bey
the reach of ordinary vigilance, and h
now ceased. In the expenditure of
military department there has been fo
more ground for complaint, as was to
been expected from the indefinite na
of the service to be performed. But
there been shown any tardiness to rest
the evil when discovered? and are not
medies applied, such as promise to be
fectual? It has been truly said, that
abuses in each gentleman's private ho
hold exceeded the abuses in the public
bursement, on a comparison of their res
tive amounts. Let gentlemen consider
prodigious magnitude of the services w
are carried on; let them consider
they extend to every quarter of the gl
and is it astonishing that, under such

stances, all the vigilance, all the at- on cf government, should sometimes nable to prevent the frauds of the per- in whose hands such trusts are re- d? Do gentlemen expect that any go- ment should be more vigilant in the arge of its functions than is the Bank , whose attention, whose regularity, ever been proverbial? and yet we that in the very simple functions h belong to that body, and in spite of its care, a fraud was practised upon it years ago, to an extent far exceeding which has taken place in the various complicated duties, that belong to go- ment. But here again, to form a just ate of what is due to ourselves, let mpare the practices of former times; s look to the abuses that existed in the of the duke of Marlborough, in which imself, as commander-in-chief of the , was a participator. What was the uct of Mr. Walpole, when secreta- war? so late as in the seven-years' similar practices prevailed to a de- which enabled our commissaries to into rivalry with the most ancient pulent families of the kingdom. In American war they likewise existed, gh not to so enormous an extent; but e present times the house has the sa- tion to know, that these evils have l cases been mitigated, and in many letely restrained. Where our com- aries are within the control of govern- t, they have executed their duty with ular purity and honour; in Holland, in pt, in Hanover, in Spain: and if in West Indies considerable frauds were tised in the year 1796, effectual means orrection have now been adopted.— the proceeding of the house, not y nights ago, and the countenance n to the propositions of an hon. gent. Henry Martin), show an unwilling- to examine and amend whatever there f evil in our institutions? Did it not ear that the pensions and sinecures unted to only a one hundred and eigh- part of our annual expenditure? and there not manifested, on all sides of house, a disposition to retrench any of this charge, which should on a fair nination appear superfluous? Is it no f of public virtue that a revenue ex- ing 60 millions is collected at no ter expence than 2,700,000*l.*; a less than is paid by many individuals in house for the sale of their sugars, or owed by the Lord Chancellor to the receiver of any landed estate under his authority? Far from acknowledging neglect or criminality, I confidently maintain, that the conduct of parliament, in late years, gives it a great claim to the confidence and gratitude of the country, which our ancestors never possessed.—But it is said, that, on a late memorable occasion, parliament displayed the grossest proof of misconduct, of corruption, and of contempt of the sentiments and opinions of its constituents. So little am I disposed to regard this transaction in the same light, that I do not hesitate to assert, that when the passions of the people shall be so far abated as to enable them to take a calm and dispassionate view of all the circumstances attendant on it; or were an intelligent foreigner required to pronounce upon it, it must be declared to be a case, which, beyond all others, manifests the power of the popular branch of our constitution. The son of our sovereign holding an office of the highest trust, which, by the acknowledgment of all mankind, he had discharged with eminent ability, put upon his trial by the unanimous voice of this house, on the accusation of a person very little known in parliament, and totally unsupported by any party. After a most patient and laborious investigation, where the chief evidence was a woman under the influence of jealousy and hatred, altogether destitute of character or morals, a personage so exalted in rank and dignity compelled to retire from his high situation, in spite of all the efforts of administration, aided and supported by such parts of opposition as had ever filled or entertained an expectation of filling public stations. But it is denied that this resignation was the result of the opinion expressed by the house of commons itself. It is said a very large proportion of the house decided favourably to the Duke of York, and that it was the voice of the people, alone, which compelled him to resign. In the view that I take of our constitution, considering it as a machine for practical purposes, I am satisfied when a beneficial result is attained; nor am I anxious to inquire, when our object is accomplished, by what means it is brought about; but surely it was parliament itself that compelled his royal highness to resign. No person who observed the public proceeding of the house, and knew the feelings and sentiments that pervaded it, would deny that it was prepared ultimately to have concurred in a vote for his royal highness's removal from office, had not his resignation prevented it; although it refused to record on the Journals a resolution, which, in a case of much doubt, affixed an indelible reproach on his character. But I am prepared to go still further, and to assert that this result is, in reality, the most beneficial that could be attained; and such as a moderate and politic person would have desired, whatever had been the light in which he viewed the conduct of the Duke of York. By his removal from office, the great practical object in view was attained; and for all purposes of example, the public nature of the inquiry, and the result, would operate to deter others, quite as forcibly, as if we had proceeded to the severest punishment: at the same time, by refusing to record on our Journals the Resolutions proposed, we abstained from degrading monarchy in the person of a prince so nearly connected with the throne, and escaped from the serious embarrassments which would have ensued, had the regency, or the sovereignty of the realm, descended to a man disgraced and dishonoured by the deliberate and solemn vote of parliament. Lamentable, indeed, will be the condition of the country, when parliament shall be found insensible to the feelings of the nation; but far more calamitous will be the times, when it shall become the mere echo of the voice of the people. Individually we ought to sympathize, we ought to partake of every sentiment of those, by whom, and for whom, our authority is constituted. But in the resolves of parliament, the sentiments of the people ought ever to appear softened and refined; divested of all their grossness; and, above all, purified from that passion and violence which is inseparable from popular feeling. But it is contended, that the practices which this bill attempts to remedy are contrary to the theory of our constitution. After what has passed in parliament; after it has been said, that the practice complained of is "notorious as the sun at noon-day," (see p. 519). it would be prudery in me to deny that something of the kind may exist. But I cannot admit that it is "notorious as the sun at noon-day;" and if such abuses prevail, I believe them to have been uniformly practised in secrecy. When gentlemen, however, appeal to the theory of our constitution, they appeal to that which I do not distinctly comprehend, to something of which I suspect they themselves have no very definite conception. So much, however, is certa that every theory of our constituti differs altogether from the practice. O theory supposes the power of the cons tution to be lodged in three branch checking and controlling each othe while it is perfectly evident, that, by change of circumstances, the whole pr tical power of the constitution is vested the house of commons, which, by wi holding supplies, may entirely control other two branches of the constitution. is sufficient for me to know, that it produced greater practical benefits th have been found to exist in any other vernment, ancient or modern; and, long as we continue to enjoy such bl ings, I shall never be studious in the p suit of theoretical amendments. But a ther, and a better ground, is taken, wh gentlemen say, we seek to restore the c stitution to its ancient purity;—this I fu comprehend; I join issue with them; a if they will point out the times in wh greater purity existed than in the pres times, I will gladly recur to the practi which then prevailed. But let us exam this question: gentlemen would scarc wish to go back to the times of the Tud when parliament was the base instrum of the legal vengeance of our monar As little would they recur to the times the Stuarts. Many useful laws were acted in the reign of Charles the secon but will it be denied, that almost all chief leaders in the house were actua in the pay of France? But I suppose t we are to look for an example in the re of king William, when those self-deny ordinances, which are so much the obj of admiration in the present day, (the la against placemen and pensioners), w passed. Let us look a little at the pract of those times: is it not notorious that monarch himself received a present 10,000*l.*; that the Lord President of Council received 5,000*l.*; and that a p son was found, who disgraced the cl now so honourably filled, by the acce ance of a bribe of 1,000*l.*? Nor are th solitary cases. There is scarce a page the history of those times, in which son thing of the same sort will not be fou If we proceed to the succeeding reig we shall find our ministers, Walpole a Stanhope, acknowledging in this v house their mutual peculations and e bezzlements. In the following years, h many abuses were practised in respec the South-Sea bubble, and the Corporat he Benefit of the Poor? and how many mbers of this house were expelled, in sequence of the grossest frauds? Surely n, in no part of sir Robert Walpole's adistration shall we find an example of that tity to which we may refer; in fact, it was until the administration of Mr. Pelham ministers were free from the reproach ersonal corruption, not such practices re now stated to exist; not the exer of influence; not arrangements, by ch men may come into parliament e to exercise a free agency, all which ailed to the same degree as at pre; but the absolute receipt of monies, ribes in their own persons, for the st and most unworthy purposes. Pers it is impossible better to illustrate the erence between those times and the pre, than by a reference to what took place cerning the very piece of ground at Chel which has been a matter of so much dision. Sir Robert Walpole, the minister, out a pretence, scrupled not to obtain n the crown a grant of the land of a onal charity, for his own individual efit; and the transaction passed eny without notice, whilst the grant of a of that very ground, for a valuable sideration, proceeding through all the ns required by the law, has set the na in a ferment. In saying this, how, I desire not to be understood as aping, in any degree, of the latter saction; it is not for the credit of gonment, and ought to have been avoid

But let us look at times somewhat e within our own memories; let us at the administration of lord North. ere needless to weary the attention of house, by tracing the various instances inisterial influence, and of parliamen servility, exhibited in the proceedings he Middlesex Election; it is sufficient ate, that towards the close of the Amen war, when most of the counties in land had petitioned for a careful re of our expenditure, the motion of sir rge Saville, for laying before parliat the Pension-list, was rejected, and isters condescended to inform the se of such pensions only as were pay at the exchequer. Does any minisnow exist so hardy as to propose to iament such a vote? or if, lost to ne and prudence, he suggested such a position, how many of this corrupt and raded parliament would support him? se facts are sufficient to prove how h more pure and honest is the present practise of parliament, when compared with any former period of our history; and, indeed, gentlemen, when they talk of restoring the constitution to its ancient purity, are themselves compelled to acknowledge, that our constitution is in a progressive state of amendment. An hon. gent., (Mr. Whitbread) himself the chief supporter of reform, distinctly stated the fact; he told us, that parliament was reforming itself; that since the Grenville act the franchise of three boroughs had been extended; and that every borough in the kingdom was attempting to free itself from the controul of the patron by whom it had hitherto been ruled. The fact is undeniable; and if 275 members were returned to parliament by individual interest, as was stated in the Petition for Reform in 1797, the proportion is now greatly diminished. No one can deny the sentiment that now pervades every town and city in the empire; nor is it to be doubted, that in a very few years their independence will be exerted to such a degree, that no returns will be made by individuals, but those who are possessed of burgage tenure. Is it nothing, likewise, that, by the operation of the wise laws alluded to early in the debate, all the disorder, all the riot, all the confusion formerly incident to elections, is at an end? In former times these were great and serious evils; they were not the pretences on which the septennial act was justified; but they were felt by grave and well-disposed persons to be of such a nature, as greatly to serve in justifing parliament, when it extended its own power and duration. Even Mr. Burke, in our own times, in arguing this question, speaks of the disorders, attendant on elections as an important consideration, why the duration of parliaments should not be shortened. Every one has read of the disorders that ensued in the metropolis, on the election of Trentham and Vandeput; we ourselves witnessed the evils incident to the elections of Mr. Fox and lord John Townshend. Is it no benefit, that such scenes of violence and disorder are now entirely at an end; and that the elections in 1806 and 1807 were conducted with as little confusion as occurs in the annual choice of our magistrates?—Another great and important change stands recorded, by the most incontrovertible of all evidence—our own proceedings. The house had occasion to scrutinize the mode of election in no less than eighty cases, in the short space of a twelvemonth; and in no one instance was bribery proved to have been practised; and in very few was it even alleged. When there exists such manifest proof of the amended state of our representation, when our laws have been so far effective, it is a little too much for the hon. mover of this Bill to propose to us to enact new and severe laws for the purpose of correcting bribery. This part of his bill is, at least, unnecessary; it is in absolute contradiction to the evidence before us, and seeks to remedy an evil, which is proved to be sufficiently restrained by the laws now actually in being.—But the hon. gent. complains, that the landed interest has lost its preponderance, and that the influence of the monied interest is now too great; an evil which he hopes to cure by the present bill. I would remind the hon. gent., that this complaint is not new; that it has existed in all times; and was never more loudly urged, than in those times of purity to which we are referred,—the times of king William; then also was it attempted to set up a distinction between the monied and the landed interest, with as little success as, I hope, will attend the present effort. The hon. gent. deems this mischief to have prevailed chiefly since the year 1784; and even the right hon. gent., (Mr. Windham), whose opinions I much admire on all other points, seems to think, that, by the transactions which then occurred, a great change was produced in our constitution. I agree with that right hon. gent., that a great change did then take place; but it was a change not injurious to the popular branch of the constitution; it was the triumph of the popular part of the constitution over the house itself. In adopting Mr. Fox's East India bill, and by the measures it afterwards pursued, to restore Mr. Fox and lord North to his majesty's councils, parliament acted in direct opposition to the feelings and sentiments of the people; and we need not be astonished, that in the result of the conflict it was defeated. The alteration resulting from that transaction, and the change of representatives in so many places, which ensued upon the general election, consisted, not in any preference for the monied interest, as contrasted with the landed interest, but in moderating the strong spirit of party which before prevailed in the house and the nation. And here I must permit myself a very short observation, on the anxiety gentlemen manifest to profess themselves party-men, and to contend that it is the best a most honourable conduct that can be pu sued in parliament. It is not, however, discuss the question, but to profess my ow conviction, that public duty is far bett discharged by an imitation of the memb for Yorkshire, (Mr. Wilberforce), wh keeping his mind entirely free from party bias, is ever ready to throw the gre weight resulting from his talent and int grity into that scale, which is in danger being forced from its proper balance. Waving, however, further observation this point, it cannot be denied, that, party must exist, it is highly desirable should exist in the most mild and moc rated form. This I consider to have be the fact in a remarkable degree since t year 1784, and the reason is evident: on the one hand, difference of princip among parties would seldom lead to da ger or violence, were it not united with difference of interest among the individu of which parties are composed; so, on t other, party, when proceeding solely fr individual motives of interest, cannot le men long to depart from truth and justice a cultivated age such as the present. In times of the Stuarts a great difference principle existed, even among good men, to the relative power of the crown and the people. It was not altogether settled the revolution, since king William vent ed to set the will of the crown in oppo tion to the feeling of the people, in resp to some of our best and most wholeso laws, particularly the law for regulati Trials for Treason, which he rejected d ing several sessions, and to which his ass was not obtained until the latter period his reign. The throne was secured to house of Brunswick by the efforts of Whigs; and they continued to govern kingdom until the accession of his pres majesty. From that date no differen has existed in this country, founded any difference of political principle; classes of party-men have sought only preserve the constitution such as it is; the contest that arose respecting the l of policy to be pursued towards Ameri and the opposite opinions maintained parliament for so long a time upon t subject, had, in a manner, enlisted par ment under separate leaders. By an u on, they at once endeavoured to cont their sovereign, and endeavoured to dis gard the opinions of the people. Si the failure of that attempt, the party-fe ing that has prevailed in the house a nothing more than preference for or other of the great leaders, now un- anately no more, whose talents guided lebates. In point of practical conduct, probable that, which ever had been the ster, nearly the same measures as have a pursued, would actually have been oted. Under such circumstances, it is possible that the spirit of party should ert, in any very great degree, men's and honest judgments. By this abate- t of party-spirit; by the great influ- of public opinion on our proceedings; sometimes by the direct part, which people have taken in public affairs, ex- sed in the resolutions of public bodies; increase of the influence of the crown, ng from its enlarged revenue and ex- diture, has been counteracted. Since time, the warmest friends and the t zealous supporters of administration, always reserved to themselves a free- to withhold their support, and even to ose measures of which they did not rove; and parliament will be found to e displayed a degree of independence, ch, on no former occasion, was mani- ed. Symptoms of this spirit were first wn in respect of taxation. In former es, a minister, who failed in persuading iament to adopt a tax, seldom retained power any long period of time. The of sir Robert Walpole soon followed rejection of his propositions for the ise; but Mr. Pitt was compelled to up the Shop-Tax, the Maid-Servants' , and the tax on Succession to real pro- y, without any abatement of his gene- power or influence. When the Decla- ry Bill for India was introduced, many is best friends asserted their free agen- professing still the same warm desire upport his administration. The same it was more distinctly shewn in re- t of the general plan of fortification; notwithstanding the brilliant success ch had attended his measures in Hol- l, and the recent submission of Spain, en he proposed to involve this country war with Russia, the attempt was re- ed, and parliament asserted its right of gment—a circumstance the more re- kable, when it is considered that this a question depending on details, known y to the cabinet, and on which parlia- it had always been used to vote on con- nce. But the case which, beyond all ers, proved the independence and vir- of parliament, was the proceeding pted concerning lord Melville. We saw a minister, who had been in office for 20 years, who had displayed great talents and ability, who possessed the favour of his sovereign, and enjoyed the confidence of his country in a high degree, at once driven into disgrace, for neglecting to restrain the conduct of a dependant in the misuse of the public money. Neither the influence of administration, the power of the crown, nor the tears of Mr. Pitt, were found availing to induce the house to abstain from requiring his removal from the privy council, on an occasion where he had failed in his duty to his country. All these are proofs of a degree of independence, of public spirit, and of public virtue, which will not be found in the history of any nation, or in the proceedings of parliament during the times of our ancestors. They abundantly prove, that we have discharged our duty with honour and integrity; and should induce the house to disregard the present clamour, which must soon subside; being founded in an exaggerated and impassioned view of a late transaction, and in no degree justified by our conduct, which, in every stage, has been wise, moderate, and just. Influenced by these sentiments, I maintain that no change is necessary; but, even if a change were necessary, is the bill of the hon. gentleman calculated to amend the character or composition of parliament? What is the conduct of the persons whom he seeks to exclude from this house? If I ask out of doors, or even if I ask some within these walls, they will answer like the hon. baronet, (Sir Watkin Wynn.) that they are peculators and jobbers, who having bought their seats seek only to obtain a remuneration for the expenditure they have thus incurred, who are at all times ready to say to their constituents (in the words of the story), "I have bought you, and now I will sell you." But is this the fact? and are they found to discharge their duty less conscientiously than other members? What is the class of persons supposed to purchase seats in this house? Merchants of extended connexion, and of great wealth; men who have served their country abroad in the naval and military profession; lawyers of great eminence; or persons who by any other means have arrived at considerable affluence or distinction. Having provided for all the necessaries and luxuries of life, and a surplus still remaining, instead of wasting it in maintaining an increased retinue, or more splendid equipage, they dispose of it in

obtaining an introduction to this assembly, anxious to become known to all who are great and eminent among their countrymen; and often honestly hoping, that when questions come under discussion, in which, from the habits of their life, they are conversant, they may be useful to their country. They are men who have a disposition to preserve, if not always endowed with a capacity to amend, the constitution of their country. The powers of the legislature are at least safe in their hands. And what is the course they are found to pursue? They generally support the ministers to whom his majesty has intrusted the administration of public affairs; and such generally is the first duty of every good citizen, in dangerous and critical times like the present. But whenever measures of a doubtful nature are proposed, are they the persons who most readily sacrifice their feelings and opinions at the shrine of power? Are they the men who adopt the measures and opinions of government by wholesale? Consider the case [of Mr. Dick] so lately brought under our review: here we find a gentleman connected with government by long habits, and bound by the ties of relation to the chief minister of Ireland, his guardian and his friend, retiring from the honourable situation which he possessed, rather than give a vote contrary to his feelings. Or, if the test of virtue be the conduct pursued by members of parliament in respect of the Duke of York, it will be found that there is among the famed 125 a larger proportion of gentlemen, such as the present bill would exclude from parliament, than of persons connected with the landed interest; and an infinitely greater proportion, than of persons who are supposed to be connected with the aristocratic branch of our constitution. I call upon gentlemen on both sides of the house, who have filled official situations, to declare whether it is amongst this class of persons that the most importunate suitors at the treasury are to be found. For themselves, they are precluded by their situations from seeking any thing; for their families, in general, they have little to desire; for their constituents, no provision can be necessary from the nature of the circumstances. Some may require facilities for their commerce; others may occasionally possess an ambition to be raised to the honour of the baronetage; but, upon the whole, I am confident that they are the persons, who least frequently are found to
solicit favours, and who, in the votes the
give, discharge their duty most conscien
tiously. Now what ground can there b
either from experience or from speculati
reasoning, to suppose that, if the law pro
posed could be rendered effective, an
persons possessing parliamentary patron
age were precluded from disposing of it
the way asserted, and compelled to fi
their seats with candidates who made the
no return, such men would better di
charge their parliamentary duties? We
persons possessing parliamentary influ
ence so to dispose of it, are we to expe
that they would seek no reward, or ha
no personal objects to gratify? Is this co
sistent with human nature, or with exp
rience? They would equally seek som
selfish gratification; but, instead of o
taining it in the manner they now d
they must obtain it from government. O
this point we are not without experienc
and I wish the house calmly to weigh t
practical results. Let us suppose a ge
tleman, possessed of considerable parli
mentary influence, acquired, as some w
say, by the basest arts of managemen
but, as may probably be the case, by e
ercising kindness and protection to
around him,—suppose him to seek retur
for the pains and labour he has exercis
in the acquirement of so great an infl
ence, by introducing to parliament perso
connected with the monied interest,—su
pose even that he adopts only such as a
recommended by the treasury; at lea
the tie by which they are bound is loo
in its nature, and will be found to ser
only on ordinary occasions. While t
machine of state proceeds in its ordina
course they may be found to lend
willing aid; but whenever doubts occ
whenever points arise, on which men
honourable minds may fairly differ, th
will be found divided in opinion, ea
asserting his own conception of t
case. Suppose the same power and inf
ence exerted gratuitously to return to pa
liament friends of the minister; even
that minister were as great, and as pow
ful, and as virtuous as Mr. Pitt, could
withhold from one to whom he owed
great an obligation successive degrees
advancement in the peerage, even if tw
steps were required in the course of o
year? If, on the death of such a minist
he transferred his powerful aid to his su
cessor, would a minister, as stern and rig
in the discharge of his duty as lord Gre
ville, refuse to such a person those honou

e peerage, which are mostly confined
haracters who have upheld the glory
heir country by the most brilliant
evements in its military service, or di-
cd its councils in the Cabinet. Or
ose another course adopted; that,
ead of an alliance with government, he
ld adopt the party of opposition; not
support them by his friends, but at a
, when no hope of returning to power
ained, when their case seemed utterly
less, actually bring into parliament
ral who had once been members of
inistration. If by any change of for-
those ministers were again called to
er, what bounds can be set to his
ms, and to their honest gratitude?
t honours, what distinctions, would not
eaped upon him? or to what office
e church, in the revenue, or in the
tary or naval service, would not his re-
mendation be considered to afford a
t incontrovertible claim? And are
e imaginary cases; or will not every
recognize their existence within his
remembrance? However unfitting,
ever unseemly, the practice alledged,
not hesitate to assert, that, in its prac-
effects, it is far more benefical, than
e possessor of parliamentary influence
compelled to seek a return in the way
cribed. In the one case, a remunera-
is obtained, sometimes from the inno-
vanity, often from the laudable ambi-
of him who enters this house. In
other, it will be sought by the pursuit
hose honours, which ought only to be
reward of eminent service, or by pro-
ing to all the offices of the state the
endents and connections of the posses-
of parliamentary influence. In the
instance men come into parliament by
ns which we may not approve; but,
n here, are generally found to exer-
their duty with a fair portion of inde-
dence and impartiality. In the other,
may enter the house in a manner to
ch no reproach belongs; but, when
e, they will be found to be no more
n the mere organs of their patron, who,
ng made his arrangements with one
other party, announces his will by
e his instruments. Can any man he-
te to say by which of these courses the
lic service will be best promoted? But
not only on public occasions that such
nfluence will be found to be mischiev-
; even on questions which are more of
ndical than of a public nature, in all
stions that regard private rights, we
shall find that, as often as private bills are under discussion, the same baneful and predominating influence will assert its power; nor is this mere speculative reasoning: every gentleman must already have felt and witnessed its operation. But the hon. gent. has conceived, that by his bill a larger portion of the landed interest will be introduced to the house. If the landed interest are to exercise the same arts in boroughs which are now supposed to be practised by the monied interest, I really do not see in what respect we shall be gainers; and if he supposes that persons possessed of parliamentary influence will use it only in favour of their neighbours in the country, he indulges the most groundless hope. Do the present possessors of influence, who are supposed to disdain all pecuniary advantage, seek for representatives among that class of persons? Do they not prefer their relations, or persons over whom they can preserve a direct control? or gentlemen bred to the law, who, by their talents and elocution, may advance the interests of the party they espouse? Or, do they not sometimes appear in parliament, as in a court of justice, by their attorney? There is, however, another class of boroughs, in which the hon. gent. may suppose his landed friends will be received with favour. He may indulge the expectation, that many of those, who now court merchants and bankers from London, will select in their stead the landed gentlemen in the neighbourhood: but this is no less a visionary hope; they must either make themselves acceptable by the same means as are now found efficacious; or the person, who is now content to perform the subordinate duty of agent and manager, will himself be the member. He is the person immediately known and connected with the electors in small boroughs; he manages all their affairs; he assists them amidst all their wants and necessities; and, if they exercise a pure and unbiassed choice, to him will it be directed. Then indeed would our constitution be destroyed; then would the representatives of the nation no longer represent its property; and the experience of a great and powerful kingdom has sufficiently demonstrated, that, if ever power and property are disunited, the possessors of power will very soon wrest the property from the inert and nerveless hands in which it is vested. Deeply impressed with a conviction of the danger of the mea-

sure, in its present form, I implore the house to pause before it gives countenance to innovations, whose operation human wisdom cannot foresee. We possess a judicial system so perfect, that no improvement of it has been suggested, even by those who indulge in speculations on all other subjects. The first object of every political association, security of person and property, is enjoyed in a degree to which no other nation ever attained, even at a moment when the ambition and violence of our enemy compels us to maintain a standing army of 200,000 men. A revenue of sixty millions is brought into the exchequer at a cheaper rate than any individual can collect his own rents. And if, in so vast an expenditure, some abuses and some frauds have been discovered, let it be remembered, that, even in our own domestic management, some portion of waste is ever united with great wealth: than an anxious desire prevails to correct whatever is faulty; that our government is conducted on more honourable principles than at any antecedent period; and that parliament, whatever may be the seeming imperfections attendant on the various modes of election, unites within its walls "every thing illustrious in rank or descent, in hereditary and acquired opulence, in cultivated talents, in military, civil, naval, and political distinction, that the country affords *." If, enjoying such blessings, the people are discontented: if, in such hands, they are no longer willing to repose the management of their affairs, I despair of my country; and must prepare for scenes such as have been exhibited among other nations. Let us not, however, be accessaries to these calamities, by legislating in order to satisfy the people, as it has been termed; or, more plainly speaking, by legislating under the impulse of fear. Let us discharge our duty with firmness and courage. If, upon an impartial examination of our own conduct, we are conscious that there exists among ourselves a taint so foul as to require a radical and fundamental change, let us adopt it; but let us not indulge the vain hope of appeasing popular clamour by countenancing measures at this period, which, at no other, would be deemed wise or expedient.

Mr. *Lemon* then moved that the debate be adjourned, and it was accordingly adjourned to Thursday next.

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* Mr. Burke.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 24.

[IRISH GRAND JURY LAWS BILL.] M *Maurice Fitzgerald* called the attention the house to a subject which he considere of great importance, and requiring th application of a speedy and effectual r medy; he meant the mode hitherto pra tised in the raising, expenditure, and a counting for the monies voted by th Grand Juries in the several counties Ireland; the latter particularly of whi was become a mere form, and wholly i operative. The evils arising from t multiplication of oaths were universally f and acknowledged. In the case of tre surers for counties in Ireland the mo of accounting was merely upon oath, b fore a single magistrate, and was found be wholly nugatory. By the bill whi it was his intention to move to bring he proposed to correct this evil, by maki them, instead thereof, to account regular in open court, before the Judge of assiz which, he conceived, would prove a che upon them; and also that they should gi security for the trust reposed in them. Another evil which he conceived to c for redress was the way public works we carried on. By the present system a work voted by a Grand Jury at one a sizes was necessarily executed, and the a counts passed at the ensuing assizes; th was attended both with fraud and imp fections in the execution of such wor The remedy he proposed for this, was delay of a certain period of time, int vening between the execution of su work and the passing the accounts; the purpose of affording leisure both examining into the work itself, and t accounts of the expenditure thereon. Wi regard to the levying the money necessa for the carrying on such works, he pr posed that this should, in future, be fix at stated periods, that so the persons call on might not be taken by surprise. I also promised to introduce into his bill power in those interested to traverse eit the work itself, or the accounting for it, the means of civil bill, before the assista barrister of the county, as a check befo the passing the accounts.—As a furth improvement, he proposed that in futu all proceedings of Grand Juries, on all su jects relative to presentments, should b come matters of record, by being enter on their books, for the inspection of futu Grand Juries, thereby enabling them cquainted with the past, and to be es of the future. Another alteration he posed was, the taking the power of pass- he accounts altogether out of the hands e magistrates, and placing it in those of assistant barrister; subject, however, to eal to the Judges of assize. He further osed that all persons undertaking any ic work, should be compelled to enter a recognizance for the due execution eof. The present system upon that ect was radically bad; by it, any per- undertaking any public work, when hed, and his accounts passed, had no ner interest in its preservation; and , for the saving of a trifling expence, obably went to ruin. To prevent this he proposed that Grand Juries should obliged to contract with such persons eep such works in repair for a certain od after the work was finished. It was his intention to press the passing the he proposed into an act during the ent session, but merely to have it ted, for the purpose of its being con- red during the vacation, in order to its lioration against the next year. There another subject, which he considered n some degree connected with this, standing in need of regulation; he nt the present mode of assessing the d Tax in Ireland; but as he knew that had very much occupied the attention right hon. friend of his (sir J. New-) who, he believed, had it in con- plation to propose a new survey, for purpose of remedying the evil, he did know but it would be better left in his ds rather than incorporate it in the ent bill. He concluded with moving leave to bring in a bill to amend the nd Jury laws in Ireland.

Ir. *Foster* observed, that as it was not nded to press any measure during the sent session, he should, without pledg- himself to agree to any thing specific, oppose the bringing in the bill.

ir *J. Newport* declared, that he had it ontemplation to propose some new re- ations, relating to the mode of assess- the Land Tax in Ireland. By the sent system, the tax was assessed by gh lands, some of which might be of three or four hundred acres, while ers contained as many as thirteen acres, hat it followed that some paid as much wo shillings an acre, where others did pay more than as many pence. It therefore certainly desirable to ascer- the number of acres that should be taxed, in order to an equality of burden; and he intended to propose some measure for this purpose in the course of the next session.

Col. *Barry* expressed himself adverse from any measure of this kind, which he considered as an innovation upon those who had purchased lands, subjected only to the present rate, and as such entitled to call for compensation.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* coincided in opinion with the right hon. gent. opposite him, as to the necessity of some regulation in the mode of levying the tax, which was at present grounded upon what was called the Down Survey; since which there were ten acres for one in cultivation, and which, by the present system, were exempted from the tax.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

[ARMY REGULATIONS—LORD BURGHERSH.] Colonel *Shipley* rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice, previous to the holidays. He was, he said, perfectly sensible that it could never be the wish or intention of that house to attempt any wilful or unnecessary interference, in the interior management or regulation of the army of this country; that had by the constitution been placed in other hands; and he well knew the house would not interfere in it, but in extraordinary cases, where certain rules laid down for its most essential and vital interests were rashly or premeditately broken through. When the duke of York was made the Commander in Chief, certain Regulations were issued by his majesty, by which it was settled that no officer should be made a field-officer till he had served six years, nor a lieutenant-colonel till two years after he was made a major. The present Commander in Chief had made that regulation stricter than it was before, by extending the term to nine years. In defiance of those regulations, lord Burghersh had, on the 4th of May instant, been appointed to a majority, and in a few days afterwards made a lieutenant colonel, by which he had been put over the heads of many officers who were senior to him, and particularly the oldest captain in the regiment to which his lordship belonged, and who was five years and a half an older officer than lord Burghersh; and by his recent advancement his lordship passed over the heads of 600 officers, many of whom were in the army before lord Burghersh was born. If he had been the son of an Abercrombie or a Moore, he (colonel Shipley) should have thought his promotion too rapid. The country had observed with indignation, that the person thus prematurely preferred was the son of a cabinet minister, who ought to have advised that nothing but meritorious services, and gallant exploits of the most eminent kind, should have entitled him to such extraordinary promotion, nor could any thing less than these have justified his majesty's ministers in countenancing such a measure. In what he now brought forward, he meant nothing personal to the noble lord; but he thought, in times like the present, the service of the army required the protection of that house, when they saw his majesty's ministers so ready to countenance the breaking through regulations so essential to its welfare, and made expressly for the support of it. He had heard it reported, that this extraordinary promotion had been made in consequence of the promise of a high personage to the father of the noble lord; but the crown could do nothing without the knowledge and approbation of its ministers; and it would be much better such regulations had never been established, than suffered to delude the officers of the army by a shew of impartiality which was not intended to be adhered to in every instance. He (colonel Shipley) was one of those who voted against the duke of York, but he would be much more inclined to give his sanction to one who might be seduced by his regard for a woman into certain irregularities, but who would inflexibly adhere to the regulations of the army, than a Commander in Chief, who, whatever might be his individual merits as an officer, would submit to the Regulations made under his own advice and sanction being broken through, almost as soon as they had been issued and promulgated. Under these circumstances, he felt it his duty to move, "That there be laid before this house, a Copy of a Regulation of his royal highness the duke of York, relative to the length of time each officer in the army must serve before he can obtain the rank of a Field Officer; also, a Copy of a Regulation to the same effect issued by the present Commander in Chief; also, a Copy of the dates of the different Commissions of lieutenant-colonel lord Burghersh, specifying whether they were obtained with or without purchase."

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he believed the hon. officer who brought forward this motion, would not have been induced to call for this information, if he was acquaint with all the circumstances of the cas He believed there was no principle t house would more readily recognize th that they should not interfere with t disposal of the improvement of the arm Nothing could be more wrong. Of those prerogatives which the king p sessed, there were none more universal allowed or less doubted of, than his pow to confer commissions in the army a navy, create peerages, make peace a war, &c. The king might put himself the head of his army, and it would th be in his power to exercise his discreti in promoting what officers he please and nothing but some instances of som thing extremely corrupt would justify t house of commons in interfering so as narrow this branch of the prerogativ The hon. officer had, in the present que tion, taken much too close a ground as this part of the prerogative. The Co mander in Chief laid down regulation but his majesty had a right to alter the It never had been, or could be understo that his majesty had not a right to dep from that rule when he thought prop There had not long since been an instan of it in the case of general Graham (He hear!). There was a rule that an offic who came into the army on tempora rank, should not be preferred, but acco ing to a certain rotation; but his maje ty, in the case now alluded to, thoug himself authorized and impelled to repe that regulation, and to place general Gr ham at the head of all the officers of t same rank. The king never did nor ev could mean to divest himself of that par mount prerogative. He conceived t appointment was not contrary to the reg lation which was made the 20th of Mar last. Lord Burghersh's commission w dated the 25th of March, 1803, so that was entitled to his promotion on the 25 of that month, a difference of only fi days; and for so slight a difference that, he thought the hon. gent. who ma this motion would be sorry to stop t promotion of so meritorious an office Though a very young man, he had soug service in every quarter of the globe— the north of Germany, in Sicily, at t Dardanelles; was aide-de-camp to gen ral Walker at Rosetta, and to sir A. We lesley both at Roleia and Vimiera; a he hoped therefore the hon. mover wou not think the king had stretched the pr rogative in appointing an officer of t rit. Certainly, after these acts of he- sm, application had been made to the e Commander in Chief, and lord Burg- sh obtained a promise that he should eive promotion as soon as the limited e of his services was expired; and he rd Castlereagh) thought that when his jesty saw any young man who possess- high rank and fortune, laying aside all soft and seducing allurements of plea- e at home, and devoting himself to the vice of his country abroad, his majesty uld shew great wisdom in bestowing erior marks of favour on such extraor- ary activity, zeal, and enterprize. The n. mover complained that lord Burg- rsh had not only received a major's mmission, but one of lieutenant-colonel o; but this was no new case; for ere had been cases without end in the ards where the rank of lieutenant-colo- followed that of major immediately; d, till the late regulation, no mention s ever made, or notice taken of it; and the new regulation was only made on 20th of March, and the time of his dship's service would be expired on the th, he put it to the house whether it uld be consistent with the common nciples of equity or justice to withhold t promotion which had been promised the end of the former regulation, when new regulation had never been thought and which was only made five days fore lord Burghersh would otherwise ve been entitled to it. Under these cumstances, he hoped and trusted the use would not think it necessary to call any information on the subject, but uld concur with him, that no case had en made out which could justify them call the prerogative in question, parti- larly as to commissions in the army.

Earl *Temple* declared, that when he first ard of this promotion in defiance of the isting regulations, he formed a strong inion upon it; but if he had not been fore so decided upon its impropriety, the fence set up by the noble lord on that ght, would fully have confirmed his opi- on. The noble lord had stated that lord rghersh's promotion did not stand in e way of the senior captain of the West dia regiment, the majority of which the use had no reason to believe was now ld by lord Burghersh. If that was the se, and there was no proof to the con- ry, he would contend that the promo- n of that noble lord to the rank of a utenant colonel was an act of double injustice to the whole of the army. It was unjust to the senior captain of the West India regiment, by giving the majority to an officer not qualified by military standing, and as from the brevet rank of lieutenant colonel, lord Burghersh would hold in the Portuguese army the rank of brigadier general, he, of course, would be placed over the heads of all the colonels now serving under sir Arthur Wellesley, in Portugal, in any co-operation of the Portuguese troops with the British. Such a statement fully justified him in saying, that the appointment was an act of double injustice to the army. The noble lord had descanted upon the delicacy of interfering with the royal prerogative, and his speech upon that point consisted of a whole series of truisms. But granting him all that he had stated, it still never could be denied, that in that house there existed a right to interfere whenever an exercise of the prerogative took place to the injustice and injury of the state of the public service. Lord Burghersh obtained his ensigncy in December, 1803, his six years qualification, of course, for the rank of a Field Officer, would not expire until December, 1809. [Lord Castlereagh said across the table, that his appointment was in March, 1803.] Earl Temple resumed, by stating that the Gazette proved the appointment not to have taken place until the succeeding December. Upon this point he was at issue with the noble lord, and in order to ascertain who was right, the house was bound to adopt the proposition of the hon. mover, by calling for the proper documents to be laid before it. The noble lord had talked much of the distinguished services and peculiar merits of lord Burghersh. He was by no means desirous to undervalue them, although he could by no means warrant this act of flagrant injustice against not only many as deserving officers of military experience, but against the whole military service itself. The term used by the noble secretary was, that lord Burghersh was a rising young officer in his profession; rising he certainly would be, whilst he continued to receive such efficient and active assistance from his majesty's ministers. But when he heard so much stress laid upon the services of lord Burghersh, he believed, on inquiry, that he had never performed any regimental service; that, in fact, he had never joined his regiment. It was true that he had volunteered his services on an expedition to the Dardanelles, whilst his regiment was in

Sicily; but it could not be therefore contended, that such a circumstance warranted an act of injustice to many others, equally solicitous to seek service, and who were constantly devoted to the exercise of their regimental duties. The permissions to volunteer were favours conferred upon lord Burghersh, but could not be therefore converted into any claims of his, injurious to the general advancement of the army. It would also be seen, that all his gradations in rank were obtained without purchase. Those, again, were favours conferred, but constituted no claim to the detriment and disadvantage of others. It was under these circumstances that he considered the house bound to persist in calling for the further information sought for by the hon. mover, in order that it might know who advised that act of flagrant injustice.

Lord *Castlereagh*, in explanation, stated that the 24 British officers appointed to serve in the Portuguese army were obliged to give up the commissions they held in this service; and although he could not then say whether the vacancy of lord Burghersh's majority was yet filled up, yet he assured the house that it was impossible for that noble lord to retain it.

Mr. *Hutchinson*, although as strenuous a friend as any in that house to the propriety of conferring military rewards upon all officers who had signally conducted themselves, still declared his opinion, that lord Burghersh's late promotion was an act of gross and crying injustice. The hon. member next adverted to the illustration which the noble lord had attempted to make, by alluding to the case of general Graham, and concluded with a high eulogium upon the truly distinguished services and numerous advantages conferred upon his country by that officer in Italy and in Egypt, in Portugal and Spain.

Lord *Newark* stated his anxiety to give an explicit reason for his vote on the present motion, particularly as he was in the habit of generally supporting the present servants of the crown. He considered that promotion highly improper from the effect it would have in creating great dissatisfaction amongst many very meritorious officers of high character and great experience in the military service, and therefore he should support the motion.

Lord *Henry Petty*, after the able manner in which the motion was supported by his noble and honourable friends who preceded him, was determined not to enlarge upon the general question, but merely limit his observations to one sentiment of extraordinary nature, which had on th night been broached by the noble Sec of State. It was contended with partic lar emphasis by that noble lord, that eve encouragement should be held out, order to induce into the military serv persons of rank and affluence. Such w the great object which he conceived this time desirable; and what were encouragements in order to effect th object? The encouragements of noble lord were these; that to enlist ra into our armies, all the principles wh regulated the gradation of military ra were to be violated; and that to obt men of affluence, commissions were to given to them without purchase. In c ferring the honourable distinctions which signal merit was entitled, the no secretary, in place of attending to the c curring testimony of the public voi would, in his management of public muneration, confine the encourageme to rank and affluence. In his view of national interest a system was desirab which, whilst it drove from our armies men fit to practise the dangerous dutie the military profession, would give us o rank and affluence to combat with best disciplined army upon earth. Suc principle he would ever reprobate as most dangerous aggression ever carr into effect against the security of the sta

Sir *Charles Burrell* said, that he co never subscribe to the doctrine that ni maintained, viz. that the interests of crown and the country were at varian Thinking the contrary, he was determi to support the motion for investigating causes of a promotion which, in his o nion, was highly unjust and improp There could be no similarity between services of general Graham and l Burghersh. The former had confer lasting and admitted benefits upon country, and particularly in the import information he procured for sir Jo Moore; whilst he never heard any sp fic circumstance or place which w either the effect or theatre of the no lord's exploits.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* defe ed the course of argument pursued his noble friend (lord Castlereagh), contended, that six years had expired fr the appointment of lord Burghersh to ensigncy until his promotion to the jority.

division then took place, when there eared,

For the motion - - - - - - - 72
Against it - - - - - - - - - 67
Majority against Ministers - - —5

RISH BUDGET.] The house having lved itself into a Committee of Ways Means,

r. *Foster*, in the said Committee, stated annual Ways and Means for Ireland, monly called the Budget; which were llow:

WAYS AND MEANS.		£.
ppropriated Balances		1,739,381
ct unfunded Debt......£.	29,080	
— Arrear to Howth...	3,814	
— Navigations	191,793	
		224,687
		1,514,694
ated Revenue.............................		4,500,000
in Great Britain, 3 millions British	3,250,000	
in Ireland............	1,250,000	
		4,500,000
		10,514,694

SUPPLY.	
a for Ireland, 6,273,966*l.* British...	6,796,796
est and Sinking Fund..............	3,690,404
	10,487,200
ccess of Ways and Means.........	27,494
	10,514,694

ey to be borrowed (Irish) £.4,500,000
and Sinking Fund thereon 264,000
(In 1809 £.212,800)

WAYS AND MEANS.	*Per Ann.*	*In* 1809.
ohibiting Raw rn in Brewery	£.248,000	hf.-yr. £.124,000
crease of Duty strength of irits	130,000	2 months 32,500
crease work on lls	240,000	2 months 60,000
	£.618,000	£.216,500

this statement, continued the right hon. t., I do not venture to estimate the enue of Ireland at more than four mil- s and a half, and in addition to which, ill be recollected, that a Loan has been ady voted for the service of Ireland, to raised in Great-Britain, to the amount three millions British, or about three lions and a quarter Irish; together one million and a quarter to be raised Ireland, making in all 4½ millions. sum therefore that is necessary to be vided is that which will be equal to the ment of the interest on that Loan, which, with the Sinking Fund, will amount to 264,000*l.* or as nearly as can be calculated in a round sum, 212,800*l.* Towards raising that sum, I shall first state a measure that has been already under the consideration of this house, I mean the prohibition of the use of raw corn in breweries, which I estimate will add to the revenue 248,000*l.*; but as it will only operate for one half of the present year, I shall only take it at 124,000*l.* The reason I state it at this particular sum is, that the quantity of malt used has only produced one-fourth of the number of barrels that formerly paid duty, being 504,000 barrels only. We have no certain data to go upon, but we have what will be a good foundation for forming a pretty correct judgment upon it.—Supposing that nothing but hops has been used as an ingredient, I reckon that the whole of the hops in Ireland would produce such a number of barrels as would yield annually 248,000*l.*; but as it can only operate for six months, I estimate the sum arising from this prohibition of the use of raw corn in brewing, at 124,000*l.* The next sum I propose to raise is from an increase of the duty upon the strength of spirits by making an addition in the proportion of one to ten, upon fourteen degrees above the present strength, and this I calculate will produce 130,000*l.* a year; but as it will only operate for two months, I may state it at 32,500*l.* The third mode, by which I mean to raise what is necessary for the payment of the interest of this Loan, is by increasing the quantity of work on licensed Stills, which will produce 240,000*l.* a year. Now, at this last measure, as well as the preceding one, will not operate till about the 5th of November as the present laws enable his majesty then to allow distilleries to commence, I may state the sum likely to be raised in these two months at 60,000*l.* These three sums will produce 216,500*l.* which is about 2,000*l.* above what I will require for the purpose intended. This, I think, can give us no reason to despond. There has been no fall off in the Revenue in regard to stamps, but an increase; no fall off in that arising from the post-office, nor in the assessed taxes, but each have increased.—The only fall off in the Revenue has been in the instance of the Excise Duties, which I attribute to the measure of prohibiting distilleries in Ireland.—That is the cause of the fall, and therefore we are to look to the removal of the prohibition as the only mode to do it away, and make good the defalcation of the revenue, and I hope it will be removed early next harvest.—The balances due by Collectors, have, by the documents upon the table, been decreased in the course of last year 150,000*l.* They were on the 5th of January 1808, 355,000*l.* on the 5th January 1809, they were only 205,000*l.* and therefore so far from the revenue not being properly attended to, as has been insinuated, it shews that it is pursued with a degree of strictness and energy surpassing any former period.—With regard to the situation of the country, therefore, I do not consider it in any degree worse than before. The value of the imports and exports is greater than ever it has been; never have there been a greater quantity of yards of linen exported than during last year, with the exception of one year, a considerable while ago, when it was equalled. It is satisfactory to know, that while the trade of Ireland is thus increasing, the amount of the revenue has risen much more. Look to the state of our exchange; it has been such as every one must know that money was coming in instead of going out; having been almost for the whole of last year under par. Therefore, taking that circumstance, and applying it to the situation of the country in other particulars, we have reason to believe that Ireland is more affluent than ever she was heretofore. The increase of the debt has been only owing to the circumstances of the empire, for the last two years; and therefore it was thought more prudent to go on raising our quota by a debt, than to have raised it by additional taxes. The whole amount of the debt of Ireland is certainly stupendous, it being already no less than 76 millions of money; and at the end of the present session it will amount to 81 millions—a sum which in former days many thought that Ireland could not have existed under; and yet there is no reason to think it will injure her in her resources in any degree.—I think it but fair it should be known, that great attention has been paid to ameliorate the situation of Ireland, to extend its trade, and to improve its agriculture. By the bounty allowed, there have been 13,600 additional hogsheads of flax-seed brought into Ireland; the utmost endeavours have been used to render her independent as to flax-seed; and lastly, every means have been adopted to add to the agriculture and tillage of Ireland, by draining and improving the bogs. Large grants have been issued for improving that source of cultivation and growth.—Although it usual, Sir, to say much more upon suc occasions as the present, yet, I trust I hav said enough to satisfy gentlemen as to th real situation of Ireland; but if any hon member wishes for further explanation, shall be ready to go into it as far as possibly can. Before concluding, how ever, I may venture to mention the term upon which the Irish Loan has been con tracted. It has been made in the 3½ pe cent. stock of Ireland, there being give for every 100*l.*, 120*l.* capital of that stoc The bidding was on the Treasury bill bearing interest at 5 per cent., the bon being at the rate of 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* upon eve hundred. Although the legal interest Ireland is 6*l.*, yet this loan has been th contracted at an interest not exceeding all 4*l.* 13*s.* 1½*d.*; a circumstance whic shewed the affluence of that country, an which should not make us despair. Th whole charge of interest and sinking fun did not exceed the sum of 5*l.* 17*s.* 1½ per cent. upon the whole of the debt so i curred. The right hon. gent. then co cluded with moving, "That the sum 1,250,000 Irish currency be raised by wa of annuities for the service of Ireland."

Sir *John Newport*—Although Sir, th right hon. gent. has stated that the b lances in the hands of the present colle tors have decreased considerably with the last year, yet if the orders issued b the duke of Bedford, when lord-lieutenan of Ireland, in 1807, had been enforce they would not have remained at one qua ter part of the amount at which they no appear to be. The fact is, that from th period when that order was issued, th cash balances in the hands of the colle tors were reduced to 33,400*l.*; but whe matters were committed to the rig hon. gentleman opposite, the balances the stamp department, that of the post o fice, and those of the deceased and di missed collectors, were considerably au mented. I have to complain that a b lance of 26,900*l.* should have been pa into the hands of the Treasurer of the pos office, as I conceive it to be a direct vi lation of the orders then issued. By th directions of the duke of Bedford, it w also enjoined, that the gross amount seizures should be stated in all accoun laid before parliament, for the purpose ascertaining, not only the amount of tho seizures, but the expence of condemnatio attending them; but this does not appe to have been complied with. With re to the taxes which the right hon. proposes, in order to raise the ex- es of the present year, I must say, he uch more sanguine than I am. Why onceives that the prohibiting of raw in breweries will raise the sum he es, I cannot imagine. As to the in- se of the duty on strength of spirits, the increase of work on stills, I think will only hold out a larger inducement llicit distilleries. I hope, however, his taxes will prove more productive I can conceive they are likely to be. ve one thing to impress upon the s of the committee; and that is, that perfectly immaterial what portion of s revenue is to be raised upon the le, and paid to the Treasury, if the nces of the different boards be al- d to go on increasing, as they have hitherto. The incidental expences e Board of Excise, in 1806, amounted 3,000 *l.*; in 1807, to 36,400 *l.*; and in 8, to 104,000 *l.* of which last sum there no less than 29,000 *l.* paid to one in- dual for printing and stationary. This nly aggravating the burdens of the ple, without raising any additional re- e. The gross product of the stamp es had increased by 66,000 *l.*; but e was a defalcation of no less than 00 *l.* for increased expences. In the -Office too, the expences were upon increase to such a degree, that one ld think the nominal addition to the nue was rather for the sake of adding he burdens and creating jobs, than ing to the good of the public. It is entable to look at the increase of the ed debt of Ireland. On the 5th of uary, 1801, it amounted to 21,300,000 *l.* he 5th of January last, to 76,000,000 *l.* now the right hon. gent. states that it be next January 81,000,000 *l.* The has thus increased at the rate of 15 while the revenue has only increased he proportion of 15 to 8½. If the of Ireland were raised as the debt ngland, within the country, I really k that a great part of that debt would one away.

r. *Foster* answered, that he had the faction to state, that the regulations of Duke of Bedford had been actually wed up. There never was a period n there was so little money left in the ds of the Collectors of Excise for con- encies; and the papers on the table ld shew it. As to the post-office ac- nts, they had never been settled since they were established; and as to the expence of the stationary and printing alluded to, it was occasioned by the division of the two boards, by which a completely new collection of books became necessary. It was natural to suppose it should increase as there were 14 commissioners instead of seven. The new arrangement, as to the post-office, must have also occasioned considerable additions to the incidental expences, but the public would soon be able to reap the benefit of them.

Mr. *Parnell* observed, that when it was said, that the net addition to the revenue by the post-office, was 68,000 *l.* he found that the postage of one board amounted to 13,000 *l.* and if each board increased their expences in alike proportion, that expence would amount to 39,000*l.* leaving 29,000*l.* to be received by the public. He could not help thinking, that the great principle of the revenue of Ireland was overlooked in the desire of extensive patronage, by the appointment of officers, so as to deprive the Irish Treasury-board of its power, and placing it in the hands of the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant. He was satisfied that until an alteration in this particular took place, and the Treasury Board of Ireland took an efficient part, or be abolished altogether, and these matters of revenue be put under the Treasury of this country altogether, the abuses would never be remedied.

The Resolutions were then severally put and agreed to.

[IRISH DISTILLERIES REGULATION BILL.]—The house then resolved into a Committee on the Irish Distillery bill;

Mr. *Foster* said, that he proposed to make several amendments to it. Where an inhabitant of a parish informed against a private still, he meant to afford the parish an opportunity of being relieved of the fine, by the parishioner giving the information consenting to acquit the parish of any claim to it. He would still, however, continue the clause for making the fine on the parish 100*l.* for the second offence. As to small stills he thought unlicenced distilleries could only be put down by the establishment of them; and, to encourage them, he proposed that a part of each fine should be given to the owner of them, instead of going to the informers. He would not give up the bounties on large stills, as they were of great service to the agriculture of the country. The illicit trade may easily be put down by the exertions of the country gentlemen; and if they did not assist in putting it down, it would be necessary for him to propose new modes of obtaining revenue, which would bear extremely hard upon the people of Ireland; it therefore was absolutely necessary to put down this trade, to save the country from taxes of a more general and pressing nature than any which now existed.

Sir *John Newport* said, he would confine what he had to say to an amendment, which he should now propose, for doing away the bounties of 16 and 8 per cent. on large stills of 1500 and 1000 gallons content. When the right hon. gent. tells the country gentleman of Ireland, that the existence of illicit trade is the consequence of a want of exertions on their part, he tells them what is not true, and attaches blame to them where they do not deserve it. The true cause of the illicit trade is, the great bounties on large stills equal to 12*d.* per gallon, which go to crush in the outset all small stills, and render it impossible for any one to work a small still, in competition with the large stills established under these bounties in the sea-port towns; for so long as the person having a large still pays less duty, by 12*d.* per gallon, than a person having a small one, as the expence of carrying a gallon of spirits from one part of the kingdom to another is but 2*d.* the advantage of 10*d.* per gallon will enable the former to undersell the latter at his own door; besides, the person working a large still must, under any circumstances, have great and manifest advantages over the person working the small one, because the expence of working is diminished in proportion to the increased use of the still. Under this system of bounties, it was impossible, therefore, that small stills could be set up; and when the right hon. gent. says, his bill contains a clause to admit of 50 gallon stills being worked, he knows very well that no still of that size, or of any size under 1000 gallon still can be worked, and his clause is only for the purpose of deluding those who are ignorant of the distillery business. In regard to what he has said about encouraging small stills, by giving them a share in the fines, this is also another delusion, which he is endeavouring to practise on the public; for what man could be so great a fool as to set up a small still, knowing that he has to contend against the bounties on the large ones, upon the speculation of being reimbursed in this manner? On the who
therefore, the right hon. baronet sa
it was utterly impossible to calculate up
any other result of the bill of the rig
hon. gent, than an increased extent
illicit distillation: if the amendme
which he proposed was not adopted, wh
few stills were now in the country und
1000 gallons content would soon be p
down by the bounties, the country wou
neither be able to buy spirits or to s
their grain; and when it was plac
under such unnatural circumstances,
the system of the right hon. gent.,
licit trade must flourish notwithstandi
all the penalties and fines imposed by th
system. In fact, even the fines impos
on the county of Cavan, have not p
down illicit trade there; he had receiv
a letter from a person of that county
the greatest respectability, who told h
this trade never was in a more flourishi
state, even in those parishes most heav
fined. He begged that Irish gentlem
would now see, that this system of bount
and of large stills, was the real cause
this illicit trade, and not suffer themsel
to be deluded by the language they h
heard about the interests of agricultu
and of the revenue. The truth is, th
the agriculture of the country is most m
terially injured by depriving the inter
of the country of the advantages of
censed distilleries which would afford
it, what it has not now, except in a sm
degree, by the unlicensed distilleries
ready and constant market for their grai
and as to revenue, the commissioners
inquiry proved, that under the existi
system, the revenue lost a million and
half a year by the gross frauds of t
revenue officers, and the illicit distilleri

Mr. *Hutchinson* was sorry that he co
not agree with the right hon. baron
The object which he conceived the leg
lature to have in view was, to promote t
agricultural interests of Ireland. Bou
ties, by promoting trade, would contrib
to that object, so that the hon. baron
amendment going to take away the
ducement of bounties, could not, in
opinion, be advantageous.

Colonel *Barry* said, that if the clause
which the right hon. baronet objec
would have the effect of suppressing
small stills, he would vote against it:
such consequence, however, in his opini
could result. In many of the inter
parts of Ireland, the only fuel they h
for their stills was turf: some distincti

efore, ought to be drawn between such sts and the sea-port towns, where coals ld conveniently be procured. When committee came to consider that part he subject, in which he could best in- luce a clause to such effect, it was his ntion to do so.

Mr. *J. Latouche* said he agreed with right hon. the Chancellor of the Ex- quer for Ireland, that it was of the atest importance to have small stills es- ished in the country parts of Ireland, he would therefore give his support he amendment of the right honourable onet, as it was the plain, direct, and he ught the only way of carrying the ob- into effect of putting an end to illicit illation. To enable smaller stills to k was an object not only of import- e but of necessity, for in consequence he demand for corn arising from dis- ation, many tracts of country had been ught into cultivation, and if illegal stills uld be put down, and none others esta- hed, that demand for corn would se, and a check would be given to the reased and increasing cultivation of d, and perhaps these lands already re- med would be suffered to relapse to ir former state of waste. He agreed fectly with the right hon. gentleman, t from a variety of causes, no large stills ,000 or 1,500 gallons would ever be blished in the country parts; but he ld not agree with him in thinking, that he amendment proposed was rejected, if the bounties of 8*l.* and 16*l.* per t. were to remain in favour of the large s, that the smaller ones would ever be e to meet them in the market.—16*l.* per t. bounty was an advantage which no le could bear, and the fact has already n ascertained, that it was not to be con- ded against, for when even the bounty *l.* per cent. was taken off the 500 gallon s, and given to those of 1,000 gallons, consequence was, that a number of gallon stills were driven out of the le. Now if 8*l.* per cent. could not be tended against, how could any man k that 16*l.* per cent. could be op- ed; but it should also be observed t the owners of small stills in their rking, are under disadvantages which to the expence of manufacture in the rit, to which those who work larger s are not liable; these disadvantages ount to nearly 7*d.* per gallon, which you will add to the 12*d.* per gallon nty, the spirit coming from the smaller still has to contend against an advantage which that from the larger one has of 1*s.* & 7*d.* per gallon; it is impossible, under these circumstances, that the object of the bill without the amendment of his right hon. friend, could be carried into effect, but the committee were called upon by a sense of justice, as well as of interest, to support the amendment; for whenever it became necessary to enact severe laws against the commission of any breach of the law, as in this instance, so severe, that the innocent suffered as well as the guilty, it became the duty of the house, if any system would prevent the commission of the crime, to adopt that system; and the surest and best method of preventing this breach of the laws, was to take away the temptation of committing it, or at least the inducement which the farmers of the country at this moment have to connive at it: they are aware at this moment that the price they get for their corn arises from distillation, in the absence of legal stills; they see, or at least think they see, an advantage in illegal distillation; but if you enable the smaller stills to be set up, they will then have no inducement to connive at these practices, against which we have enacted such a severe law. On these grounds he supported the amendment, as he was convinced, that, without the amendment, the object of the bill could never be carried into effect.

Mr. *Bernard* stated, that in withdrawing his motion on the principle of the bill the other night, he did so only with a hope that the objects he had would be met in the committee, and not from being perfectly satisfied that if the bill passed into a law in its present shape, it must prove insufficient and most injurious, not only to the agricultural interests of Ireland, but to the revenue; we already had some proof of it, for by the right hon. gentleman's bill of last year, stills so small as 200 gallons were allowed to work; he could bring evidence to the bar of the house, of men of experience, now in London, that had given both 200 and 500 gallon stills a fair trial, and who really were anxious to carry on the business in Ireland in that way, and who would declare that it was impossible to carry it on, while so great an advantage as 8 and 16 per cent. was allowed to large stills; it was therefore utterly nugatory in the extreme to talk of allowing small stills to work on such terms, the consequence must be, that illicit stills will be substituted, or the farmer will be deprived of a market for his corn. The right hon. gentleman boasted that his system had raised the revenue considerably within these few years, but did not state how much that rise was increased by a rise of nearly double on malt and spirits; neither did he state how much his system had increased the illicit trade; nor did he mention that by his system 100,000*l.* were allowed in drawbacks and bounties, which otherwise should have come to the credit of the revenue; he contended for it, that the system of licence has been proved by many years trial in Scotland, to answer the great objects of assisting agriculture, and adding to the revenue; for that in no country had both increased so much since that system was adopted: he would prove that a 500 gallon still pays 1*l.* 9*s.* per gallon on its content weekly; whereas a 1,500 still only pays 19*s.*; so that there was a loss of 10*s.* per gallon on its content, weekly, to the revenue, by this system of the right hon. gent.; and as to putting down the illicit trade, he contended for it, that a licensed distiller must prohibit an unlicensed distiller from working, for that on considering the risk of seizure and penalties, the great deficiency of produce, and considerable waste attendant on the hurry and confusion of a private still, it must be evident that the licensed distiller must have a considerable advantage over unlicensed ones, and would, if sufficiently encouraged to work, on fair terms, drive the unlicensed still out of the market. For these and other reasons he contended for it, that it was utterly useless to talk of allowing small stills to work, without taking off the bounty allowed to large ones.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* said, that he held the opinion of his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in such high veneration, that he was always ready to believe whatever he said was right, would prove to be so. He had always proved himself to be a great friend to the interests and welfare of Ireland, and he would not desert him in this instance. He said that disloyalty and illicit distillery went hand in hand over the kingdom, and that till illicit distillery was put down, disloyalty would increase. The best mode to put it down was to increase the fines, and to punish all those with severity who broke the laws: in his county the exertions of the gentlemen had proved effectual, and he knew of no illicit distillery; he had great veneration for existing esta-
blishments, and for that reason would
suddenly adopt so great an alteration
that proposed by the right hon. barone

Mr. *French* said he was surprized
hear the hon. member say that there
no illicit distillery in the county May
he lived within a few miles of that cou
and had himself assisted in seizing sev
illicit stills last year, and he knew
trade was now very flourishing in t
quarter. If the hon. member means
there is no illicit trade near Westport,
could understand him, because there
no corn there. There were nothing t
but those sort of inaccessible mount
which the hon. member talked of la
as being of such great value in the cou
of Cavan, for scites on which to esta
illegal stills.—As to the amendment of
right hon. baronet, he should certa
vote for it, and nothing could be so c
as that it would be impracticable for
one to set up a small still in the fac
these bounties.

Mr. *May* said he was a friend to
system of bounties, as he was to all
established systems; that he disliked
speculative plans, and new fangled in
tions. The large stills were productiv
great revenue, and had advanced the a
cultural interests of the country to t
present flourishing condition; for it
in those districts where they were
blished that the tillage of Ireland was
flourishing.

Mr. *Parnell* said he could not permit
question to go to a vote without expres
his sentiments upon it. It appeared to
that the right hon. gent. was attempti
practise upon the house the greatest d
sion that ever was heard of. He says
he is a friend to the system of small s
that it is only by establishing small s
that the illicit trade can be put down,
in the face of these admissions, he
upon the house to continue bountie
large stills, which give the persons
work them an advantage of 12*d.* per
lon over the persons who work s
stills. The right hon. gent. must k
when he holds out to the country a rem
for illicit trade by admitting small sti
work, he is taking effectual measur
prevent any person from attemptin
work one; and therefore, sir, his c
to admit them to be licensed is a mer
lusion, and can have no practical bene
the public. There are now several
distillers in London; he had spoke
some of them on the subject, and their

n answer to his enquiry was, that no could set up a small still without a certy of ruin in the face of these boun- He wished very much to hear the nion of the Chancellor of the Exche- for England on this point. No one ht to be more capable of giving one; wished to be set right by him if he was ng, and he was ready to alter the opi- he had formed if he could shew him it was erroneous. In a matter of so h importance to Ireland, and particuy to the financial condition of Ireland, could not suppose the right hon. gent. ld be silent, and that where so many n members thought the bounties ought e discontinued, and where the ques- was whether or not the great defalca- of revenue from spirits was or was not ontinue, he hoped that he would either with them, and shew to the committhat he had good reasons for voting his right hon. friend. As to what hon. member who spoke last had said espect to the advantage of large stills he tillage of Ireland, he must deny his tion altogether; the measure of the t hon. bart. near him giving Ireland a trade in grain to England, was the se of the present flourishing state of tillage of Ireland; besides in point of there were no distilleries in those s of Ireland where tillage flourished most; at Waterford, Clonmel, and the nty of Kilkenny. The truth is, that e large stills are injurious to the agriural interests of Ireland. They can be worked in sea port towns, where s can be had, and by persons of large tal, and therefore the whole interior of country is to be deprived of the ded for grain which distilleries would if they were and could be established he interior, the reasoning, therefore of e who maintained that these bounties, that large stills were beneficial to Ire-, was of the falsest kind, as must be ent to every person who possessed the ntest information upon the subject.— hon. member had called the plan of blishing small stills a new-fangled spetion. He begged to tell him that it the authority of the Commissioners of uiry, and was even admitted to be a plan by the right hon. gent. whose se he professed to advocate. He should ainly vote for the amendment of his t hon. friend.

ir J. *Newport* agreed that in the great- tillage counties there were no such things as great stills; it therefore was not fair to attribute to them the prosperity of such counties.

Mr. *O'Hara* supported the Amendment.

The house divided, when there appeared—

Ayes	21
Noes	78

Majority against the Amendment—57

On being re-admitted, we found Mr. French on his legs, speaking to an amendment which had been proposed while strangers were excluded, to prevent parishes from having double fines imposed upon them. He stated that the bill, with all its provisions, had none to punish officers who acted fraudulently. He disapproved of that clause which provided, that if a still, or any part of a still, was found in a parish, the whole parish should be fined. If they wished to quiet Ireland, they should permit her to enjoy the rewards of her industry.

Mr. *Magens* contended, that it was impossible to take away the power of fining, without doing an injury to the country. There were instances of town lands being fined three times over for the same still. The informer should be rewarded, otherwise no discovery would be made.

Mr. *Foster* said, that there was a law already, by which the misconduct of officers was severely punished, which rendered it unnecessary to introduce any clause to that effect into the bill. The fact was, the revenue was injured by illicit distilleries, and the morals of the people corrupted. They were arrived at such a pitch as to require severe enactments. If gentlemen did not exert themselves to put them down, the severity of the law would not be the fault; their own conduct alone would be liable to the charge of having given them encouragement.

Colonel *Barry* said that the proposition was to fine the vicinity where any materials used in a distillery were discovered. He was not against fining a guilty individual, when he could be found; but it was not fit that any gentleman should be fined for offences committed while he was doing his duty in that house. That the law to prevent collusion between officers of excise and illicit distillers was not enforced, was sufficiently proved by the circumstance of 375 applications having been made to fine the county of Cavan, at the quarter sessions, for illicit stills, while not one prosecution was instituted for a misdemeanor to punish collusion.

Mr. *D. Browne* thought the proposed clause feasible; but did not approve of the manner in which it was supported.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that he believed the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) was mistaken as to the punishment of officers for collusion. The existing laws went to punish them by a fine of 10*l.* or to render them incapable of retaining their office. The fines proposed upon the parishes amounted to 50*l.* while the fine for the officer, if guilty of collusion, was only 10*l.* which should be 50*l.* at least; otherwise fines would be levied on parishes, and officers screened. The fines levied upon the county of Cavan were so great, that it would be impossible to levy them, and he confessed he was very much shaken in opinion, as to the efficacy of fines; instead of having the proposed effect in that county, illicit distilleries had increased. He thought the system of fines ought to be taken into the consideration of the house as early in the next session as circumstances would admit.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that where collusion was practised by officers, he thought an immediate remedy should be sought; and that there was no occasion to put it off till next session. He should have little hesitation in proposing, that officers so offending, should be subject to double the penalty of town lands; the half of which should go to the informer, and the other half to be appropriated to some other purpose.

For the Amendment - - - -	32
Against it - - - - - - - -	50
Majority - - - - - - - -	18

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 25.

[KING'S MESSAGE RELATING TO AUSTRIA, &c.] The Earl of *Liverpool* presented a Message from his majesty relative to the proposed subsidies to Austria, Spain, and Portugal [for which see the proceedings of the House of Commons], and moved that it be taken into consideration tomorrow, and that the lords be summoned.

Earl *Grey* rose, and made a few remarks on the subject of the Message. As he was quite unacquainted with the intentions of ministers relative to the application of the pecuniary aid, he could only offer general observations. It was impossible for him to know what were the peculiar circumstances of the case, and how far they might
be such as to justify subsidies. But th
much he felt himself entitled to say
the subject, that after the recent expen
ence that had been afforded us with r
spect to our pecuniary assistance to foreig
nations, and after viewing what the sta
of Europe now was, and the probability
what might speedily happen, he thoug
that the first duty of the ministers of th
country, was the preserving and husban
ing our resources, to meet the possib
emergency in which we might be so
called upon to make still greater effo
than we had hitherto done; not to ass
other nations, but solely in our own n
tional defence. Indeed, if it should ev
be possible to obtain peace, we should
have to assume that defensive attitu
which would leave our peace without t
best enjoyments, blessings, and securit
of a peace; and we therefore were call
upon, whether for peace or for war, to e
ercise care and economy respecting our
nancial resources. This observation
applied either to the case of Austria, or
the future wants of Spain or Portugal. I
would not attempt to give any decid
opinion upon the subject at present, but
could not avoid stating his general o
nion respecting our readiness to subsid
foreign powers at this period, after the e
perience we had so unfortunately had.

The Earl of *Liverpool* rose to explain
the noble lord that there was no menti
in the Message of his majesty that t
Treaty with Austria was a treaty of su
sidy. In fact, it was not so. There w
no such thing in the treaty. The M
sage also stated, that when the ratificatic
were exchanged, then the treaty would
laid before their lordships. Previous
that period, it could not be done.
that government meant to propose to p
liament, in consequence of what had be
said in the Message respecting pecunia
aid, was merely to ask a Vote of Cred
which was common before the session
parliament closed, to enable governm
to act as new circumstances might ren
it necessary before it re-assembled. T
whole extent of the sum intended to
asked was three millions; a sum whi
all things considered, his lordship thoug
could not be regarded as extraordina
Under the present circumstances of E
rope, he thought that if ever governm
might require confidence, it was wh
they asked for such a vote of credit.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, though he wo
not oppose the vote of credit, could

consider that whatever subsidies might granted, would ultimately fall a bur- n upon the people of this country.

The motion was then put and carried, dis.

[AMERICA]. Lord *Sidmouth* wished to informed whether it was intended to ce any communication to parliament pecting the state of our relations with erica?

Earl *Bathurst* said, the negociation be- s still pending, it was not intended to ke any communication to parliament. e arrangement which had been entered by his majesty's ministers, in America the government of the United States unauthorized, the former having made cessions without demanding any of se conditions, the compliance with ch ought to have been made the basis granting such concessions.

Lord *Sidmouth* asked, if he was then to sider the arrangement made by his esty's minister in America as wholly uthorized?

Earl *Bathurst* answered in the affirma- e.

Earl *Grey* thought from the expression d by the noble earl, that some instruc- s had been given to Mr. Erskine to ke certain concessions, which the latter ght have misunderstood. From the ar- gements as published in the newspa- s, it seemed as if the measures adopted been preconcerted, for every thing owed in such order and rule, that it s almost impossible to believe but what Erskine, of whose ability he had the hest opinion, conceived that he was ing strictly according to his instruc- ns. It must be evident, that by the avowal of this arrangement, the diffi- ties in the further negociation with erica would be materially increased, when known in America, it might e rise to some imputations against the aracter and good faith of this country, er the impression that a trick had been orted to, for the sake of obtaining a lit- temporary advantage for ourselves. A rful responsibility, therefore, rested on ministers, and investigation must take ce.

The Earl of *Liverpool* agreed that the avowal of this arrangement must ne- ssarily increase the difficulties in the ne- ciation with America; but that could be imputed to ministers, as in making t arrangement, Mr. Erskine had not y acted unauthorised by his instructions, but in direct contradiction to his instructions; he thought it necessary to state this distinctly, as the noble earl appeared to have misunderstood his noble friend. Care would be taken in the Order, which would appear as soon as the course of business would allow, that those vessels which, in the mean time, had sailed in consequence of the confidence reposed in the arrangement made in America, should be excluded from the operation of that Order, and that these persons who had thus embarked their goods should not be losers. As to the discussion of the subject, ministers would be anxious, when the proper time arrived, that every possible information should be given to parliament.

[ARMY REGULATIONS.—LORD BURGHERSH.] The Earl of *Suffolk* rose to notice an affair of recent occurrence, particularly as he saw a noble lord present (the earl of Westmoreland), who, he supposed, could give him satisfactory information on the subject, which related to the interests of the military profession, to which he himself had the honour to belong. He alluded to the case of the promotion of lord Burghersh, contrary to the Regulations of the Commander in Chief of the army. He could not help thinking that the duke of York would not have permitted such a promotion. He had before stated, that the army was in many respects under obligations to his royal highness, and particularly for this regulation. His lordship was proceeding to make some observations on the impropriety of a person's being in the situation of Commander in Chief, who was controulable always by ministers, when he was called to order. His lordship making a few more remarks, the earl of Liverpool rose to order, and observed that no motion was before the house.

Earl *Stanhope* remarked, that lord Suffolk had not yet sat down.

Lord *Suffolk* proceeded, and stated, that if he could get no answer, he should, on a future day, move for a copy of the orders of the commander in chief, as well as for the particulars of the promotion of lord Burghersh, as he was sure that such proceeding must be highly injurious to the feelings of the officers of the army in general.

Nothing further was said, and his lordship did not fix any day for bringing forward a motion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 25.

[Insolvent Debtor's Bill.] Sir *Thomas Turton* presented, pursuant to leave given, a bill for the relief of Insolvent Debtors in England. The hon. baronet expatiated at some length upon the necessity for this bill, in the miseries long sustained, and still suffered, by the unfortunate persons for whose relief it was intended. The prisons in every part of the kingdom were crowded by those unfortunate persons, in the aggregate proportion of five to three, compared to the number of prisoners for debt at the passing of the last insolvent bill. The prisons of the metropolis especially were crowded almost beyond example; in so much, that in one prison there were no less than thirteen persons crowded into a room, only fifteen feet by sixteen square, and in no room of that prison were there less than three at this hot season of the year; so that, in fact, the passing of such a bill was not only a measure of humanity and justice, but of sound policy. The bill was, as nearly as was consistent with its objects, a transcript of the last insolvent bill. He was aware it was at best but a temporary and palliative measure towards alleviating that system of misery and oppression which had so loug subsisted under our statute law, namely imprisonment for debt, which was a disgrace to our civil code, and ought to be abolished altogether; a consummation, he hoped, ere long, to see effected. The principal difference in the present bill from the last was, to extend the limitation of debt, up to which prisoners were to be relieved, from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* and to allow the prisoner surrendering his property to obtain his liberation, to retain 10*l.* instead of 5*l.* and furniture and working tools to the amount of 40*l.* instead of 30*l.* with some minor regulations in favour of persons committed by courts of conscience; and he trusted to the humanity and benevolence of the legislature, for the adoption of a measure which was to rescue so many hundreds of unfortunate and meritorious men from a rigorous imprisonment, which could answer no other end than to gratify the vindictive spirit of persecuting creditors; and thereby restore them to society, and to the means of industry for the support of their families; for the bill did not propose to relieve any fraudulent debtor.

The bill was read the first time.

[King's Message respecting a Vo of Credit.] Mr. Secretary Canning d livered to the house the following Me suage from his majesty:

" George *R.*

" The king thinks it proper to acquai the house of commons, that the ancie relations of good understanding and frien ship between his majesty and the emper of Austria have been happily restored, ar have been confirmed by a Treaty, which, when the ratification shall ha been exchanged, his majesty will direct copy to be communicated to the house commons.—Although the provisions this Treaty do not include any stipulati for pecuniary assistance, his majesty is, n vertheless, desirous of being able to affo to his imperial majesty such assistance that description as may be called for the circumstances of the contest in whi his majesty is engaged against the co mon enemy, and as can be furnished his majesty, consistently with the oth extended demands upon the resources his majesty's dominions.—His majesty equally desirous of continuing to the Sp nish cause such succours as may be requ site for sustaining and assisting the effo of that nation, against the tyranny a usurpation of France, as well as of givi consistency and effect to the exertions the people of Portugal, for the defence their lawful government and national dependence.—His majesty relies upon t zeal and public spirit of his faithful co mons, to enable his majesty to provide these great objects, and to take such oth measures as the exigency of affairs m require." " G. *R*

Ordered, that his majesty's Messa be referred to the committee of supp to-morrow.

[Mr. Palmer's Claims.] Major *Palm* rose to make his promised motion and o served, that as the circumstances of M Palmer's case must be so well known to t house, he should not take up their time entering into a detail upon that subjec in consequence of being disappointed the expectations he had formed from t votes of the house last session, as to t final decisions of his claims before parl ment, Mr. Palmer had now resorted what appeared to be the only method obtaining that justice, to which, in co mon with every other subject of this kin dom, he conceived himself entitled. Pr vious to submitting the present motion, first object had been to ascertain that regular in point of form, and then far it was liable to objections, to which ry question was more or less open; n respect to the one, sanctioned by nority from the chair, he could have no ubt there; and upon the other point, as as he could flatter himself, from the eral sentiments he had heard express- even by those whose opinions were un- ourable to the claims, he had little to prehend; he confessed he had heard e objections, or rather what had been gested to him as likely to be stated as n. It might be argued that there was precedent for adopting such a motion. The mere argument of there being no cedent could not, he thought, be dwelt for by the same rule, no precedent uld ever have been established in the se, in the first instance, for want of a cedent to authorise it; but there were ny precedents, where government had availed themselves of their exemption m a legal process, but had allowed indi- uals, with whom they were at issue, to ng their cause into a court of law, and abided by the decision. The only erence between these cases and Mr. mer's was, that the latter had already n taken into consideration by parlia- nt: had it decided against the claims, night have been objected to allow the se to be tried again in an inferior rt; but one or two assertions must be nitted, either that the cause has been ided upon in Mr. Palmer's favour, or t it has not been decided upon at all. in his favour, it was for parliament to ry such decision into effect; if not ided upon, Mr. Palmer's case was in same situation as others, with the ad- onal plea, that he had absolutely no er appeal left. Yet it might be con- ded, that these cases were not in point, as much as government had there used ir own discretion, and the reference to ourt of law had been optional on their t; but that in Mr. Palmer's case, they d not consented, and the motion would mpel them to that, which, by law, they re not bound to. This he admitted; surely if in some instances govern- nt dispensed with their privilege, and owed actions to be brought against m, it was competent for the house to ommend it in others. But he contend- that government were not justified in using it in any instance; the intention the law was simply to protect public icers from being personally responsible for public contracts; it never meant that the individuals with whom they contracted should be oppressed; and was it not contrary to every principle of justice, that the reference to a court of law, should be at the option of one party, whose only motive in refusal must be the fear of being compelled to do justice to the other? Not only was it an injustice to the individual, but an injury to the country. In the case of Wilkinson against the Commissioners of the Navy, when the defendants pleaded their exemption from legal process, lord Mansfield declared that nothing could be more dangerous to the public interests than such a plea; for if once the precedent was to be established, no persons would be found to make contracts with government, with so little security for their fulfilment. Perhaps it might be urged, as it was to Mr. Palmer, by his counsel, that though no action could be brought against public officers, the complainant might appeal to parliament. Had Mr. Palmer brought forward such a motion as the present one, in the first instance, such an objection would probably have been raised; but Mr. Palmer had appealed to parliament; and it was because he could obtain no verdict, there, that he now appealed to the law. Had parliament decided against him, it would have been a hard case, considering the influence of that party with whom he was at issue; but without dwelling upon circumstances, which he wished to forget, and admitting that the claims had been alike fairly discussed in both houses, and that they differed in opinion, was not the plan to be pursued that which would have been adopted in any other case, where two judges disagree in the adjustment of a dispute, to call in a third to decide betwixt them? It had been suggested by some who voted in the last session against the withdrawing from the appropriation act the sum voted by this house to Mr. Palmer, that the most proper mode, and the one best suited to the dignity and privileges of that house, would be, to move an address to his majesty to pay the money, and that the house would make good the same; but, however proper such a motion, it might probably create that difference betwixt the two houses, which the present one was calculated to prevent. At all events it must be less objectionable than former motions, which the house had acceded to. In the session before last, on the Bill for preventing the granting of reversions being rejected by the lords, this house moved an address, not to grant them for a certain time; which address was a direct contradiction to the sentiments of the other branch of the legislature. But the present motion could not, he thought, be so interpreted; and he only hoped it might not be objected to, on the ground of being too conciliatory. He had anticipated all the arguments he was aware of against the motion; but whatever inconveniences might be suggested, as the *onus* of bringing it forward, rested not with Mr. Palmer, but those who might obviate its necessity by granting the object it professed, he trusted the house would not suffer such objection to prevent their coming to a resolution, which the peculiar circumstances of the case demanded; at any rate, he presumed, that no evil, anticipated from the motion, could be so great as the injury that would be done to the honour of the house, by refusing to an individual, whose public services stood acknowledged, and who complained of an injustice, that appeal to the laws of his country, which had ever been considered as the birthright of a subject of these realms.—Lastly, he had to observe, that it was a maxim of the constitution, that there could be no wrong without its remedy, and that one of the greatest benefits of parliament was the power of enacting new laws, as the existing ones were found inefficient; here was a wrong, and he appealed with confidence to the justice and the liberality of the house to grant the remedy. What line of conduct would be adopted by the right hon. gent. (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) he was unable to state; he could only say, that he had brought forward that motion, which he conceived most likely to meet his approbation, and he sincerely hoped his acquiescence would spare him the regret of saying one word more to the house on the subject; wherein he trusted they would at least acquit him of having so often intentionally troubled them. The hon. gent. concluded with moving.—"That an humble Address be presented to his majesty, praying, that he will be pleased to allow the Agreements entered into by John Palmer, esq. relative to Improvements in the Post office, to be investigated before a Jury, and that the Receiver-General of the Post-Office should be instructed to defend the same."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was of opinion, that it would be impossible t frame such an Address upon the prese subject as would accomplish the obje of the honourable mover; in the fi place, no legal agreement had been en tered into with Mr. Palmer, and ho could the law take cognizance of th which could not be substantiated in th first instance? It was proposed by th honourable mover to bring the actio against the Receiver General of th Post office; that gentleman he submitte had nothing whatever to do with the a ledged Agreement, and who could pr vent his disclaiming all concern with it It was impossible that any court of la could proceed in a cause which w wanting in the proper and usual forms and under these circumstances if M Palmer were permitted to bring his a tion, he must of course be nonsuited.— He objected against the Address for tw reasons; in the first place, it would go establish a very dangerous preceden and in the next place, the Address its could answer no purpose; it appear that Mr. Palmer was appointed to an offic embracing such and such advantages to held during pleasure: from this situati Mr. Palmer was dismissed for misconduc now, he contended that even thoug the office held by Mr. Palmer, had be granted him for life, a *scire facias* cou have been moved upon the same ground that which was the cause of his dismissa and, surely, under those circumstanc it would be very unadviseable to pre the present measure. At any rate, he r commended the honourable mover not take the house by surprise. Such an A dress as the one proposed, required m ture consideration, inasmuch as it w wholly unprecedented, and time shou be given, that gentlemen might be th roughly aware as to what they decid upon.

Mr. *W. Adam* said, that the motion d not go to direct an issue; it only we to the removal of an impediment; th was a contract entered into with his m jesty's government, and his majesty w addressed to prevent the person again whom the action was to be brought, fro pleading the nonliability of the public of cer, unless this was done, Mr. Palmer wou be nonsuited, without the merits of the ca being at all entered into.—With rega to the proceedings of a court of la that had nothing to do with the question if the motion was agreed to, and Mr. Pa

did not get redress, at least he would
had his request complied with;
h appeared to him to be founded in
ty. He conceived the motion was
exactly worded as it should have
, and he proposed as an Amendment,
there should be substituted for the
ds "investigated before a jury," "in-
ed into by an action at law, or by a
in equity."

r. *Stephen* was of opinion, that it would
nbecoming the dignity of the house
cy were to address his majesty upon
subject, unless the affair could be re-
rly entered into in a court of law; it
eared that this could not be done, even
e impediments complained of were
oved. Mr. Palmer, it was supposed,
forfeited all pretence to a claim of
t, by his own misfeasence; taking the
as such, the address itself if agreed to,
ld become a mere nullity.—He con-
ed Mr. Palmer's best claim would be
n the liberality of the house; however
rofessed if it could be made out that
case was capable of being received, and
ded upon in the courts, he should be
y to give it all the support it should
n to deserve.

r *T. Turton* observed, that the simple
tion was, whether an agreement enter-
nto between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Palmer
ld be abided by? It was monstrous to
ose, that a bargain which would bind
ndividual, should not be held equally
ed in respect to the government of the
ntry. It was true that the agreement
only a verbal one with the ministers,
if that would not hold good, he for his
would much sooner take the note of a
mon swindler in the street. 'A tangi-
shape' had lately become a fashionable
ase, and all that was asked upon the
ent occasion was to put this agreement
one.—It was argued, that the Re-
er General was an improper person to
g the action against, because he was
a party in the agreement; the fact
Mr. Pitt, who absolutely made the
ement, being deceased, the Receiver
eral was selected as the person to whom
revenue was paid, and consequently
fittest person to sue on the occasion.
action was in fact, against the public
e, and against that particular branch
he revenue which Mr. Palmer had
ted, and out of which he had been
fully promised his hard-earned re-
d. He should certainly support the
ion, although he should have preferred one, addressing his majesty to direct his ministers to pay the money, which had been voted by the house as due to Mr. Palmer. The hon. gent. who spoke last had mentioned, liberality; what was asked for by Mr. Palmer was simply justice; and he trusted the house would take care to dispense it.

Mr. *Rose* professed himself willing to allow the general merits of Mr. Palmer as to the invention and execution of his plan, and the benefits he had rendered the country; but in respect to the agreements, it was to be remembered that the advantages enjoyed by Mr. Palmer in right of the situation he held, supposed a strict and faithful discharge of the duties attached to it; so far, however, from these promises being complied with by Mr. Palmer, it appeared he had acted in the most improper manner by his superiors in office; that he had endeavoured to throw the different arrangements into confusion, by encouraging the subordinate clerks to quarrel with each other; and that he had connived at frauds in the department he presided over. Under these circumstances, he conceived Mr. Palmer had partly forfeited the advantages he held. Of this he was certain from eighteen years experience, that Mr. Pitt in settling the 3,000*l.* per ann. on Mr. Palmer conceived he had gone to the extent of what Mr. Palmer was entitled to. He had however no objection to the affair being investigated in a court of law, if it could be brought about; but he did not perceive how it was to be received, and decided upon in that way.

Mr. *Fuller* was of opinion, that nothing could be more fair than the modes of proceedure proposed by the hon. gent. who brought forward the motion. The question as to Mr. Palmer's claim had been frequently discussed in that house, and decided upon by large majorities, and as he could not avail himself of these decisions he was willing to remove his cause into another court. In respect to the impossibility of bringing it before a Jury in a tangible shape, that would be proved when it was brought into court; at any rate, after all that had past, it would be only consistent in the house to remove all impediments as far as in them lay.

The *Solicitor General* conceived, that as there appeared to be a difference of opinion as to the wording the address between those who supported it, this circumstance should induce them to lay the proposition on the table for further consideration, in order to prevent risking the adoption of a precedent, which might be dangerous in its consequences, and excited others who were discontented with bargains entered into with government, to try what perseverance for years, and solicitation of friends could effect in that house, [here the learned gent. was called to order.] It was proposed that the Receiver General should be directed to defend the action, without availing himself of the strength his situation furnished him with. Was the learned gent. (Mr. Adam) prepared to say, that this expedient would answer the ends proposed? He thought that although it might be adopted, still a court of justice could not but perceive how the fact really was, and the consequence would be that a nonsuit would necessarily follow. He for one would never consent to the prosecuting any claim against the crown except in a legitimate way, be the individual merits what they might. If there was any remedy in law, resort to it; if, on the other hand, the redress lay in equity, use it; but if relief were not to be found in either, the case ought to be left as it was, for no infringement should take place in established usages.

Mr. *Windham* thought the house bound to enforce by agreeing to the motion, that justice they had already admitted by their former votes upon the subject. The crown was not called on to abandon its prerogative, but merely to forbear in this instance; a forbearance neither unusual or unfrequent, and this was all that was asked, namely, that if that house would not enforce its own decisions, to let the cause go before another tribunal. He could see no danger to the prerogative by agreeing to the motion, but much to the dignity of that house by refusing it.

Sir *S. Romilly* said, that all Mr. Palmer wished for was, that the Receiver General should be desired to defend the action, which he intended to bring against government, for the breach of contract entered into; and all the house was asked to do, was to admit the case to be brought forward fairly in a court of law, or equity. How, he would ask, was the dignity, the character, or the honour of that house to be compromised by its directing such a cause to be tried, even although the claimant did not succeed? It had been said by a right hon. gent. opposite, that the courts were open to every one, and that there was a legal remedy for every thing of this nature; but he had always understood that any person entering into a co
tract with any of the public boards, suc
as the Navy board, Transport, or Victua
ling boards, and being afterwards dissati
fied with the fulfilment of it, found himse
absolutely without a remedy, owing to th
nonliability of the public officer; whic
could never happen if a contract w
agreed upon by two persons, neither
whom were connected with governme
The only question therefore, was, to r
move the technical difficulties that e
isted and stood in the way of a legal pr
secution of Mr. Palmer's claim.

Major *Palmer* rose again, and apol
gized to the house for what might appe
to be unnecessarily taking up their tim
but as gentlemen on the other side h
not confined themselves to the expedien
of the present motion, and still denied t
justice of those claims which had been r
peatedly acknowledged by the house;
hoped to be excused in once more replyi
to the various misrepresentations whi
had been made since he first had the h
nour of addressing them upon the subje
He could not help complaining, that
many gentlemen should have formed th
opinions without really understanding t
case. They seemed to consider Mr. P
mer in the light of any other subordina
officer in a public department, and as su
to have justly incurred his dismissal.
they would be content with this, and n
insist that the forfeiture of his office
cluded his agreement for the percenta
in the encreased revenue, which in justi
and common sense must be considered
distinct; having on his part upon a f
mer occasion, in order to conciliate
much as possible the general feeling
the house, given up the salary, to whi
the whole of the committee with the e
ception of only one hon member, a st
nuous advocate for the rest of the clai
had declared Mr. Palmer to be e
titled to; he should not now say a wo
on the subject, but as the forfeiture
both had been insisted on, it became n
cessary to defend both. Considering M
Palmer as a mere subordinate officer, wh
ever opinion he might have had of his o
merits or the demerits of the Postmaster g
neral, having the authority they were j
tified in dismissing him. But the h
member hoped to place Mr. Palmer's c
duct and situation in a very different po
of view, and from the sentiments he h
lately heard expressed on all sides t
house, he trusted the attempt would not

ain. He begged the house to consi-
hat when Mr. Palmer first made his
osals to government, he was not a
y adventurer, but in those circum-
ces wherein a moderate degree of at-
on to his own affairs, might have in-
l that ample fortune to his family
h so many others had acquired. Under
circumstances then, it was not to be
osed that he would have abandoned a
ainty for an uncertainty, or have made
agreement with the government, of
h he could entertain the slightest
t of the performance on their part
n he had completed his own. What
was the agreement in the first instance?
that Mr. Palmer was to have two
a-half per cent, on the future encreased
nue of the post office, in consequence
s plan, if it succeeded, but not a shil-
if it failed. When it was found ne-
ary, from the opposition to his plan by
post office, that he should superintend
xecution, this agreement was new mo-
ed into the form of an appointment for
giving Mr. Palmer the uncontrouled
agement of his plan, and commut-
part of his percentage on the en-
sed revenue, for a salary attached to
ppointment. Nor can it be imagined
a moment, that he would have ac-
ed an appointment with less power,
now could he have expected to suc-
in his undertaking, if liable to be im-
ed and thwarted by those who had
essed to be his enemies, and who
declared him to be a madman and
plan impracticable. The appoint-
t being so drawn up and settled, Mr.
ner proceeded; in the mean time the
rney general discovered that this ap-
tment was not legal, as it interfered
an existing act of parliament, consti-
g the postmaster general the head of
department. This might easily have
remedied by altering the act of par-
ent, in extending the commission of
master general, and including Mr.
ner in the appointment. But whether
Pitt wished first to ascertain more
the merits of the plan, or was in-
nced by the suggestions of others, who,
Mr. Palmer's wheels were once set in
on, thought they had no further oc-
on for his assistance; be that as it may,
matter was delayed, and Mr. Palmer
induced to proceed in the execution
is plan, under the assurance of the mi-
er that he should not be interfered
, and that when he had compleated his own engagements, the public should perform theirs. Under these assurances Mr. Palmer proceeded to his satisfaction, until the appointment of my lord Walsingham, an event as unfortunate for the public as for Mr. Palmer. The hon. gent. admitted what he had before stated, that from certain parts of the evidence which had been laid before the house, wherein lord Walsingham speaking of the merits of Mr. Palmer's plan, had declared that government was pledged for the fulfilment of the agreement, and wherein both their lordships had stated their conviction of Mr. Palmer's personal integrity, he was convinced their lordships had no intention to injure Mr. Palmer in character or fortune. But however convinced he might be that lord Walsingham had been misled by the intrigues of others, necessity compelled him to add that such was his lordship's opposition to Mr. Palmer's plan, that whoever ought to have been dismissed it was impossible they could act together. The hon. member then proceeded to observe upon the conduct of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) who had been upon that night, as upon all former occasions, the most bitter in his hostility to Mr. Palmer, and who of all others should have been the last to oppose his claims. At the time the committee sat, on whose report the hon. member had founded his motion in the last session, the right hon. gent. did not think proper to attend either as a member or witness, though the same right hon. gent. had been very regular in his attendance at a subsequent Committee, where having no apprehensions of being called upon, he spared no pains in his endeavours to perplex and reduce that amount, which in the first instance was far below the calculation that was fairly due to Mr. Palmer. However as he had declined attending the former Committee, Mr. Palmer having no object but to obtain justice for himself and family, and conceiving that the right hon. gent. for his own sake would be content to remain quiet, had no wish to disturb him. But had the Committee examined the right hon. gent., instead of another right hon. gent. whom they called upon, the hon. member believed that they might have obtained much more information than the latter was able to afford them; and here the hon. member begged leave to say a few words upon the conduct of the right hon. gent. alluded to (Mr. Long.) That right hon. gent. considering his natural partiality to Mr.

Pitt, had given a very candid evidence before the Committee, in which the little he said, expressed a favourable, and coming from him, a flattering testimony of Mr. Palmer's merits, and which evidence he closed, by stating in answer to a question put to him that he had no further information whatever to give the Committee. Was it then quite consistent after such a declaration to state subsequently in the house that he could have given the Committee much further information had he been allowed the opportunity, as if, independent of his own previous assertion to the contrary, he had not been too long a member of that house to be ignorant that it was in his own power to have given any information he had thought proper. In consequence of this the right hon. gent. was again examined in a Committee of the lords, which Committee after about an hour's examination of the voluminous evidence laid before them, made no Report, and wherein the additional evidence of the right hon. gent. was in fact no addition, and so far to his own credit, for had it contradicted his former testimony declaring he had nothing more to say, such contradictions might have been the subject of a similar discussion to that which had lately taken place. The whole the right hon. gent. had stated was his own opinion of an agreement to which he had been no party, as he was not in office at the time; as for his opinion of Mr. Pitt's opinion it could not be necessary when the latter had stated it for himself in the evidence. Why, the noble lords preferred a second examination of Mr. Long, who, from the first knew nothing of the matter, to the examination of lord Camden and the bishop of Lincoln, and whose testimony the whole of the case rested, the hon. member was at a loss to guess; but as the Committee had declined examining their lordships, he concluded their testimony was undisputed.—The hon. member again returned to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) who he believed might have given more information to the Committee, from having been Secretary to the Treasury at the period of the original agreement, and as such, principally concerned in the transactions which took place.—If any gent. would read the whole of the evidence and other documents which Mr. Palmer, however expensive to himself, found necessary to publish, he might there be convinced that the great difficulties Mr. Palmer had to encounter, were not in the arrangement of the plan itself, but in consequence of the encourage
ment given by the right hon. gent. to al
that opposition and intrigue which it wa
his duty to have suppressed; it might ther
be seen that on no occasion were the re
monstrances of Mr. Palmer against th
Post Office and Post-master General at
tended to, or that in any instance wa
their misconduct reproved, or their mis
management enquired into. This was su
ficiently proved, by the evidence. H
would not detain the house by enterin
into a detail, but it appeared that in on
instance only the Postmaster General ha
incurred an expence to the country o
16,000*l.* a year in effecting a single im
provement, which Mr. Palmer underto
to accomplish for 4,000*l.*; it appeared th
after Mr. Palmer had in vain applied for
small increase of salary to deserving off
cers, the Postmaster-General immediatel
after his suspension advanced them to a
enormous amount; in the instance of on
salary only which at Mr. Palmer's recom
mendation they had refused to augme
from 100*l.* to 150*l.* a year, after his su
pension they raised to 700*l.* a year, th
bribing these officers with the publ
money to desert their principal; he shou
mention but one more instance where
the Report stated, that during the sh
period of only four years after Mr. Pa
mer's suspension, there had been an exce
in the expenditure of above 187,000*l.*
from that period to the present the exce
had amounted to two millions; and t
average annual expenditure which at t
time Mr. Palmer left the office, he h
reduced below the amount at which h
found it, was now more than doubl
When Mr. Palmer entered the office, t
average annual expenditure exceed
200,000*l.*, on leaving the office after near
ten years management, notwithstandi
the vast additional expence in consequen
of the extension of the Posts by his pla
he had absolutely reduced this expen
ture; and from the period of his suspe
sion up to the present time it had grad
ally increased to 400,000*l.* a year. T
hon. member said that it was not for h
to presume to dictate to the house, but
could not forbear giving his own opini
as a member, that if broad assertions li
those made by such a man as Mr. Palm
who was never known to fail in any e
pectation that he had held out to the pu
lic, were not worth enquiring into, he d
not know what was. With respect to t
gross accusation of fraud made by the rig

ı. gent. against Mr. Palmer, he would y refer the house to the report of the nmittee and the testimony of the Post- ster-General themselves. He wished had as little reason to complain of the ny misrepresentations of the right hon. t. Amongst others he had told the ase on a former occasion, that Mr. Pal- r had deceived them, and the public by assertion of his having saved govern- nt 20,000*l.* a year in the conveyance the Mails, such saving being solely ng to their exemption from Turnpike s. But in fact the deception was on part of the right hon. gent. as he ld scarcely forget what he certainly w at the time, that Mr. Palmer re- ced the original contract made by go- nment for the conveyance of the Mails 3*d.* per mile to 1*d.* being a saving of thirds of the expence, amounting to 000*l.* a year. The turnpike tolls had hing to do with this saving, as the Mails l been equally exempt from them be- e. The hon. member said that he should e replied to the mis-statements of the ht hon. gent. in the last session, but flat- ing himself from the repeated and de- ed majorities in favour of Mr. Palmer's ims, it was impossible that justice could withheld, he had determined not to spass upon the patience of the house; wever, he hoped that all that had since sed would acquit him in having again ubled them. He should make no fur- r observations upon the conduct of the ht hon. gent. but could not drop the ject without making one appeal to his lings. The right hon. gent. like Mr. lmer, was now arrived at that period of when reflections upon the vanities of s world must occasionally intrude, and en in spite of all our prejudices or par- l affections, moments occurred when th would present itself; it was in such a ment that he intreated the right hon. nt. to draw a fair comparison betwixt r. Palmer and himself, to compare his n progress in life with Mr. Palmer's, fortune he had acquired with Mr. Pal- r's, the anxiety he had suffered with r. Palmer's, the great services he had dered to his country with Mr. Palmer's; d then to put it fairly to himself, if Mr. lmer and his family were not as well itled to the hard-earned profits he had uired, as the right hon. gent. to the alth he had amassed, the places and e pensions which he still enjoyed, and family their reversion. The hon. member concluded with expressing his hopes that the little which was asked for by the motion, or had been stated against it, would ensure its adoption by the house, but if it failed he should not regret the having brought it forward, as it must serve as a further proof of the conviction Mr. Palmer felt of the justice of his cause, to forego the verdict of the house in its favour and submit it to the uncertain issue of the law; and it would also afford an opportunity to those who had been adverse to the claim to avoid all imputations upon the motives of their own decision in the case, by leaving it to that of a jury.

Mr. *Rose* hoped that the strong personal allusions which had been made to him, would sufficiently apologise for his again rising. He denied that he had been influenced by any other motive in the parts he took in this business, than a wish to defend him who could not now defend himself, and who had been charged with gross injustice in this transaction towards Mr. Palmer. Mr. Pitt had an high opinion of Mr. Palmer's talents and services; but nothing, he was concerned to state, but Mr. Palmer's own misconduct, was the cause of his removal. At the same time he admitted, that certainly Mr. Palmer had in the beginning many difficulties to encounter, and had to contend against a teazing opposition on the part of those who did not think as highly, nor (as the event proved) as justly of the plan as Mr. Palmer did. As to the origins of Mr. Palmer and himself, he asked, if he ever had made any allusion to Mr. Palmer's origin? Never. He was incapable of such indelicacy.

Mr. *Long* defended the evidence he had given before the committees of the house, and affirmed that he had never varied from any evidence or opinion delivered by him on this subject. There never was an agreement with Mr. Palmer, which did not include the discharge of his official duties. Mr. Palmer had misconducted himself in his office, and had therefore violated the agreement. At the same time he acknowledged the merits of Mr. Palmer.

Mr. *Ponsonby* suggested that the officers of the crown should not take advantage of the Statute of Limitations, nor of the nonliability of the public officer. This was the purport of the address; to place Mr. Palmer in a situation to try the merits of his case. He stated that he meant to propose an Amendment pursuant to this suggestion.

The Gallery was then cleared, but an

interval of an hour and a half elapsed before the division took place. When the house divided there appeared:

For the Resolution - - -	127
Against it - - - - - -	123
Majority for Mr. Palmer	—4

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 26.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING A VOTE OF CREDIT.] The Earl of *Liverpool* rose to move an humble Address to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication to the house, and assuring him of the readiness of that house to comply with the intentions of his majesty. The noble earl took a short review of the circumstances that had occasioned his majesty's Message, and stated that the present contest into which Austria had entered with France, had arisen solely out of her own view of the state of her empire, and the dangers with which it was menaced by the oppression and ambition of the enemy. The government of this country had not by any argument or persuasion, or by the exercise of any sort of influence whatever, contributed to the determination which the emperor of Austria had been advised to make. But whatever might be the case with respect to that point, he believed that not one of their lordships could entertain the smallest doubt as to the justice of the great cause in which Austria had engaged in war with France. On that subject he believed there could be but one opinion. He therefore hoped that their lordships would be unanimous in their vote in favour of the Vote of Credit which he was about to move. A similar vote during war had been the usual practice of parliament; and it was certainly most desirable to afford every practicable facility to Austria in the existing conflict, in resistance to the overbearing tyranny and unbounded ambition of the French government. The Treaty which his majesty had concluded with the emperor of Austria could not be laid before the house till the ratifications were exchanged; but he took that opportunity to state again to the house, that that Treaty contained nothing whatever of a subsidiary nature. All that government now asked was a Vote of Credit for the sum of three millions to be placed at their disposal, and to be used by them as circumstances might render it advisable to dispose of it. This was not asked merely with a view to the affairs of Austria, but also with reference to our ancient ally of Portugal, and to th cause of Spain. He was happy to say tha the interests of the peninsula did not ap pear so desponding as to cause us to refus a continuance of our aid to those who ha so nobly, so gallantly, so patriotically ar so loyally maintained the honour and i dependence of their country against th pretensions and invasion of France. Whi the same noble and determined spirit w manifested, he was convinced that it wi the policy of this country to continue i assistance to them. What might be th result of the contest, it was impossible foresee; but while the Spaniards did n despair of it themselves, while they evinc the same manly and patriotic dispositi to defend their rights and their indepen ence, he trusted that their lordships wou feel the propriety of assisting them in cause, in the object of which every o must sympathise with them, and wish the success. He repeated, that in the case the Austrian war, that government had no respect been urged by this countr His lordship concluded by making his m tion.

The Duke of *Norfolk* expressed his se timents as to the great necessity of taki care of our own resources, for the purpo of our own protection. In point of justi there was no claim upon us from Austr nor any further claim from Spain, thou he would add, that he wished them eve success in their endeavours. There wa however, a duty which we owed to ou selves. If France succeeded against Au tria, which was but too probable, then feared a similar success would be obtain by France over Spain: and we must bri our minds to a situation in which we we to go on without the continent of Europ Indeed, even if we made peace, we shou have to preserve that peace by such a d fensive attitude as would continue to e tail upon us vast expences; and therefor upon a view of the whole, he thought w should, particularly after our late ca paign in Spain, be careful how we expen ed our lives or our treasure. His gra then made some observations on t system pursued in Spain, of fighting f an unfortunate individual in captivity, a compared it with our conduct at the rev lution, when we took a different cour and chose another person capable of doi something for our cause. His grace seem to infer that the Spaniards did not a wisely in this particular.

Lord *Harrowby* rose in consequence

observations of the noble duke. This try might, as the noble duke thought, some part of the money voted, in the t of the failure of Austria and Spain; it would lose nothing of its character; ould lose nothing of its fame or its re- tion. It would have the consolation nowing that it had not, by its supine- and indifference, assisted the common my in the downfal of Europe. His ship defended the Vote of Credit as usual measure, and one which the ent circumstances particularly called

he Marquis of *Douglas* stated his ob- ons to the subsidizing of the conti- al powers. He saw no great hopes the Austrian contest, as Buonaparte now at Vienna, and there was even on to suppose that the emperor Francis solicited peace. There was no duty, contended, on our part, which required pecuniary assistance to Austria. He tioned administration against an impro- expenditure of money on continental nections.

ord *Boringdon* was happy to hear from isters that we had taken no part in ing Austria to the present war. He satisfied, nevertheless, that the Vote Credit was usual, reasonable, and ne- sary. It was certainly desirable, what- r might be the issue of the war, that ernment should possess the means of sting, to a moderate extent, the efforts the European nations against the op- ssions of France. There was nothing, heard, of subsidy in the treaty with stria. All that was asked was a Vote Credit, to enable ministers to act ac- ling to the exigencies of affairs.

he motion was then carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 26.

Criminal Law.] Sir *S. Romilly* rose, suant to notice, to submit certain mo- ns, with regard to persons accused, mitted, discharged, convicted, or pu- ned for particular offences in this coun- for a certain period. The object of his tions, the hon. and learned gent. stated be preparatory to a measure which had had some time in contemplation, propose for the amendment of our Cri- nal Law, with a view to diminish its se- ity, and at the same time, to ensure the tainty of punishment. In looking into practice, he found that it was at variance with the principle of the law; that it did not correspond with the theory, and that in this view there was much to correct. He would have brought this business before the house at an earlier period of the sessions, if it were not for the difficulties which he found to stand in the way of complying with his motions at the Secretary of State's Office, owing to the imperfect manner in which returns were made to that office with respect to persons who were convicted, or who had suffered the sentence of the law. For instance; from the returns in this office, relative to housebreaking, or stealing in a dwelling house, it appeared that although 913 persons, male and female, had been convicted of that offence within seven years, only one was stated to have been executed. When the papers for which he was about to move, should be laid before the house, the hon. and learned gent. stated his intention to propose, he hoped, early in the next sessions, that the whole should be referred to the consideration of a committee. Upon the subject of transportation, and confinement in the hulks, he meant particularly to request the attention of that committee and the house. Many of the unfortunate convicts sentenced to transportation, were known to have actually spent the period of their sentence on board the hulks before they were sent out to Botany Bay, and the extreme depravity which they were likely to contract, the wretchedness they were condemned to suffer on board the hulks, could not be unknown to any one who had an opportunity of judging of those miserable receptacles, where so many met a melancholy death. This was a statement which the public had already had from a very high authority. The consequences of sending men to a distant colony were also material to be known. It was important to ascertain what number has been transported to Botany Bay within the period of 20 years, since which that colony had been so used, and more particularly in consequence of the events which recently took place in that colony.—The learned gent. read his motions, which comprehended the period from 1802 to 1808, as he understood it would be difficult to procure returns farther back. The first motion was for the number of males and females convicted at either the assizes or the sessions within England and Wales, for the period alluded to; together with the number committed, and the offences with which they were charged, distinguishing those against whom no bills were found, discharged by proclamation, and also the sentences pronounced, and the punishment suffered. The second motion was, for the number transported to New South Wales, the period of sentence from their embarkation. The third, for a return of the number who died before the period of sentence expired, or before they were embarked.

Mr. *C. Jenkinson* stated, that it would be difficult if not impossible, from the nature of the returns in the Secretary of State's office, to make out certain parts of the returns required by the learned gentleman. He therefore suggested to the learned gentleman, the propriety of withdrawing those parts of his motion which related to the several gradations between committal, conviction, and execution, which from the kind of returns sent into the office by the several jailors, could not be made out; nor could a return be made as to the period of the embarkation of transports. With regard to the hulks, he was enabled to say that very salutary alterations had been made in their conduct, and he had himself ordered inquiry to be made, with a view to some farther regulations, which he hoped would, particularly under the superintendance of the present inspector, Mr. Graham, operate to remove the evils complained of.

Mr. *Abercrombie*, adverting to the notice of a motion which he gave last sessions, with regard to the state of New South Wales, observed, that he had not redeemed his pledge, because he was induced to calculate upon the introduction of some measure on the part of his majesty's ministers, who had the opportunity of being much better informed, and the power of enforcing the arrangements, which were obviously necessary to amend the civil establishment of this colony. Recent events in New South Wales should urge ministers to take this business into their most serious consideration, and it was the duty of parliament to inquire into the grievances complained of by our fellow subjects at so great a distance. Indeed, it ought to be the policy of both government and the legislature to take up this inquiry, in order that a colony, the extension of which no one could anticipate, should be attached to the mother country, by the interests which we manifested in its concerns. He would, from these considerations, bring the matter forward at an early period of the next sessions, if ministers did not think proper to take it i their own hands. Before that peri ample information would no doubt be ceived from this colony, and if minist did not act upon it, he hoped he shou have the assistance of that information the course of proceeding, which he shou feel it his duty to propose.

Lord *Castlereagh* stated, that a most co petent person had been sent out as gove nor of New South Wales, invested w ample powers to correct any defects whi might appear in the system of its gove ment, and also to investigate the cause the events which had recently took pla in that colony. Those events could be ascribed to any degree of inattent on the part of ministers, who, as soon the necessary information should be ceived from the colony, would take ca that such measures should be adopted circumstances should appear to require.

Mr. *Wilberforce* bore testimony to discretion, firmness, and judgment of t officer alluded to by the noble lord, th whom a more eligible person could have been selected for the purpose, deed it came within his knowledge, t this officer was previously quite unkno to the noble lord, and selected only consequence of his fitness for the appoi ment. The hon. gent. also testified to t qualifications of Mr. Graham, who wou he had no doubt, introduce every pra ticable improvement into the system the hulks.

Mr. *Horner* hoped the house would f itself pledged to consider this subject, a particularly how far the experiment transportation upon our criminal law h been successful.

The first motion was withdrawn, a the others were agreed to.

[King's Message respecting t Clergy.] The Chancellor of the Excl quer brought down the following Messa from his Majesty:

"George *R.*

"His Majesty having directed R turns to be made and certified, by t Archbishops and Bishops of England a Wales, of the number of Livings un the value of 150*l.* per annum, and p ceiving from those Returns that, notwit standing the operation of the Act pass in the second and third years of her m jesty queen Anne, for the making mo effectual her majesty's gracious intentio for the augmentation of the maintenan of the poor Clergy, by enabling her m to grant in perpetuity the Revenues e First Fruits and Tenths, the mainte- e belonging to the Clergy in divers of the kingdom is still mean and ficient, his majesty has directed an act of those Returns, as far as the have been completed, to be laid be- the house of commons; and if the e of commons can find any proper od of enabling his majesty to accele- the operation of the said Act, it will great advantage to the public, and acceptable to his majesty. G. *R.*"

rdered, to be referred to the Com- ee of Supply.

Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] Mr. ven moved the order of the day, for ning the adjourned debate, on the or the prevention of the sale of Seats arliament.—The Speaker explained. the question was, that he do now leave hair.

r *John Newport* rose and spoke as fol- :—Sir, I have always thought the ect now under consideration to be at time of the greatest importance to this try. I think it to be particularly so period such as the present. I have ys been anxious that Reform should nate in this house; considering, that in these walls it could best be effect- and with the best and most happy equences. I have ever been anxious, we should afford no pretext for com- t against us, to those without doors; for this purpose I have supported sures which seemed likely to produce esirable an object, by giving full effect e spirit of the Grenville Act. To e regulations for the direction of its luct, or the reform of its defects, is a ilege which this house constitutionally esses, and which it has often benefici- exercised. I need only refer to the nt case of Aylesbury, in which this e asserted its own dignity, in which members of this house shewed them- es worthy of being the protectors and esentatives of a great people, by prov- that this house is ever eager to apply medy to the abuses that appear before I conceive the present measure to be e same nature, or nearly so with that, this is intended as a means of prevent- the recurrence of those evils in future, er than of punishing or remedying the In that case, such was the corrup- proved by the evidence before our mittee to have existed, that the votes he electors were openly bought and sold, as in a market; and therefore this house applied the remedy, by disfranchising all those voters so convicted, and calling others, their neighbours from the adjacent districts, to supply their places as electors. Sir, upon the present occasion, I must differ entirely from my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), when he says he objects to the measure, under the apprehension that we may be led to go too far. I am sure a call will never be made on this house to take any step that may endanger the constitution. I am sure if such a call were to be made, it would and ought to be resisted. I am sure if a cry was attempted to be raised among the people, for the purpose of overawing the parliament, they would soon recover from their delusion, and the effect would only recoil on the heads of those who were instrumental in creating it. I firmly believe, that the best and only means of preventing the delusion of this house being unwilling to correct abuses, consist in its shewing itself ready and willing to amend itself, particularly by a measure which is prospective, and therefore most salutary, as well as best calculated to prevent the recurrence of the evil it professes to correct. The benefits likely to arise from this measure are peculiarly applicable to that species of representation, known by the description of Burgage Tenures.—It has been said, that the purchase of seats for such places, is essential for the introduction into this house of young men of superior talents, who otherwise might never find their way into it; on the contrary, Sir, I contend that it is more likely, that talents shall come among us when seats are to be acquired by character rather than for money; for then the people will naturally look out for such as shall appear worthy of their confidence. I find a splendid and striking example of this position in a neighbouring kingdom, to which it is my pride and my boast to belong. I allude to the conduct and practise of that revered character, the late earl of Charlemont. That nobleman it was who recommended to the borough in which he was supposed to have influence, the man I am proud to call friend, the friend of his country, the friend to human nature, Henry Grattan. He it was, that introduced this gentleman into parliament, not for his money, but for his worth, and shewing by such a selection, that in the exercise of his influence in the borough, he considered himself as holding a trust estate for the public. This I heard him declare, at a public meeting, and thus had he conducted himself through the whole tenor of his life. Thus much I feel bound to say of a nobleman who is no more, but whose memory will live respected in the hearts of his countrymen. In the case before us, can we say it is not the wish of the people that some remedy should be applied ? or, in admitting that it is, is it any disgrace to give way to that wish ? To do so is not servility ; it is to treat with proper respect the fair opinion of the public, duly and regularly expressed. We are not bound to surrender up our judgment to theirs ; but we may surely doubt, when we find our opinions contrary to theirs. By looking at the matter in this point of view, we shall find our best support in the arduous circumstances of the present day ; nor would Buonaparté wish for better support in his designs against this country, than that we should say, we would not attend to the voice of the people. It has been ever the pride and glory of our constitution, that it contains within itself the principle of its own renovation, and we should weigh well, whenever we find ourselves running counter to popular opinion, because, if ever there was a time when it was incumbent upon parliament to consult popular opinion, and to endeavour to acquire confidence by fair and legitimate means, it is the present. It is for this reason, therefore, that I take the liberty of suggesting, that we may attend to that opinion, in order that, if we find it in error, we may at least take pains to correct it. Sir, I will fairly own, that I think the people have reason to complain, that they are not sufficiently attended so. I do not mean to say, that we should adopt every speculation that may be promulgated ; but we should at least shew that pains are taken to reform and correct those errors we condemn. We are called on to abolish what is called the trade of parliament! If a man comes into this house for money, he may be said to come as to a parliamentary lottery ; the holder speculates, and the public pays the prize, whatever it is. Of these speculators, some are commercial, some professional persons ; but the object of both is the same. Those who do not affect to apprehend danger from what they choose to term, a speculation, I would ask, has not the experiment been already tried, in the instance of the union with the sister country ? By that measure, whether justifiable or not, the representation of that country becan popular by the annihilation of its clo boroughs.—Here, then, we find a practic experiment on the very subject ; and wh is there will say that any evil has bee the result of it ? It is the pride and boa of the British constitution, that it contai within itself the power of repair, rath than the principle of degenerating in anarchy and confusion—differing in th from all the other states of civilized E rope. It is upon these grounds, witho detaining the house longer, that I pay m tribute of respect to the hon. gent. w has brought forward this measure, co vinced as I am, that it is as necessary it is useful. I have no objection to t word Reform, as applied to this mode remedying abuses, satisfied as I am, th it is a safe and certain mode of preventi what is called anarchical reform. I sh therefore give my vote for your leavi the chair.

Mr. *William Smith* said he concurr with the right hon. bart. who had j spoken, in regard to what he had sa relative to anarchical reform differing fro parliamentary Reform, for the latter w a reform that took place in parliame itself, and carried into execution by t collective wisdom of the nation. H should not, however, scruple in sayi that, unless he believed that the measu under consideration would lead to som thing further, as he hoped it would, should not even vote for its going into committee. He was of opinion th amongst the electors of this countr even amongst those best constituted, the was infinitely more corruption than a man wishing well to the count could desire to contemplate ; and if th corruption were corrected, much wou be done with regard to reform in parl ment. It was a mere mockery, a gro and insulting mockery to say, that th shall not sell their votes one by on when one individual was allowed to s them all in the gross. He had no dou that the hon. gent. who brought this me sure forward, was actuated by the b intentions, as he thought it would be inconsiderable step towards rectifyi that degree of corruption to which p liament had sunk. But his own obje tion to the measure was, that it did n cut up that corruption by the roots b only lopped off a few branches from t worst parts of the constitution of parl ment. The bill provided that every m ng a seat in parliament shall take an that he has not promised to give, given any pecuniary consideration it; but this could not be effectual, e it did not impose any oath upon nominator to those Boroughs. Under circumstances, the house of commons ld still be under the same influence it before. He thought the original of reform, proposed by Mr. Pitt, was itely better, as it went to cut up the sources of corruption, by providing the power of nomination to boroughs ld be taken from those persons who yed it. The only objection he had to former measure, was that compensation offered to persons who had enjoyed a t they had no title to possess, but for the l of the public. No pecuniary recomse was due to a man who possessed the of sending members to parliament. present bill did not propose to do y this source or foundation of corrup- There were three sources of tempn to a corrupt exercise of the elective chise, dignity, influence, and money; only the last of these was alluded to e present measure, while the two for- were still allowed to exist, and might mployed by the distribution of offices he state, which were only to be obd through the treasury of the coun- The government of the country had n their power still to treat with any for dignity, and any country genan, whatever his circumstances might f he considered that he could ennoble family, had only to go to the minisand say, "I can no longer receive ey for my seat, in the open market, I efore come to you to make the best ain I can; and I have no objection spose of my seat for any office you can , or for any dignity, either a baronetor a peerage, which you can bestow." was actually, therefore, inflicting an tional evil on the representation, and erring additional benefit upon cer- individuals, inclined to continue the ic complained of. This narrowing of market would be actually found to be nconvenience in more ways than one. oroughs were to be purchased for mo- government would find many comtors; but when dignities or influence e could be received in exchange, would have the market wholly to nselves. Unless the house knew the who sent the member amongst them, corruption that might take place was more to be dreaded than that which could arise from the ostensible individual: because he stands forth before the public, and can be arraigned, if he errs in his vote, while the other lurks secretly behind the curtain, and pulls the wires by which the puppets are to be set in motion. As matters stood at present, he had no doubt that many men came into parliament, who had paid money for their seats, yet were still actuated by the best of motives. Some came in, merely for the purpose of obtaining that distinction which it gave them in society; and there were others, who, having no influence in elections, nor in public life, were inclined to come into parliament, even by such means, in order to render public service, and were actuated by the purest motives. If he could secure seats to such persons as these, even by the means now practised, he should not be one that would call for Parliamentary Reform. But what rendered some alteration necessary was, that there were some who made these purchases of seats, who might be inclined to make an ill use of them.—It was with great satisfaction and pride he saw many upon that side of the house, which formed the democratical part of it, who represented boroughs; and who although they might some day form a part of the other house, maintained boldly the right side of thousands of questions that were agitated. There were many commercial men, too, whose pursuits prevented them from forming connections with popular boroughs, and who had therefore, no other opportunity of coming into that house to signalize themselves in supporting the real interests and liberties of the country. If Parliamentary Reform were to lessen the number of such individuals, he should dread that loss as much as any man; but he was inclined to think that the agitation of this question would always be productive of good; and if at any time he was again called upon to give an opinion upon that subject, he should do it at greater length. He believed, that unless an oath were introduced into the present bill, to exclude promises of dignities and influence, as well as money, it would have no beneficial effect; but with that amendment, it might lead to considerable advantage, by operating as a silent check upon ministers. At all events he was persuaded, that the bill coming, as it did, upon the backs of the transactions, which they had witnessed of late, must be productive of great benefit; and therefore he should vote for going into the Committee.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* said, he should not follow the example set him, by going into the question of Parliamentary Reform, but should merely touch upon the motives which induced him to think this bill should be allowed to go into a committee. A more imperfect bill he had never before read, and more objectionable clauses were never before put upon paper, and therefore as he had no objection to the discussion of the principle adopted by his hon. colleague, he should wish it to be committed, in order that it might be more fully discussed and amended. He was sure that if this were a question for the third reading of such a bill, he should give it a hearty negative.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* differed in sentiments from those, who had spoken before him; he thought that property and power should invariably be connected together, for without that connection, no peace could be maintained in society. Corruption, influence, and property, were as closely connected as usury and money. Formerly, the taking of interest for money was invariably denominated usury, and it was not till after the lapse of many years, that the proper line was drawn in regard to that most important article, the loan of money and the recognition of a legal rate of interest, in a commercial country. Now the same mistake seemed to have taken place in regard to influence and money, as formerly in regard to interest and usury. Property must necessarily give a person influence, and the latter would naturally tend to procure returns of members to parliament. The landed interest was no doubt the great leading interest; but there were other interests which should have the opportunity of obtaining seats, to a certain extent, in that house, as they could render essential service to the country, by expressing their opinions there, even as connected with their own interest. Some individuals objected to the state of representation, because some small places sent an equal number of members to parliament as larger ones; but it would, upon examination, be found, that great advantage arose to the country by, this being the case. Most of the small boroughs sent to parliament merchants, and gentlemen of the army and navy, who otherwise could not get seats in that house. Those who adverted to the great advantages of commerce to the country, and the dangers arising from too large a standing arm must be convinced of the propriety such individuals as these having seats parliament. If these small boroughs we to be done away, he could not see wh members should not be sent to that hou to represent our possessions in Ameri and also our East and West India posse sions. Persons even possessed of lar properties in the funds of the countr should be represented in that house. F such persons to obtain seats in that hou there was at present no other mode th through these small boroughs, and should rather wish to see them increas than diminished. It had been said th parliament ought to consult popular o nion, but he thought that this could on be carried to a very limited extent, b cause in his mind there was no term mo ambiguous than was usually denominat popular opinion. He should certainly a prove of members listening to the opinio of those who were really competent form just ones, but to say that they shou attend to the sentiments of individua who had no knowledge of the real terests of society, nor acquaintance wi the history of this or of other countr was carrying that concession too far, they could thereby form no correct opin upon difficult topics, which required gr attention and the most mature reflecti Parliamentary Alteration would be a bet term to apply to any change that was n cessary, than Parliamentary Reformati It seemed to be the intention of so gentlemen, that the executive power sho be wholly independent of the legislati Were this the case, it would be found t the latter would soon overawe the form power, and would tend to convert the vernment into a democracy, under wh no large and populous country could lo exist, for after a few years of tumultu proceeding, such a form of governm could not fail to end in an absolute d potism. Being convinced that the moti of the hon. gent. who introduced this were good motives, he should not objec its going into a committee, but he w sure it could not reconcile it to what thought would be consistent with p priety. It went to prevent corrupti by imposing penalties; but he should glad to know how that would have effect of preventing the sale of votes large towns, where it was well known vilest passions were flattered by vari representatives, such as the holding ou

people the release from all burdens
osed by what was denominated a cor-
government; although it was well
wn that such hopes could not be en-
raged without injury to the peace of
country? When persons of large pos-
ons used their property to get into
ament, by means the most honour-
, or when the nominator selected in-
luals eminent for their knowledge in
laws of the country, or persons con-
ed with the army and navy, or con-
ed with the East or West Indies, or
interests in the funds, as proper to
n parliament, he could not see any in-
likely to arise fom the nominator be-
indemnified for his influence so ap-
d. He should not say, however, that
e might not be corrupt practices as to
mode of exercising that influence;
even that could not be an argument
inst its existence, any more than the
lication of a libel should be made an
ment against the liberty of the press.
ad been said, that no person could
e into that house through money, with-
having bad motives. In this he could
agree; for if any man who acquired
at popularity in a large town, by being
ountiful landlord, or by any other
ans procured a seat in parliament, he
not see what security there was, that
gentleman was more likely to give
votes with greater purity or more dis-
restedly there than a person who, hav-
funds, was willing to barter some of
money for a seat by applying to the
ividual whom he found possessed of in-
nce sufficient to secure it. Having al-
ly an excellent constitution, he thought
ould be exceedingly dangerous indeed
ttempt any alteration in the system of
resentation, without having the fullest
spect of great advantage being likely to
e from it. We had in the course of
nts been engaged in a long and ex-
sive war, and yet this country had
rished, every mouth had been supplied,
every symptom of prosperity had been
nifest. We saw our coasts and our
bours abounding with redundancy of
ital. He should take upon himself to
ert, that if the effects of this contest for
liamentary Reform were to throw the
ntry into confusion for one single week,
re imminent danger and disadvantage
ld arise, than what had been occasion-
by all the effects of corruption, exist-
from the time of king William, to the
sent period. He therefore should call upon the country to pause before they incurred the risk of our all, for the small benefit likely to arise from any change proposed.

Sir *Francis Burdett* declared, that doctrines so novel and extraordinary had lately been introduced into that house; doctrines so subversive of every sound principle of the constitution of parliament, that he was altogether at a loss how to discuss them. He stood in a situation unprecedented in the history of the country, for he had not to address the Representatives of the Commons in parliament assembled; that title they had disclaimed by the avowal and defence of their corruption; but he was about to speak to an assembly composed of some representing the Treasury; some the Admiralty; some their patrons; some their own money; and a few representing populous places; an assembly constituted under a system resembling the fortuitous concourse of the atoms of Epicurus. Under these circumstances, he felt himself somewhat at a loss what to say; but in justice to the large body whom he represented, he thought it his duty to raise his voice and reprobate doctrines the most abominable that had ever been avowed since England was England. Much had been said of the dignity of that house; but if they were not Representatives of the people, where was its dignity?—The present debate had been opened, on a former night, by an hon. gentleman opposite, (Mr. George Johnstone) whom he did not then see in his place, in the most extraordinary manner, and upon the most extravagant ground, that had ever been avowed by any member of parliament. That hon. member had attempted to justify the present mode of sending members to that house, by comparing it with the abuses and corruptions of former periods: he had, for the purpose of covering the disgrace incurred by the late transactions in that house, even gone the length of avowing, that the British parliament had been formerly in the pay of a French monarch. To what particular period the hon. gentleman alluded, he knew not; nor upon what information he grounded his statement. He might perhaps have had in view that period of the reign of Charles 2nd, when a British sovereign was not proof against the temptation of French gold, and the important fortress of Dunkirk had been sold for a sum of money. But he would ask that hon. gentleman, whether, in his charges against the parliament of that day, he had his information from the romances of Dalrymple, or the libellous list of Barrillon, the French ambassador? a list in which the names of Russel and Sydney appeared! Did the hon. gentleman believe such statements as these? If he did, he libelled our ancestors. The hon. gentleman had next compared the present House of Commons, or rather this Assembly, for it was not now the Commons of England in parliament assembled with ——

The *Speaker* called the hon. baronet to order.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* submitted, whether, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the hon. baronet might not deny that this was properly the House of Commons, since, by the openly avowed and defended corruptions, the house itself appeared to have disclaimed that title,

The *Speaker* said, that it was his duty to call any Member to order who affirmed that this was not the House of Commons; and he would do so as long the house supported him (Hear, hear!).

Sir *Francis Burdett* then observed, that he was perfectly aware of the impartiality of the Speaker's conduct on this as well as on other occasions; but he would recollect, that until the 12th of this month of May, the claim of the house to be called the House of Commons was founded on its assumed purity. He admitted, however, the necessity of some rules to guide the proceedings; and the Speaker, no doubt, spoke from the remembrance of former periods. But, then, he must allow that he (sir F. Burdett,) spoke in a situation and under circumstances entirely new.—The hon. baronet then resumed his argument, and said, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. G. Johnstone) had boasted of the purity of the present Assembly, by comparing it with what the House of Commons was during the existence of the South Sea scheme. But the hon. gentleman had forgotten to state, that the members who had been detected in that instance were expelled the house, and punished in various ways; and that the commons then had purged off the baser matter. (Hear! hear!) Now, however, they seemed to want the instinct of brutes. Wolves would not allow certain animals to herd with them, and yet they could sit there and associate with ministers and others who had practised corruption, and had even the effrontery to acknowledge it. In order to prove the purity and dignity of the house in the present times, the hon. gentlem had alluded to the cases of lord Melvi and the Duke of York. In the former ca it was only by the casting vote of t Speaker that the dignity of the house w at all supported; but the hon. gent. wou recollect that those who endeavoured save lord Melville, even from censu voted for his Impeachment, in order rescue him from the equal justice of jury. (Hear! hear!) As to the case the Duke of York, he was at a loss to c ceive how that could be turned into a pr of the purity of the house, which h cleared his royal highness, while even t ministers, in deference to the opinion the people, whom an hon. gentleman ne him (Mr. D. Giddy) had declared to be capable of judging of these matters, had a vised the resignation of the Duke of Yo This they had done out of respect to t opinion, which the house had disregard But suppose, as that hon. gent. had sa that the house had been corrupt from t time of the Revolution, were we to just crime by crime? Many persons in t house had said, that the system wou lead to arbitrary power; but he believ it could scarcely have been in the c templation of any one that a minis would ever have dared to avow what w now openly defended. The hon. ge who had just sat down, had made su contradictory statements, that it was di cult to follow him. He said that politi power ought not to be separated from p perty. Why, that was the very grou on which they stood. Their object w that they who had no property shou not have political power; that this b rough-mongering Jacobinism should destroyed. But after having made t declaration, the hon. gent. turned rou and extolled the advantages derived fr the rotten boroughs (Hear, hear!). Th boroughs, he said, brought in a heap adventurers of different descriptions i the house, men of talents. But they wa ed no adventurers. What was requi was a sober check on the governme and for this purpose a house of comm properly constituted might very well a swer, without lawyers and other adven rers, and without being made a kind theatre for the exercise of debati powers, and political talents. Their o ject was the security of the country. Th had no desire for ornaments; they want bolts and bars to confine the execut within its proper sphere. The comm

ngland composed these bolts and bars
e constitution. If this were not the
, the constitution of England was a
e farce, a mere masquerade. If it was
design of the hon. gent. to continue a
em which rendered the house subser-
t to the minister, in other words, to
an arbitrary government, why did he
propose this at once without the pre-
incumbrance? If we must have a des-
sm, why not have it without all this
hinery and expensive appendages?—
erting to the observations of the hon.
upon the case of usury, the hon. ba-
t observed, that the laws against usury
e ineffectual, because the system was
ng. They only confined the trade to
worst description of people, and pre-
ed a fair competition. So this bill
ld only aggravate the evil, inasmuch
e system was radically bad. As the
against usury gave the monopoly to
worst description of people, so this bill
ld give the monopoly of the Seat trade
ne Treasury. Unless you stopped the
ket altogether, you only did mischief
preventing a free traffic. If the bill
d be efficient, which it could not, the
asury would monopolize the whole,
therefore while the system continued,
as better to have a free market. If
house was not to be composed of re-
entatives of the people, it would be
itely better to have an auction of
s; to have a public mart where all
ht go, and conduct matters openly.
ere all was conducted in this open
, the barter might be turned to some
antage. In the first place, the money
ht be turned to public purposes. We
ht then get rid of the delicacy which
remained on these subjects, and speak
nly what every one knew; although
aw no reason why the ears of gentle-
should be more delicate than their
sciences (Hear, hear!). Another ad-
tage would be, that the man who pur-
sed with his money would, in all pro-
lity, be more independent than place-
, and those who represented their
ons. For, according to the modern
ality, these last were bound by private
our to vote as they should be directed,
le a man might purchase, and prove an
ourable and independent servant of the
lic. But this bill, like all sham mea-
s, would be inefficient, or if it was not,
ould, as he had stated, give the mo-
oly of the market to the Treasury.
ile he said this, he was desirous of doing justice to an independent member of parliament. He was fully convinced that the hon. gent. who brought in the bill, expected that great public advantage would result from it. The effect of that honourable gentleman's zeal had induced him to apply an inadequate remedy to an evil which had disgusted and alarmed him. So little did he expect from the operation of the measure, that he thought it ought rather to be called a Bill for the better Prevention of the Detection of Corruption, than for the more effectual Prevention of Corruption.—But there was another view, in which he felt considerable objection to the measure. He was an enemy to the Oath it would impose. This land was already disgracefully oathed. Oaths were at present too common in the legislation of this country, and the extension of them would be a great evil. The misfortune besides was, that they would not be effectual for their purpose. How much were they abused in the excise and in other revenue cases? Was the oath of qualification sufficient for its object? He saw no reason why this oath should have more virtue than others, except on account of its length, for it was the longest he had ever seen. He was averse besides to oaths as a check on moral conduct. But still his great objection to this bill was, that it would, under the present system, rather aggravate than remedy the evil of which the nation had so much reason to complain.—Another singular circumstance to which he could not help adverting, was, that old notions seemed to be so completely obliterated, that amongst the other extraordinary things which had occurred within the walls of that house, they were reproached for that which formerly would have been reckoned an honour—namely, that they were of no party. The gentlemen of the present day seemed to be astonished at them. "You don't want place or pension, you say: Why, what are you at? What object can you possibly have in view? You must surely be traitors." They had been reproached for not desiring a change of ministers. But why should they desire any change? They did not see that the ministers conducted matters at all in a worse way than their predecessors, who taunted him for being of no party. He would not join any faction: but he would be glad to support any minister who acted properly. The only return he could make to that numerous body which had sent him to that

house, so undeservedly perhaps on his part, but so honourably to themselves, was to refrain from tormenting the ministers, and to stand up there only on great constitutional points, as a guardian of the rights and the privileges of the people. The gentlemen of the opposition were like some one in the play of *The Rehearsal:* their old master turned them off, and no one else would receive them. They said that their delinquency consisted in having been in office. No—none had reproached them with that circumstance. Their delinquency consisted in not having performed what they had promised to the nation. He had heard of a bankrupt fortune having been mended in that house,; but he had never heard of a bankrupt character having been retrieved. It had often been said, that one proof was worth a thousand conjectures, but here they had a thousand proofs for one conjecture. They could not by law alter the direction which a machine or steam engine was constructed to take. A great many bills had been brought in to remedy the evils of the system; but it was in vain to attempt to alter the nature of the thing by these expedients. The hon. baronet adverted, as an instance, to a bill brought in by Mr. Burke to correct the mischiefs of the system, and to effect an economical reform. It had been introduced with all that parade and pomp of eloquence with which that gentleman could decorate the most trivial subjects. It was a sort of substitute for Parliamentary Reform, and was to be eternal in its operations, like the great principles on which it was founded. But Mr. Burke himself had outlived its operation. In opposition to the economical part of that bill, too, lord Melville had flatly refused to give an account of the mode in which he had expended a large sum, and yet those who talked so much about the dignity of the house, did not move that lord Melville be sent to the Tower.—But this bill would be mischievous in another point of view, it would act as an indemnity to all past delinquencies. By the admission of this bill the house seemed to think that something was necessary to be done. The only question was whether this was a remedy for the evil? Their neglecting to detect and punish the conspirators would be an excuse for future, and, perhaps, greater abuses. It was now upwards of 120 years since the Revolution, and yet they saw that there had been carrying on during all that period,

a most scandalous intercourse betwe
the Treasury and that house—that f
adulterous intercourse, which had be
hitherto most strenuously denied,
still supported and justified. The detec
minister still kept his place unmolest
If any man knew that a conspiracy exis
against the king's life, would it not
treason to conceal it. Such was the l
of the land, that the concealment of t
would be deemed treason, and merit a
feiture of life; and yet, was not the c
cealment of these corrupt practices dee
ed a treason against the laws and consti
tion of the country? This bill must te
still farther to conceal those practices,
stead of producing the remedy want
Suppose that a century hence some mi
ter, such as one, who lately acted in
sister kingdom, old in the practice of c
ruption though young in years, should
detected at last through a carelessn
arising from constant habit and long i
punity, how much stronger would the
gument of defence from the frequency
the practice be in such a case than in t
of the noble lord to whom he allud
The tie of honour, as it was called, wo
then be stronger, and it would be urg
from the very circumstance of the little
tice taken of the noble lord's case,
their ancestors never intended that
present bill should be carried into eff
Those who asked, where they would look
the constitution, he would refer to Ma
Charta, to the Act of Settlement, and
Bill of Rights. It had been said of h
that he had held out the Bill of Right
an existing law. He had only refe
to that among documents, as proofs of
principles of the constitution—of "
unalienable and imprescriptible right
the people," to use the language of
Bill itself. That subsequent acts had
lated those principles, was one of
grounds of complaint. As to the tim
reform, there were some who thou
there were two seasons improper for
form—a time of peace and a time of
In peace it was a pity to disturb the ge
ral tranquillity; in war the nation ha
great deal of other business on its ha
There were many also who denied
reform would have any effect in dimin
ing the burdens of the people. This
as much as to say, that there was no
nection between representation and t
tion. But unless the gentlemen expe
some practical good of this kind from
form, why did they support it? Fo

he saw no use in it, except from the
t it would produce with respect to the
roul of the expenditure. In the year
, Mr. Pitt was a friend to reform, as
Mr. Dundas. But a minister might
for reform, and yet be utterly unable
ffect it. From the length to which
corrupt practices had proceeded, it
apparent that the great object of re-
could only be attained by a firm but
erate action of the people out of doors
the house. If some of the friends of
rm had injured the cause, the friends
rruption had certainly injured their
e. The priests had torn aside the veil
he temple, and exposed their idol.
idol, he hoped, would fall before the
ed voice of the nation, as Dagon, the
of Palestine, had fallen before the
, and put to shame his worshippers.—
hon. bart. concluded by stating, that
neasure under consideration should not
his concurrence or support, as it
ld not effectuate any good or beneficial
ose.

r. *Fuller* was astonished that a gentle-
should depreciate the liberty of his
try, at a time when he was making
of the freeest speeches that had ever
the lips of man. With respect to be-
a real representative of the people, he
ainly had as much right to call him-
so as the hon. baronet; for he had
r bribed the county of Middlesex,
thrown away 70,000*l.* upon an elec-
; nor had he ever produced 3 or 400
rs, who were afterwards found not to
oters, and many of whom had since
n sent to Botany Bay. As to the peo-
who made fine speeches, and clapped
r hands upon their hearts—they might
well have clapped them any where
(A laugh). After they had gained
r object, they might, perhaps, exclaim
Jack Wilkes, "What fools these fel-
s are to be so deluded!" With respect
the bill, he did not think it could be
ctual; for there were many things be-
s money which a man might give to pro-
e votes, such as a puncheon of rum to one,
orse to another, and a pipe of wine to a
d. He had no objection to allow the
to go to a committee; although he
not like the administration of oaths
posed in it, by which the duke of Nor-
, or the duke of any body else, might
sent to Botany Bay for giving a pint of
e, and then inadvertently swearing
he had not been guilty of bribery.
ead of such a penalty, he would propose to the committee to substitute a heavy fine, and exclusion from the existing parliament. He concluded with observing, that no man deserved to be a representative of the people, who would not defray the travelling expences of those who came to support him.

Mr. *Wilberforce* could not consent that the admirable constitution of this country should be founded on open and avowed corruption, and was unable to understand the distinction between corruption in the gross and in detail. Why should a man be punished for selling a single vote, when he who sold the whole escaped? He should not say, that he observed no utility to result from the present system. It was often pleasing to the great Author of all, to produce good from evil; but though we saw that the effect of the evil had been mitigated, it could furnish no argument, upon the ground of political expediency, to justify and to defend it. He must also disapprove of the conduct of the hon. baronet, upon whom he called to acknowledge, whether it was fair in him, while he contended for the doing away of abuses upon the one hand, to enter into an abuse of the constitution upon the other? If such things were acknowledged to exist, as had been acknowledged lately, and if they still suffered and tolerated them, after they had been published to the world, could they not see what an effect must be produced upon the morals of the people at large? Sure he was, that in the times, and under the circumstances in which they lived, they should consider well before they gave their sanction to such abuses. It constituted one of the multitude of blessings enjoyed in this most happy country, and under this constitution, so speculatively and practically beneficial, that free discussion was permitted, the liberty of the press established, and the means of political information generally diffused. But this blessing, at the same time that it was such a source of pride, should also be a source of caution; it should make them careful to correct those faults, which, though they might not be injurious in other countries, must be peculiarly so in this, from the rapidity with which they were circulated, and the freedom with which they were discussed. As Gulliver saw blemishes in the most beautiful female of Brobdignag, so public affairs were here regarded with a microscopic eye, and the slightest defects perceived. These abuses could not with safety be allowed to continue. It was the opinion of a great man, now no more, that a moderate reform was particularly desirable, in order to separate the more temperate of its advocates from the more violent. This was very expedient at present. With regard to the Oath, the hon. baronet had not observed that the transgression here was to be punished as perjury, while there was no punishment for the violation of the qualification oath. He thought his hon. friend (Mr. Giddy) was too refined in his reasoning. He did not deny that some influence might be properly exercised; but the nearer you approached to that state in which all would vote for him, whom in their consciences they thought the best representative, so much the better.—The hon. baronet had spoken of the inefficacy of oaths in general, and lamented the multiplication of them. That inefficacy, and that multiplication, he lamented as much as any man; but at the same time they should not deny that oaths were in some cases necessary, and that this was a proper case in which to introduce an oath. The hon. baronet had spoken of the qualification oath; but when he compared it with the present, he should consider that there was no penalty attached to the breach of the qualification oath, while there was to this. The evil of which the hon. baronet complained, occurred, when the occasion was thought grave enough to have an oath attached, but not grave enough to justify a penalty.—He could wish that there was any other mode of securing the object they had in view, beside an oath; as there was not, however reluctantly, they must resort to it. He approved of it in the present instance, provided the penalty was attached, and the breach of such an obligation punished as it ought. He allowed the merit and ability of the speech of his hon. friend, which he must again repeat, appeared to him to be a little too refined. That a good landlord should, and must, have some influence over his tenant, independent of political merits, was a position he could not but admit; but the nearer we approached to selection, upon distinct and independent principles, the nearer we approach to perfection. When his hon. friend endeavoured to justify such practices as had been acknowledged, he proceeded upon a ground as dangerous as it was difficult. Sure he was that no country was ever the worse for adhering to moral principles; and if they were to state to the people that what they calle corruptions were not corruptions, the would contribute largely to the dissolutio of those moral principles throughout th whole nation. They should consider, th they were placed in a high sphere to se an example to the rest of the world, stamp that character which was to pervad the community, and to give society i complexion; they should consider thi and this should render them cautious recognising any principle or setting an example injurious to the cause of virtu He was always a friend to a moderate a temperate reform; in his younger day he espoused it: though older now, an consequently more cautious, he could se no reason to doubt the propriety of th former opinion, or why reform should n now take place. He hoped that the would be no violent proceedings adopte upon either side. That axiom appeare to be right which said, that "modera counsels were always the best." Let th gentlemen opposite beware, how, in the avidity to resist reform, they entrenche themselves within a circle of abuses; an let those upon his side take heed, how, their eagerness to effect it, they dispara ed the constitution under which they e joyed such blessings.—It was the peculi nature of a free government to adapt its to the circumstances of the times; ci cumstances had been changed by late o currences, and there should be a corre pondent alteration in the Government, meet that of the circumstances of t times. Let us advance, but let us a vance with caution; let us not be call upon to stand still, nor let us libel t constitution so far as to say that it is n cessary to its preservation, that we shou cherish its radical defects.

Mr. *Windham* rose and said:—Sir; I a well satisfied to have heard, before I addre you, the speeches of the two hon. gentl men who have last sat down, as tho speeches will have helped to recall our a tention to the question more immediate before us, from which the speech of t hon. baronet (sir F. Burdett) had in som measure led us away, though not to an topics, which I mean to describe, which I wish the house to consider, as u connected with the subject. Those t pics are indeed most closely connect with it, as they are in themselves also a nature and character, to which I mu not fail hereafter to advert, and with whi the house will I hope be duly impresse

n the mean while, I must fairly profess,
upon the subject of the question im-
iately submitted to us, I have found
reason from any thing that I have
rd to night, or upon other occasions, or
my own reflections or inquiries have
ished, to alter the opinions with which
ok the liberty of troubling the house
he night on which it was first brought
ard. I equally think it a measure,
imed, injudicious, founded upon false
ws, false facts, and false assumptions,
ulated to produce no good in the first
ance, and liable and likely to lead to
most serious mischiefs in future. The
ble measure rests first upon an assump-
, which, in the sense in which it is used,
the extent to which it is carried, I
rly deny, namely, that the transactions
question are corrupt; and secondly,
n a position, which is true indeed, but
o effect or operation without the other,
nely, that acts criminal and abusive in
mselves, cannot be protected by the
gth of time that they have been suf-
ed to prevail, or by the number or au-
rity of the persons, who have been
nd to practise them.—Nobody pretends
say, that fraud, falsehood, theft, rob-
y, the whole list of crimes by which
iety is disfigured and injured, though
eval and co-extensive with society it-
, are for that reason less crimes, or
call for reprobation and punishment,
n they did at their first appearance in
world. There are innumerable of-
ces and depravities, which no authority
sanction, or support, but which will to
end of time pull down the character
reputation of all those, be they who
y may, who shall be found to have
en guilty of them. What we are to
uire is, whether the acts now meant to
proceeded against, are of that sort?
ether they are like many others, acts
ich those who commit them know at
time to be wrong, though under the
pulse of strong temptation they may
have the virtue to abstain from them;
ich degrade the person in his own opi-
n, and would, if known, degrade him in
t of others; which he is compelled to
ndemn in the very moment he yields to
m; which are attended in the first in-
nce with injury to others; or, at least,
d to weaken the authority and ob-
vance of some rule, which the interests
society require to be upheld?—Let us
nsider how the matter stands in respect
the nature and description of the fact. Let us open the pleadings by stating the case. A minister in the time of Geo. I. or queen Anne, or king William, has a friend come to him, at the moment of a general election, who says, 'I have a great interest in the Borough of such a place. I have a large property, I have laid out a great deal of money, there; I have obliged in various ways, numbers of the voters and their connections; many are dependent on me, many look up to me for favours that they have received, or favours they expect. In short, I may venture to say, that I can bring in both members. One of the seats I must reserve for my son; but for the other I shall be very happy to take by the hand any one whom you will recommend. I have been always, as you know, warmly attached to you and your friends; and anxious to give every support in my power to a set of men, whom I have always acted with in and out of office, and whom I rejoice to see in their present situations, because I think them in my conscience the fittest men to whom the interests of the country can be entrusted: I want nothing for myself, and should be very glad to offer this seat to your friend free of all expence; but the sums which I have been obliged to lay out in cultivating this interest; the property which I have been obliged to purchase, on terms yielding but a very inadequate return in point of income; the heavy charges incurred in supporting the rights of the freemen in the two last contests, joined to the probable expence of the present election, will oblige me, towards replacing in part what these will have cost me, to require a sum to such and such an amount, from the friend, whoever he is, whom you shall recommend.' The minister says, 'I am exceedingly obliged to you: nothing could come more opportunely: I have at this moment, a young man, the son of our friend lord such a one, for whom I am most anxious to procure the means of his getting into Parliament, not only on account of our friend his father, but because he is a young man of most extraordinary promise, with his whole mind turned to public business, and likely to become in time one of the greatest ornaments and supports of the country. His father will, I am sure, have no objection to advance the sum which you require, and which is very moderate; and you will, I am persuaded, be happy in introducing a young man likely to do so much credit to your recommendation.'

All this I am taught to understand is grossly corrupt, much in the same way as any act of peculation or embezzlement. I can only say in the first instance that I am sorry for it: because some such things have I am afraid been done in the best times, and by those commonly accounted the best men. I am sorry to be obliged to part with so much of the admiration which I have been accustomed to feel for supposed virtue and character, and to confess that those eminent men, early and recent, whom we have hitherto looked up to as patterns of virtue and the pride and ornament of the country, were little better than corrupt knaves. It is painful, I say, to part with these convictions, and to be compelled to confess the world less virtuous than we had supposed it. It may be forgiven to us, therefore, if we make some struggle in defence of our former opinions, and if I venture to ask, as an humble inquirer, and for the sake of information, what is the precise nature and character of this corruption, and in what part of the transaction, that is to say, with which of the parties, it is supposed principally to reside.

As to the minister, who is the party first seized upon, and against whom the charge is most pressed, his guilt can be only derivative and dependent on that of others. He is only the go-between, the broker, the procuress, if you please, who brings the parties together: but unless the parties meet for some ill purpose, his office is innocent. Of the two parties then, which is the most criminal, the giver or the receiver? the buyer or the seller? or is their guilt equal? Let us know a little more distinctly, what is the rule and principles which we mean to lay down.

Is it meant to be stated generally, that no place of trust and confidence, no place to which important duties are annexed, shall be disposed of for a valuable consideration? that the sale of a place of trust is, in all circumstances and in every instance, a corrupt and criminal transaction? If it is, then does both the law and the practice of various countries, and of this country among others, sanction and authorise most corrupt and criminal transactions. I would quote, in the first instance, the whole of the parliaments under the old monarchy of France; which, though not parliaments in our sense of the word, were of a nature to make the disposal of seats in them for money, a proceeding, if it were wrong at all, infinitely more wrong than the same proceeding would be her for the parliaments in France were jud cial tribunals, courts of judicature, which the whole civil and criminal justi of that renowned and enlightened kin dom, was administered; and where, spite of those vulgar national prejudic under which we have some times be supposed to labour, and which lead us believe that nothing can be right good, but what is conformable to o peculiar notions and institutions, ju tice was, for the most part, I believ most ably and uprightly administere and where certainly as great and emine lawyers and jurists have been produce and men of as pure and unspotted chara ter, as are to be found in the legal histo of any country whatever. Yet were the seats in these assemblies, regularl publicly, and avowedly bought and sol So little do the effects of civil and politic institutions, or the laws relating to then answer in fact and practice to what th theories even of the wisest and best i formed men, would previously pronoun of them! That these tribunals, wheth such or not as I have described then could not be such as our coarse and na row prejudices, or our hasty and incons derate theories, would lead us to suppos is demonstrable from the fact. For n country, much less such a one as I am a verting to, would consent for ages tog ther, that the whole source of its justi should be polluted and corrupt. But avoid all reference to instances liable dispute, let us only ask whether we ha not among ourselves, appointments, whic if not absolutely judicial, are very close connected either with judicial functio or with others not less repugnant to th admission of any thing corrupt or impu of which the sale is not only practised, b publicly tolerated and authorised. what department, too, of the state, a these offices found? In the law, and in th church. Is it not notorious, that part the salary or emoluments of our judge the well-earned, necessary, inadequa emoluments of our judges, arises from t sale of places, having duties belonging them connected with the business of the courts? Yet does any man, on this a count, impeach the integrity or purity our judges; which is on the contra (and deservedly) the constant subject our boast? or find ground for insinua ing that the functions of these offices a not as well performed, and the perso

ng them, as respectable and proper
sons, as they could be, if they were ap-
nted in any other manner? The church
nishes examples likewise, which, if not
ectly in point, equally contradict the
ition above supposed, if laid down to
full extent and in such a manner, as
to avail itself of the distinction be-
en an actual and a virtual sale. For
at does any man do, who purchases
who sells the advowson of a living?
who purchases or sells the next present-
on? does not he, both in effect and in-
tionally, purchase or sell the nomina-
n to an office of the highest trust and
fidence? And if this be morally
ong, can it cease to be so, because the
of appointment is not to take place
mediately, but is in some degree con-
gent and remote? Can that which is
rupt and criminal if carried into effect
mediately, become perfectly innocent,
cause the execution of it is made to de-
nd on an event, which, though certain,
y not happen for several months? It is
possible, therefore, to maintain, that the
e of seats in parliament is corrupt, sim-
upon the principle, that it is corrupt to
ce a valuable consideration for a nomi-
tion to a place of trust and confidence
e known, recognised, authorised, avow-
practice of our own country, in depart-
nts the most exempt from any suspicion
impurity, and where the admission of
y thing incorrect would be most anxi-
sly guarded against, is in direct contra-
tion to such a position. We have still
erefore, to look for the ground on which
her the buyer or the seller, in such a
nsaction as that above stated, is to be
presented as being a man morally cor-
pt. In fact, if their proceeding is cor-
pt, it will be difficult, or, I should say,
erly impossible, to stop there, and not
go on and declare corrupt the very in-
ence itself, by which they are enabled
carry into effect this corrupt bargain
the buying and selling be corrupt, it
n only be so for reasons, which will
ke it corrupt to have the commodity
ich is capable of being so bought and
d. This is the true seat of the griev-
ce, as, it must be confessed to be, the
e place in which to apply the remedy.
long as there are persons in a situation
say, I can make an offer of a seat in
rliament, so long will there be persons
treat with them for that object, and so
ng will means be found, for commuting
some way or other, the influence so possessed, for considerations valuable to the possessor. The only effectual way will be to get rid of the influence altogether. To make it penal for any one to have such goods in his possession. This the hon. mover may be assured is the use that will be made of his measure (nay it is the just and legitimate use) by those, who do not scruple now to oppose it, because they like to argue the question both ways, to be ready for either event; and may think possibly, that more is to be gained by the rejection of it, and by the ground thereby laid for raising a clamour against parliament, than they can hope for from the argument and the authority which it will furnish, towards subverting the greater part of the influence, which property is now allowed to retain.

I know how prompt the answer to this will be, and how triumphantly I shall be told, that no two things can be more remote from each other, than the influence of property, the just, wholesome, legitimate influence of property, and the sale of seats.—But let us recollect, that in the present business, we are arguing throughout upon principle, and that it is of the nature of principle, to unite things the most various and opposite in their individual forms and circumstances. It is not a question, how far things may be distinguished; but how far those, which are naturally distinguished, may be assimilated and made one. Those who can make no distinction between an offence against the bribery laws, by giving money to a particular voter, and the sale of a seat, can hardly be expected to distinguish between the sale of a seat, and such a use of influence as would give them the seat to sell.

I am as well aware as another that there is much influence, which, though ultimately to be traced to property, is so remote from its primary source, has been so changed in the gradations which it has passed through, has been so improved by successive graftings, as to retain little or nothing of its original character,—of the harshness and acerbity of the parent stock. The case is the same as with that passion in our nature, which, though too gross to be named, is often the source of every thing most delicate and sentimental; which, as the poet describes,

> ———through some certain strainers well
> refin'd,
> Is gentle love, and charms all woman-kind.

All, in these instances, that property may have done, is to have given to virtue the means of acting, and the opportunity of displaying itself; to have furnished the instrument without which its energies must have been useless, and to have erected the stage, without which it would have remained unknown. I am under no apprehensions for the fate of influence of this sort. My hon. friend and others, notwithstanding the operation of this bill, will be at full liberty, I have no doubt, to lay out their thousands in acts of beneficence and bounty, in building bridges, or endowing hospitals, in relieving the wants or advancing the fortunes of the indigent and meritorious. They may still enjoy, together with all the heart-felt satisfaction, all the influence which will naturally arise from property so employed;

> Him portioned maids, apprentic'd orphans blest,
> The young who labour, and the old who rest.

But is this the only way in which property exerts its powers? Is it always taken in this finer form of the extract or essence? is it never exhibited in the substance? It is here that the comparison will begin, and that the question will be asked; which the advocates of this bill, I hope, who do not mean it to extend to the abolition of the influence of property, will do well to be prepared to answer; How, if the sale of a seat or any commutation of services connected with such an object be gross corruption, can we tolerate the influence which property gives, in biassing the minds of those who are to give their votes? How a landlord, for instance, should have any more influence over his own tenants, than over those of another man? How a large manufacturer should be able to bring to the poll more of his own workmen, than of those employed in the service of his neighbour? How an opulent man of any description spending his fortune in a borough town, should be able to talk of his influence among the smaller tradesmen; or be at liberty to hint to his baker or his butcher, that, laying out every week such a sum with them, as he does, he expects that they should oblige him by giving a vote to his friend, Mr. Such-a-one, at the next election? If all this is not corrupt, upon the principles on which we are now arguing, I know not what is. What has money spent with tradesmen, or work given to manufacturers, or farms let to tenants, to do with the independent exercise of their right, and the conscientious discharge of their duty, in the election of a member to serve them in parliament? A fine idea trul that their decision in the choice of a r presentative is to be influenced by th consideration of what is good for their in terest! or that persons, the advocates purity, and who will hear of nothing b strict principle, should attempt to distin guish between the influence which engag a man's vote by the offer of a sum of m ney, and that which forbids the refusal it, under the penalty of loss of custom or loss of work, or of the possession that on which his wife and family mu depend for their bread? I shall be cur ous to hear in what manner, not the a vocates of this bill, but the advocates f the principles on which this bill is e forced, will defend themselves again these questions; and be able to show, th while it is gross corruption, gross mor depravity, in any one who possesses su influence, to connect his own interest wi the use of it, even though he should n use it improperly, it is perfectly innoce to create that influence by the means ju described? Or on the other hand, if su means are not lawful, how the influence property is to continue, such as has hithe to been practised and allowed of? It is i different to me which side of the altern tive they take; but let them be w aware that such is the alternative to whi they will be reduced: and that if th contend generally, as is now done, th such and such things are corrupt, becau they admit the consideration of interest matters which ought to be exclusively d cided on principles of duty, it is in va for them hereafter to contend that an man has a right to influence his tenan or tradesmen, or workmen, by any oth means at least than those by which he ma equally influence the tenants, tradesme or workmen of any other person; that to say, by his talents or by his virtues, the services which he may *have* don and the gratitude he may *have* i spired. When I look therefore to t moral qualities of these acts, as ind pendent of and antecedent to positive la I am at a loss to find what it is, either the score of principle or of authority, th determines them to be corrupt, or th enables us, if they are corrupt, to exem from the same sentence of corrupti nine tenths of the influence, which h hitherto been supposed to be attached, a legitimately attached, to property, a which, for aught that at present appea there is no intention of taking awa

though such may be the result of an
iry into the moral constitution of these
there can be no doubt, that the law may
er corrupt any act which it pleases,
is to say, the law may make any
which it pleases illegal: and to do, or
ure to be done, an illegal act, from an
ested motive, is, I apprehend, corrup-
We are to inquire therefore, in what
ner and to what degree, those acts,
h generally speaking are not cor-
have been rendered so by positive
And first, without affirming or de-
g the fact, let us examine the conclu-
ness and validity of the arguments,
which it has hitherto been attempted
e proved. It has been said by those
whom I should have expected better
oning, that the corruption follows of
ssity from the laws respecting bribery
e case of individual voters; for that
impossible that the law should be
ty of such monstrous inconsistency, as
as of such a flagrant injustice, as to
sh the poor for bribery in retail,
e they suffer it to be practised with
unity by the rich in wholesale. There
mething so wildly inconclusive in this
ment, as to make it difficult to set about
nally to confute it. I cannot better
trate its fallacy than by an argument
ething of the same sort, quite as good
espect to conclusiveness, and much
er in respect to point and archness,
h I remember when I was a boy, at a
ested election for the county of Nor-
; where one of the candidates, a most
ectable man, had rendered himself
oxious by the inclosure of a common,
proceeding less familiar at that time
it has become since, and better cal-
ted therefore to be made a subject of
ular clamour); upon which the wit of
day was to ask, in way of dialogue,
t that man deserved who should steal
oose from a common? and when the
ver was given, to follow up the ques-
by another, what then shall be done to
who steals the common from the
se? This was very good election wit,
certainly very bad argument; (though
as good as that to which I have been
erting,) for what is the affinity between
two offences, so as to justify the con-
ring the one, as differing from the
er only by being upon a larger scale?
man by procuring the inclosure of a
mon, where such inclosure ought not to
place, may do a much worse moral
with less temptation probably, and
with far more injury to others' interests, than by the theft of many geese: yet who would ever dream of describing these as kindred acts, or propose that the incloser of commons, if convicted of having done so improperly, should be punished by imprisonment and whipping? Other instances may be cited more directly in point. There are, or have been, I believe, laws to restrain the retail sale of spirits. Should we think that a man argued very wisely or conclusively, with much fairness of representation or much knowledge of the principles of legislation, who should harangue at the door of an alehouse (the only place however fit for such a discourse) against the justice of laws, which could punish a publican for selling a dram to a poor wretch, who wanted it perhaps to solace him under the effects of cold and hunger, to whom it must stand in the place of food and raiment; while the same law did not scruple to permit the sale of these spirits by wholesale on the part of the rich merchant or still more opulent planter: and should take occasion from thence to ask (exactly in the stile of my hon. friend) if such was the punishment for selling a dram or gill, what did they deserve who sold these spirits by whole puncheons and shiploads? The answer is, that these acts do not stand to each other in the relation of more or less, but are perfectly disparate and dissimilar; are productive of different consequences; are to be regulated by different provisions; are so widely separated in character, as that the one may be an object of national encouragement, a source of public wealth and benefit, while the other can produce nothing but mischief, and is a practice requiring to be restrained by penal statute. Nothing therefore can be more false than the inference by which it is concluded that the sale of a seat in cases where it can be effected, must be deemed corrupt, because there are laws which prohibit the gift of money to individual voters. Both may be corrupt, and both may require to be prohibited: but not the one on account of the other.

Supposing however the fact to be, that by fair construction of the law of parliament, such bargains as are here in question, must be considered as illegal, and may in consequence be denominated corrupt: it is so far from following that the present bill is therefore necessary, that the presumption would rather lie the other way, and the conclusion be that a new bill was not wanted; inasmuch as it could only prohibit that which was already prohibited. In general, the precedent of any law tells as much for what it does not, as for what it does. If we have the authority of our ancestors for doing so much, we have their authority also for doing no more. If they tell us, that such things ought to be prevented, they tell us likewise, so far as we chuse to be guided by them, that the attempts at prevention ought not to be pushed beyond a certain extent. It is undoubtedly true, that laws, right in their object, may be deficient in their means, or that change of times and circumstances may require new penalties and provisions to effect that to which the old were formerly adequate. But then this change and this necessity should be shown: and after all it is no just conclusion, that because our ancestors wished to prevent certain things by certain means, they would therefore be willing to accomplish their object at any price, or to have recourse to any means, be they what they would, which the attainment of that object might hereafter require.

Our business therefore is to ascertain, what it is right for us to do, with respect to an object, on which neither morals nor law, as antecedently established, prescribe to us any certain mode of action, nor even impose upon us the necessity of acting at all. —The acts in question are not in themselves corrupt or immoral. The law has either prescribed nothing about them, or, having prescribed what it has thought fit, has left, to say the least, the necessity of any further provisions, to the judgment of the legislature of the time.—It may be, that what it is proposed to be suppressed, is a political evil, tending to render parliament a less fit instrument for promoting the general welfare. If it is so, let us, in God's name, set about in earnest to devise the means of suppressing it: taking care always as in other instances, that in eradicating what is bad, we do not injure what is good, that in removing one evil we do not introduce others of far greater amount. But above all things let us be sure, that in attempting change, with all the dangers to which change is liable; particularly in a machine so delicate, so complicated, whose movements can be so little defined, and are so imperfectly understood, as those of the British constitution; we are not proceeding upon assumptions, which we ourselves at the moment suspect to be false, and which we adopt rather in complia with the clamour of persons out of do than in conformity to our own sober, d berate, and unbiassed judgment.

It is in fact in deference to the for of these motives, that is to say, to voice of what is called the public, the adoption of the measure now propo is principally urged. And this being case, it is in a more especial manner cumbent upon us, to consider what is nature of this call, by what causes it been excited, with what circumstance is combined, and from what classes descriptions of persons it chiefly proce It would be the height of weakness folly in any case to adopt a great polit measure, without considering someth more than the mere measure itself, wit looking to the right and to the left, and quiring what consequences it was lik or liable, to produce beyond those im diately in view.

We have been told that this mea has nothing to do with the great ques of Parliamentary Reform. If this be we have all been under a strange misception, for, with one exception only, a gentleman has spoken upon the mea on either side, or in any stage of its gress, who has treated the subject upon other footing. It would in fact be grossest perverseness or folly to cons this measure, otherwise than as arising of the temper and fashion of the ti and out of that wild rage, which has denly seized us; nobody knows why wherefore; for pulling to pieces the vernment and constitution. It is on the small, leading steps, which it is ho may in time be made introductory of purpose: one of the early symptoms, first eruptive pustule that indicates presence of the disease. The disease i is however denied; and we are requ to believe, that the whole of the pre cry originates in nothing, but in the ab recently discovered in the business of Duke of York.

The amount of these discoveries is, the mistress of a man in power had rece money for the use of the influence, w she had, or pretended to have, in procu places and appointments. This, if it st alone, would be an odd reason for arra ing the government, or even for arraign the person himself: and as for partic tion or connivance, though there are sons who accuse the Duke of both of th their numbers are few, (speaking alw

ose whose qualifications for judging
uch as to make their judgment of any
,) and even of those few, fewer still
that their suspicions, whether true or
admit of any sufficient proof. Yet
all this, such is the surprize excited
s country by any suspicion even, of
ption in persons of high rank and
n, and such the commotion which it
fails to create, that the Duke of
a member of the royal family, the
s own son, in full possession of his
r's favour, and of the respect and
will of the greater part of the nation,
n to quit the situation of commander
ef, which he has held with credit for
een years and more, and to withdraw
etirement, sooner than run the risk
steps, which parliament, it is feared,
l otherwise be induced to take.

n any man in his senses suppose, that
stance like this was calculated to in-
the country with a distrust of its go-
nent, or to excite a desire of new-
lling its parliament, as being too
issive to the wishes of the court?
must look to other motives and pur-
; to which the present bill is meant
ve as an instrument, and for which
usiness of the Duke of York is made to
as a pretext, being after all, it must
nfessed, a very flimsy and sorry one.
on what principle is it that we are
hat it is to libel the people of Eng-
to say, that there are among them
ands and thousands who wish the
uction of the present orders of things,
who are labouring night and day to
into effect that laudable purpose?
with what decency, it may be added,
s libel charged upon us by those, who
very day libelling this house, and all
gher orders of the state, in the gross-
nd most unmeasured terms? Why is
re a libel than to say, that there are
g the people of England robbers,
erers, and housebreakers, and offend-
all descriptions, and who, numerous
ey are, would show themselves in
greater numbers, if the fear of the
id not keep them down? Are there
s powerful motives, passions as fierce
trong, and interests as tempting and
t, to arm men for the overthrow of all
rnment, as there are to incite them to
her act of violence? There is no govern-
, bad or good, that can boast of owing
ability (or quiet at least) to any other
, than to the difficulty and danger
h is opposed to every attempt to subvert it. Let but the project be easy, let but hopes be entertained of its success, and thousands will be found, who from motives of different sorts,—some from folly, and some from wickedness; some because they know not what they are about, some because they do know; some as knaves and more as dupes; many from motives of interest, and more from motives of passion; some because they hate one part of the establishment, and others because they hate another; some as mere fanatics, and because they have entangled their (commonly) moderate understandings in speculations to which they are wholly unequal; others from mere restlessness and love of something to do; but far the greater part, from some species of bad passion or other, (not excluding of course those most powerful and general ones, vanity and love of distinction,) are desirous of seeing some great change in the order of things as they find it established: not all of them by any means desiring a change of the same sort or to the same extent: Oh, no! but all of them a change suited to their several views, and proportioned to their several interests and situations. My hon. friend, the author of the measure, and a great landed proprietor, thinks that there would be signal advantage in a change which would throw more weight into the scale of the landed interest. Another hon. friend of mine, likewise a great landed proprietor, is of opinion, that those, who can only purchase their seats, are intent upon nothing but getting back their money. To these are opposed many gentlemen of the monied interest, who see no reason, (nor do I, I confess, see any) why they who may have paid a sum for their seats once for all, should be more desirous of getting back their money, than he who has spent that sum, or three times as much, in a contested popular election. I am far, too, from being convinced from any observations that I have made of the conduct of men in parliament, that such in point of fact is the case. To my apprehension many of those who may be suspected to have come into parliament through these condemned and reprobated ways, have been among the most upright, honourable, and independent members, that parliament has had to boast, far exceeding others that could be named, who from the money they have spent, and the interests they have staked, in elections pretending to be of higher account, have only brought themselves to be the mere

slaves of popular opinion, that is to say, of their own future hopes, in the places which they represent. Many of the former description, from the class to which for the most part they belong, will be of opinion, probably, that the best improvement would be that which conspires best with the general change in the circumstances of the country, and by taking something from the old and obsolete privileges of the landed aristocracy, the barbarous remains of feudal times, gives a free scope to men who owe their wealth, not to dull hereditary descent, but to their own enterprize and industry, and have grown rich by means that have at the same time enriched, or otherwise benefited the country. But there is a third and more numerous class, who looking with no very friendly eye to advantages which they do not share, and knowing that they have not either land or money, yet fully persuaded that they have talents, will be for levelling to the ground all those barriers, which have hitherto, as they are firmly convinced, been the sole obstacles to their advancement, and have alone hindered them from figuring in the first situations of the state. The general rule will, I believe, be, that each man's opinions will be found to lean to that state of things, which he conceives to be the most favourable to his own consequence. Political consequence is probably a far more powerful, as it is a far more extensive motive, than prospects of private advantage. The numbers may be few, who can hope to better themselves by any change, in a pecuniary view: and these will of course be found in general among persons of no great authority from their present wealth or station. But many will have in their minds; and the highest in rank and fortune not less than others; some scheme of things, in which they may hope to become more considerable in point of general consequence. And if such men should be, as they are the most likely to be, men of ardent and daring minds, jealous of their importance, eager for distinction, impatient of controul, less awed by the fear of loss than sanguine in their hopes of gain, materials will not be wanting for furnishing out a revolution even from among the higher orders; in opposition to that childish notion, so false even in theory, and so contrary to all experience, that men will not engage in such enterprises who have much to lose, or as it is often expressed, have a great stake in the country. Heretofore, in fact, disturbances in the st
were confined entirely to the class t
had much to lose, namely, to persons
the highest rank of society; and thoug
since the example of the French re
lution, this limitation is done away,
the lottery of revolution thrown o
even to adventurers of the lowest de
mination, yet the rich are not exclud
and we see every day that they are not
all disposed to exclude themselves.
though the French revolution exhibits
most striking example of failure, that
lovers of right could ever have wished
the authors of wrong; yet this failure
lates only to the professed objects;
peace and happiness and liberty of m
kind. In other respects, and with re
tion to the views and interests of indi
dual reformers, who, in truth and f
trouble themselves but little with
peace and happiness and liberty of m
kind, the example is most encouragi
and particularly with respect to those, w
are not likely to be deterred by pers
risk; for nothing can show so strikin
the facility with which the object can
accomplished, and with which men f
the lowest stations may be lifted sudde
to the highest. This is all that is want
for give but the chance of success, eve
very indifferent chance, and thousands
not be wanting, high and low, to engag
the undertaking, and to labour with all
restless activity and increasing indus
with which we see the work carrying
at this instant.

Still the means must be suppl
They cannot make bricks without st
Even these reformers or revolution
numerous as they are, and strenuou
their exertions are, cannot make a rev
tion of themselves, nor by their ut
efforts throw the country off that ha
basis, on which it has rested for so m
centuries, an object of admiration
envy, and never more so than at the
sent moment. The great mass of the c
munity is, no doubt, against them: bu
dustry and perseverance may do m
Those who would never listen to su
proposal in its full extent, may ye
drawn in by degrees.

Formerly, that is to say, some five
twenty years ago, the attempt was
through the medium of mere abstract
soning. Incredible as it may seem,
idea was entertained, as I should sa
overturning the government, but as
the authors of the attempt must say

y changing the constitution of par-
nt, not by pointing out any practical
ance under which men laboured, but
onvincing them that the whole of the
h constitution, such as it then existed,
uch as it had existed for ages, was an
tion upon the rights of man. The no-
was new of attempting to make a great
ge in the practical concerns of men-
by the mere force of metaphysical
ning. But wild and extravagant as
n attempt may be, and little, happily,
s its final success at the period alluded
e must not speak too slightingly of it,
we recollect what share such notions
n bringing about the French revolu-
of which they ostensibly made the
At the end of 12 or 14 centuries,
rench monarchy, at the moment of its
est mildness, and when all that was
and odious in it was daily wearing
, was overthrown, with all the circum-
es which we have witnessed, ostensi-
by the mere force of metaphysical
ning, and what is more humiliating, if
ore extraordinary, by metaphysical
ning of the most contemptible sort!
mode however has now lost much of
cacy, and has got to be rather out of
n. In seeking to imbody the natural
navoidable discontents of mankind
he purpose of overturning govern-
s, which is the general description of
I should understand by Jacobinism, it
ecome necessary to have recourse to
hing more solid and substantial than
grievances of theory, and to take the
ntents arising from real causes, whe-
he discontents themselves be reason-
or not, and then to connect these with
hing either in the frame or practice of
overnment. The discontents you are
of. They can never be wanting, as
s men are men. Since the days of *qui
cænas,* down to the present moment,
ave ever been found, who were so con-
d with their lot, whether chosen by
elves, or cast upon them by Provi-
, *ut illâ contenti vivant*: and if they
t be said, *laudare diversa sequentes,* they
st think that their own situation is
good as it ought to be, or as a little
e would make it. In a country like
where a great portion of our immense
is paid in contribution to the public
e, no man will ever think himself as
s he ought to be: for though the
h of the country has increased in full
rtion, I believe, to its burthens, that is
, to its expenses; and though there
never was a time when that wealth was more evenly diffused through all ranks and classes of people, yet as luxury has increased in at least an equal proportion, every man may in some sense continue to feel himself poor, inasmuch as the interval will not be increased between his income and his expenditure. Because, let his wealth be what it will, if his expences increase in such a way as to continue to press equally upon the bounds of his income, he will never be a bit richer, with respect to any disposable surplus, but will be equally under the necessity of parting with some article of pride or enjoyment which he wishes to keep, whenever he is called upon for any contribution to the service of the state. It is therefore the singular and melancholy characteristic of the state of poverty here described, that it is one which riches cannot cure. In common cases if a man be poor, give him money enough, and he is poor no longer. But here we may almost say, that the richer the nation is, the poorer it is. It is in vain that wealth is pouring in from every quarter, and through an endless variety of channels; that it is not confined, as national wealth in truth never can be, to particular persons or classes, but is diffused throughout with wonderful exactness; or rather in larger measure, in fact, to the lower and middling orders; that foreigners, resorting hither, cannot behold without astonishment a display of wealth and enjoyment, unknown at any former time, or in any other country; that we are reproached every day from the continent with our opulence and prosperity as contrasted with the penury and misery of other countries; and are regarded with greedy eyes by the master of all the rest of Europe, as a mine of wealth, which he is longing only to get possession of; all this while we, who know these things better, are representing ourselves, as a distressed, oppressed, burthened, and above all, impoverished nation.

In the midst of this, there is nevertheless one remedy, which, if men could resolve to take it, would do away, as by a charm, all this dreadful state of poverty, and restore them in an instant to a condition of ease and affluence.—It seems like quackery to suppose the existence of such a *nostrum,* but it is explained in two words—Let every man resolve to live with no greater measure of enjoyments than his father did before him, than people of the same rank and class did forty years ago. I do not ask that they should lay out only the same money: The same money would not now procure the same enjoyments: but that they should only require the same enjoyments. Let those who formerly walked on foot, be content to walk on foot now, and forego the use of a horse, when the price too of a horse and the expence of keeping one are so much greater. Let those whose means extended no further than to the keeping a horse, be willing to go back to that indulgence, and dispose of their gigs and whiskeys and tandems, now, too, that every article of that sort has risen to such an enormous amount. Let the former riders in gigs and whiskeys and one-horsed carriages, continue to ride in them, and not aspire to be rolling about in post-chaises or barouches, or often both in the one and the other. By this simple expedient, pursued, *mutatis mutandis,* through every class of the community, one may venture to say; speaking always of persons whose misfortunes or imprudences have not reduced them already to actual distress; that, nine tenths of those who fill the country with lamentations of their distress, all but the holders of fixed incomes of an early date, or persons in the lowest class of labourers, will find themselves instantly in a state of ease and affluence, fully able to satisfy all the demands of the state, and to lay by something as a future provision for their families.

But as the expedient, we are sure, whatever its merits may be, will never be adopted, there will for ever remain, in the feeling excited by the payment of taxes, an inexhaustible fund of discontent of force sufficient to produce any effect desired, provided means can be found to give it a proper direction. This is the great work on which the artificers of revolution are at present employed. They say to the people, you are all sensible of the burthens under which you labour: you all dislike the payment of taxes. Now what is it that carries the taxes to this immense amount? A common man would say, the immense amount of the civil and military establishments of a great empire extending over half the world; the numbers of civil officers necessary to carry on its business in time of peace, and the armies and navies, with all their attendant train of expenses, to provide for its security in case of war. But, No, say the band of patriots here alluded to, the objects here stated are, to be sure, such as cannot be provided for but at considerable expense. Wars cannot be carried on, armies and navi cannot be maintained, without money But these expenses alone might well b borne: what sinks the country is the wasteful expenditure of the public money i jobs and corruption, in sinecure place and pensions. It is the abuses that und us: the abuses that we must correct: an as it is parliament that sanctions, if it not itself the great seat of, the abuses, it parliament that we must correct and reform

The argument is perfectly regular, an the conclusion inevitable, if you adm the several antecedent positions on whic it is made to rest. The statement contain in it too all that is necessary to give it e fect. A willing audience will never b wanting to statements which hold out hope of exempting men from the necessit of paying.—Once persuade them that a their payments and burdens are the co sequence of abuse or mismanagement i some part of the government, and yo produce a state of feeling adequate to a most any purpose for which it can b wanted. Taxes and abuses, joined, generat a kind of expansive force, that will bur asunder even the best compacted governments. The abuses, too, serve to give a direction to the discontent and angry feeling produced in the first instance by the taxe They stand in the place of the abstrac rights of a few years ago, and are the las improvement made in the machine fo overturning states, from which it is conceived to derive a much greater heft an purchase, than in its old form of 'taxes an the rights of man.'

A number of persons are accordingly i a constant state of active search, pryin about among the establishments, and winding round like a wood-pecker round a tree, i the hopes of finding some unsound part int which they may strike their beaks and begi to work: but not like the honest woodpecker, who is only in search of the grub and worms on which to make a meal, an is at least indifferent as to the fate of th tree. They on the contrary only tak the grubs and worms for their pretext, an have for their ultimate object, to ope a hole, into which the wet and the ro may enter, and by which the tree, th British oak, (a beautiful shaft of I know not how many load, and the growth o ages) may decay and perish. Did thei labour really terminate in their professed purpose, did they really mean only to pick off the vermin that prey upon the state they might be as useful as crows and jack s to a flock of sheep: or should share higher honours, which are paid, in itries infested by locusts, to the bird rids them of that destructive insect. to merit these honours, their endea- rs must be directed to far different ob- s, be carried on in a very different man- and be dictated by far different mo- s.

et us consider what it is that is com- nended under this general head of ses, which forms the great instrument rreby the discontents of a country are le subservient to the destruction of its ernment; which collects and com- nds the separate elements of dissatisfac- , to be found floating in society, so as prepare them for those grand explo- s by which states are overthrown.

By abuses is meant, I suppose, either the se of patronage, the granting to favour, ction, or interest, what ought to be grant- only to merits and services; or secondly, purloining, embezzling or corruptly lying the public money. Let us en- vour to ascertain how much of either of se species of abuse exists: how much of m is to be charged to government: how much, in any event, is likely to corrected by what is called a Reform Parliament.

As to the last of these heads of abuse, the loining or embezzling of the public ney; by which must be understood the nsferring, by false accounts or other- e, into the pocket of the individual, at was intended for the public service; uppose it is hardly necessary to say, t the idea of such an offence as existing ong those who constitute what can h any propriety be called the govern- nt, could be generated only in the ss imaginations of persons totally igno- t of the principles and motives by ich men in such situations must of cessity be actuated. It is not a question their virtue or probity; but of their lings, habits, manners, and prudence. ey may be, as they often are, mer- nary, selfish, rapacious, unprincipled. t it is not in acts like those alluded to, t these dispositions will show them- ves, even in the persons who feel them st. It might as well be supposed, that ey could seek to enrich themselves by nveying away a diamond snuff-box, pilfering guineas out of a drawer. thing can prove more clearly the degree which this is true, than the commotion cited and the effects produced by any appearance of irregularity even of a minor sort, among persons in higher stations, in transactions connected with the administration of money.

With respect to the abuse of patronage, one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality most suffer, I perfectly agree, that it is likewise one, of which the government properly so called, that is to say, persons in the highest offices, are as likely to be guilty, and from their opportunities, more likely to be guilty than any others. Nothing can exceed the greediness, the selfishness, the insatiable voracity, the profligate disregard of all claims from merit or services, that we often see in persons in high official stations, when providing for themselves, their relations or dependants. I am as little disposed as any one to defend them in this conduct. Let it be reprobated in terms as harsh as any one pleases, and much more than it commonly is. But the evil from them is necessarily limited, not possibly by their desires, but by the extent to which those desires are capable of being carried. They can eat no more than their stomachs can contain. The list is small of those immediately connected with them, nor is the number unlimited of those whom they may wish to serve from motives of vanity or interest. When the leech is full it will drop off of itself.

But what shall set bounds to those streams of abuse that take their rise among the people themselves? Let us trace the genealogy; the birth, parentage, and education, of nine tenths of the jobs that are done in the army and navy, or in the other departments of the state, and see from what they originate, and in what manner they are brought forward. A gentleman at the eve of a general election, or on some vacancy in a borough or county, is addressed by some one who is, or, who, he hopes, will be his constituent, some full-grown manufacturer, or opulent brewer, or attorney in great practice, who says, 'You know my son Tom, who is in the navy. He has been for some time a lieutenant, I should be very glad, if you would get him made Master and Commander.' The candidate or member bows assent, (Mr. Such-a-one is not a man to be disobliged,) he speaks to his friend the minister; the minister speaks to the first Lord of the Admiralty, and, without further inquiry the thing is done; nobody being able to divine, of those who are not in the secret, and only know our son Tom professionally, for which of his good qualities or meritorious actions he has been made, so much out of his turn, and over the heads of so many old and deserving officers, a master and commander.—Here then is a complete job, passing through several successive stages, and disgraceful enough in its progress to all the parties concerned in it, including the member, the minister, and the first Lord of the Admiralty, but certainly not *ex*-cluding the constituent, the corrupt constituent, who is no member of the government high or low, but one of the people, and the prime author and mover of the whole. When this constituent shall hereafter reproach his member, as one of a body that is all corrupt, composed of persons who think of nothing but their own interests, without any regard to the interest of the country, the member may possibly be able to reply: "The most corrupt act I ever was guilty of was that scandalous job by which I bought your vote and interest, when, contrary to all right and justice, I procured your son to be made a master and commander."

We have here the history of a job, which though springing from a root, that lies totally among the people, is supposed not to confine itself to the place of its original growth, but to extend into the parliament, and into the executive government. With a view, however, of shewing the temper of some of these declaimers against abuses, let us take another case, (not more difficult, I hope, to be met with), where, after inquiry made, either the member, or the minister, or the first Lord of the Admiralty has virtue enough to say, that the pretensions and merits of the person in question are so small, and the injustice of promoting him would be so great, that in spite of all the wish that one of them necessarily has to promote his own success, and the others may have to promote the success of an important parliamentary friend and adherent, and much as it may even be their duty to promote by all honest means the success of one, whose conduct in parliament is likely to be what they think right, they feel it impossible to comply with the application that has been made. Is it quite certain, is it quite a matter of course that the author of the application, this inveigher against the corruptions of the times, is satisfied with this answer; that he does not turn away with a sulky look from his late friend, and without disputing at all the truth of the reasons on which the refusal is founded, of which he perhaps was more fully aware than any other person, or which he does not c sider as being any thing to the purpo that he does not signify in plain terms, th his rule is to 'serve those who serve him and from that moment does not trans himself and all those whose votes he co *mands,* to the other side, taking what is cal the independent line, and exhibiting hi self among the first bawlers against t corruptions of the great, 'who think of n thing but their own private interests?'

Here at least is an instance of abu which while it begins with one of the pe ple, ends there likewise, and does not tou the government or the parliament at a And such, we may venture to say, is t case of nine-tenths, or rather ninety-ni hundredths of the abuses complained The whole country, it is said, is full abuses, from top to bottom. I believe s with this correction, that the descripti would be more just if we were to say fro bottom to top; it being here as in oth *media,* the parts of which are left to mo freely, that the lower *strata* are the dens and grosser, and that they become rar and purer, the higher you ascend.

We have already seen to what sour may be traced the greater part of the abu of patronage, an abuse, which with th others is to be cured, I suppose, by th favourite remedy, an extension of the r presentation, that is, by multiplying a hun dred fold the chief causes to which it is be at present ascribed. But if of this th far greater part is found to lie in th people themselves, who cannot otherwi be brought to support the very govern ment which they thus reproach for yiel ing to their venality, what shall we say those abuses, more properly so called, an upon which the people are much mor intent, though they are really perhap less important, viz. the various instances o fraud, embezzlement, peculation, and im position, by which the expenditure o the country is swelled far beyond i natural size, and a million or two possibl taken from the pockets of the people over and above what the real exigencie of the country require? This is the pa that we chiefly hear of; and very prope it is that we should hear of it; but le us take care that we impute the blam to the right quarter, that we put th saddle on the right horse. With wha approach to truth or propriety do w speak of these abuses, as abuses in th government? Who are the persons who we mean to designate under the name o

ernment? What are the abuses com-
ed of? and by what description of
ons are they committed? Is it an
e in the government, that is, in the
bers of the cabinet, and the persons
ing high offices, including if you
se the Parliament, that a store-keeper,
ommissary in the West Indies, or in
on, embezzles the public stores, or
s in false accounts, by which the pub-
s defrauded? Is it corruption in the
ncellor of the Exchequer, or in the
stry or parliament collectively, that
frauds are daily and hourly practised
e revenue; that the taxes are eluded;
false returns are made; that excise
custom-house officers are perpetually
ed to betray their trust; that the tribes
fficers, high and low, at home and
ad, of more denominations than can
numerated, which an empire like this
bliged to employ in its service, are
more intent upon advancing their
fortunes, than upon discharging their
or guarding the interests of the
c; and that all those, not being per-
in office, with whom the government
occasionally have dealings, have no
deration, but how to make the most
can, and to cheat the public by
means in their power? I should
lad to know, how many of these
gners of the profusion of the go-
nent, if they had a piece of land to
n the neighbourhood of a barrack
ilitary hospital, would limit the price
asked by any other consideration,
what they thought the necessity of
case would compel government to
or would scruple, if they saw any pros-
of success, to bribe the barrack mas-
r other officer, to betray his trust, and
ibute to give effect to their exactions.
in the first place, perfect folly to talk
the parliament and the government,
arliament (being a body that neither
ct nor theory can know any thing of
atter, and the government consisting
ne ten or twenty persons, the mem-
of the cabinet, and a few of the
s of great departments) can be re-
ible for the individual conduct of the
ands and thousands of subordinate
rs and agents, who must be employed
e public service, and who are dis-
ted, far and near, through all parts
widely extended empire: to say
ng of the fact, that the greater part
ese are obtruded or palmed upon
government, by persons not being themselves in any office, but in the strictest sense a part of the people, and who are thinking of nothing but to serve, by whatever means, their own friends and relations. In the next place, these frauds committed by persons within the pale of the government are for the most part of a sort, that imply a confederate without. Like other acts which are sometimes blameable, but which, in the nature of things, cannot be dispensed with, they require of necessity two parties. If the exciseman connives at the frauds of the brewer or the distiller, it is the distiller and brewer by whom he is bribed to do so. If the custom-house officer permits false entries, and allows goods to be imported or exported without the proper duties, and thereby affords an example of an abuse committed, (if any one chuse so to describe it,) by one of the government, meaning a custom-house officer, what are we to say of the merchant or trader, by whose bribe he has been induced to do this? who, it cannot be disputed, is one of the people and one of the people merely, and very possibly, with the distiller, brewer, or tea-dealer, one of those who think that the country can never thrive, till a radical reform shall have put an end to abuses. The fact is, that when the matter comes to be searched to the bottom, it is the people throughout, who are cheating the people; the people individually cheating the people collectively, and then finding in their own frauds and knaveries a reason for tearing to pieces the government. How is government a party to these frauds? Even in respect to patronage, the part in which the government, properly so called, will be found most to offend, it is not ascribing much to persons, at the head of departments, to suppose, that when their own immediate connections and dependents are satisfied, they would be willing to promote good men rather than bad, if they were not controlled and compelled by the insatiable demands of those, whom they cannot disoblige without renouncing the means of carrying on the public service, and who never think for a moment of merit or demerit, or of any thing else, but of providing for those, whom, for some reason or other, they wish to serve. So, in respect to pecuniary abuse or waste, it is no great compliment to a Chancellor of the Exchequer to suppose that he is desirous of making the taxes as productive as possible. We need not look to his virtue or sense of duty as a security for this endeavour. His own interest will be a

sufficient pledge, and particularly that interest which it is most the fashion to throw in the teeth of public men, namely, the desire of keeping his office. The crime of government, therefore, in almost all these instances, is that of not being able, with all its efforts, animated even with the strongest sense of self interest, to prevent the crimes of others. The people in all quarters and by all opportunities are preying upon the public, and then make it the reproach of the government that it has not the power to prevent them. Such a reproach might, it is confessed, be well founded, if a failure in the performance of this task on the part of government, proceeded from neglect, remissness, or want of proper zeal. But besides that interest, as was before observed, concurs here with duty, let us see how the matter stands, on a consideration of what would be in the power of government, supposing exertion to be pushed to the utmost. What is the sense of supposing that government must be able to do with respect to the public, what no man is able to do in his own affairs and family? Who is there that can boast to have established a system of superintendance so complete, or to be blessed with a set of servants of such rare honesty and so attached to his interest, as not to leave him a prey to innumerable abuses, greater or less, in his stables, his still-room, his kitchen, his butler's pantry, in every department in short of his household? If this is the case of men acting in the management of their own private affairs, and may be predicated, with truth probably, of every domestic establishment in the kingdom, down even to the most limited, what shall we say of the reasonableness of the expectation, that any zeal or strictness in thirty or forty persons, (or in ten times that number,) who can be described with any propriety as forming the executive government, shall be able to exclude abuses from the innumerable subordinate departments, over which they are to preside? The amount of abuse, be it observed, incident to establishments, does not increase merely with the size of the establishment, so as for the abuse in larger establishments to bear the same proportion only to the establishment itself, as in smaller ones; but rises at a much greater rate; first, because the superintending power, the number of persons having a direct interest in the well-being of the whole, cannot be multiplied in the proportion of the establishment: secondly, because the parts are further removed from obser tion; thirdly, on account of the compli tion and mixture of interests which creases beyond the increase of the num of objects; and lastly, from the grea laxity apt to prevail in respect to fra upon large funds, compared with w may be hoped towards funds more limi We see every day what a total want of f ing there is about the expenditure of mon which, being money of the public, seem belong to nobody. This indifference ab expending will be attended with a respondent laxity in appropriating. the scale of expenditure becomes lar the injury sustained by the state from loss or mis-application of any partic sum becomes less perceptible; and r yield with more facility to the argum that what is a great deal to them the co try will never miss. This is the moralit fear, of a large portion of the nation, an am sure is not least found in those who phatically stile themselves "the peopl Yet with a system of public probity t relaxed, in the midst of a public thus posed to prey upon itself, and upon a sc of expenditure like that which must of cessity prevail in an empire like this is thought a reason for breaking up the vernment, that it cannot exclude abu from our establishments, to a degree wh few persons find attainable, in the mana ment even of their own little domestic c cerns. It is our business, no doubt, to k those abuses as low as possible; and more corrupt the public is, the more such exertions necessary: but, let us complain that we do not attain what is attainable, and above all let us underst the fact truly, that the corruptions char are, except in a few inconsiderable stances, not the corruptions of the gove ment, but the corruptions of the peo which the government is unable to prev —Having thus far examined the nature the charges, let us inquire a little whet there is any thing which we are boun yield to the authority of those, by wh they are brought forward. I do not kn why the members of this house, or any other body, are to stand quietly and hear themselves stigmatized collect ly with all sorts of opprobrious epith which they do not feel individually to serve, without so far retaliating upon th revilers, as to ask with submission, w they are, who by thus dealing out th invectives to the right and left, seem arrogate to themselves the character

the only honest men in the world.
ant to know a little upon what they
their pretensions. After defending
ves as well as we can, we may be
ed to exert a portion of the freedom,
they so largely take with us, and
to be informed, what are the
es which they have given, what the
ces which they have made, as
ers for this integrity and public
which they seem to consider as
no where but with themselves? A
tion for patriotism seems to require
attainment of it less than is neces-
or the acquisition of any other ob-
owever trivial. Nothing seems to
uisite, but the assurance which gets
d says, I am the only honest man,
ers are rogues. Indeed, the former
of the declaration seems hardly
called for: if the abuse of others
iciently loud and general, the ho-
of the person himself is assumed as
of course. No trial or examination
essary, no previous stock of reputa-
o evidence from former conduct; the
of a patriot, like that of an attorney or
cary, is of the class of those which
e set up without capital. I should be
o know, for instance, what are the
ces which have ever been made by
n. bart. (sir Francis Burdett) as the
tion of that high tone which he as-
with respect to all unfortunate pub-
n who have ever been in office. I
from meaning to insinuate, let it
marked, that the hon. bart. would
ready, at any time, to make all the
ces to his principles that could be
for; but I mean to say, that none
aving been called for, none have in
of fact been made. On the contrary
so happened that the hon. bart. has
his patriotism, by the natural, spon-
s, (unlooked-for if you please,) ef-
f his patriotism, all that many men
een willing to obtain, or have pur-
without obtaining, at the expence of
heir fortunes. By this no credit
ave been lost to the honourable ba-
but none can be gained. Virtue can
be proved by trials and sacrifices.
cannot shew his disinterestedness
hat he gets, however honestly he
ome by it. No one surely will pay
a compliment to the hon. baronet
give for a proof of rare and dis-
shed virtue, that he has never asked
ur of any minister either for him-
friend. How many might make the same boast; who yet never thought of inveighing against all the rest of the world as corrupt and dishonest. And after all what does the boast amount to? With respect to friends, the praise is rather equivocal. A man may happen to have no one, who is at once capable of being served by place or appointment, and for whom he is particularly anxious. And as to office for himself, is it known that the offer was ever made to the hon. baronet? or that he himself ever wished it? With a large fortune, and all the comforts and pleasures of life before him, he may never have thought the pride or power of office a compensation for its cares and constraints, or even for the privilege which he now enjoys of railing at those whose feelings upon that point have been different. The merit of sacrificing office can alone be found among those, for whom office has charms; and upon that principle the hon. bart. must not be surprized, though in other respects he will no doubt, if I look for proofs of political virtue, to be contrasted to any on his part in quarters from which he would turn with scorn, as the very hot-beds of all corruption. What will the friends of the hon. bart. say, when they hear me quote for my instance, the conduct of Mr. Pitt? The general career of Mr. Pitt's political life, and his administration of the affairs of this country, during the great crisis in which he latterly acted, I perhaps as little approve as the hon. bart. can do; though for reasons altogether different: but one of the very charges which many might bring against Mr. Pitt, is the pledge of his merit in the instance to which I am alluding, I mean the instance of his resignation of power in the year 1801. It is no reproach to Mr. Pitt to say that he was an ambitious man. It may be something of a reproach, though I am afraid the fact is true, that his ambition showed itself too much in love of power and office. The habits, in fact, of official life had begun so early with him and continued so long, that they must have become a second nature; place and power were almost among the necessaries of life; yet with all those feelings upon him, original and acquired; with a possession of power, longer enjoyed and more firmly established than can be found possibly in any other instance, not excepting that of sir Robert Walpole, with a perception as quick, as man ever had, of what was likely to be useful or prejudicial to him in any political step, Mr.

Pitt did not hesitate in withdrawing from office, at the period alluded to, the moment he found it could be no longer held, but upon terms inconsistent, as he thought, with his duty, and derogatory from his character. It is in vain to say, that this might not be an act of pure virtue, but be mixed up with feelings of shame or policy, or others of that sort. There is no end of such objections; which after all, can make no difference here, where we are upon a question of comparison; since, if admitted at all, they must appear equally on both sides of the account. It is just as easy to say, that the hon. bart. in the course which he has pursued, has acted with a view to what he has got, as that Mr. Pitt on the occasion alluded to, acted with a view to what he did not get. The exact measure of virtue that enters into any act, can be known only to the searcher of all hearts: We must be content to take for virtue what contains all the usual indications of it, and produces all the effects. There is no reason to suspect the sacrifice thus made by Mr. Pitt to be less genuine than it purports to be. He did not sacrifice what he did not highly value: and no man was more likely to foresee what the event proved, that ministerial power, which owes so much to the length of its continuance, could hardly, after an interruption, be ever completely restored to what it was before. The hon. bart., I have no doubt, had the occasion been offered, would equally have shewn that personal considerations had no weight with him, when placed in competition with the calls of duty, or even with those of honest fame. But the opportunity, as far as I am aware, has never been afforded him; and no one can be allowed to claim the same credit for what he has only intended and believed himself capable of doing, as others for what they have actually done.

Upon the whole of this subject of the corruptions of the great, we may venture to say, that, be their virtue what it may, it is at least equal to that of the persons by whom it is arraigned. There are very few men in public life, who could not, if they thought it worth while, if they could bring themselves to be proud of merit so little rare, quote instances of sacrifices which they had made—to duty, to point of honour, to estimation of friends, to party spirit, if you please, but to something far superior to the mere sordid desire of profit or emolument,—which the
greater part of these patriotic declaim
could not only shew nothing parallel
in their own conduct, but would not,
far as related to themselves, dream even
be possible.

So much for this great topic of Abu
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of the system, and gives to the authors
the system all that was wished by the p
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when once fixed and applied, will be
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worst and most pernicious species
abuses, though by far the least complain
of, the abuse of patronage. But the gre
mass of abuse, that which forms nin
tenths, at least, or, more probably, ninet
nine hundredths of the whole, and whi
alone directly affects the pockets of the pe
ple, both begins and ends with the peop
themselves, and consists of the frauds, i
positions, embezzlements, and peculatio
committed by the tribes of officers, hig
and low; (with the exception only of t
highest); who, though employed in t
public service, must still, in every ratio
view, be considered as part of the peop
as well as by all those, who, not being
any, even the most subordinate offic
have still occasional dealings with t
public, or opportunities in some way
other of turning its interests to their a
count.

The mode proposed for putting a stop
these abuses, is to reform the parliamen
that is to say, to have a scheme of repr
sentation, which while it arises equally o
of the people, shall be the result of
greater ferment on the parts nearest t
bottom. Could it be believed, without pro
from the fact, that men could be found se
ously to indulge speculations so destitute
every foundation in reason or common sens
The reform wanted, is either a reform of t
whole people, which it is childish to hop
or a reform in the government, by arming
with such new powers, as would be who
ly incompatible with the nature of our fr
constitution. There are but three wa
in which mankind can be governed; b

virtues, their interests, or their fears.
e able to govern men by their sense
heir virtues is unquestionably the best
l. If men will be ready always to sup-
gratuitously what they think right, and
pose nothing but what they conscien-
ly believe to be wrong, the task of
rnment would comparatively be easy,
corruption without excuse. The mi-
r would have nothing to do but to
se right measures; and the merit of
measure might be expected to ensure
uccess. But if the fact should be,
there are numbers who cannot be
ght to support even what they them-
es approve without being paid for it,
who, if they have not been so paid, or
k they can get better payment else-
re (whether that payment consist in
e, or money, or popular applause, or
gratification of some malignant or sel-
passion,) will combine and cabal,
create every sort of obstruction and
ediment, there is then no other way,
free government, for the purpose of
ying on the public service, but to gain
such persons by their interests, which,
e language of the time, is to be guilty
orruption, but a corruption surely
hich the guilt cannot fairly be charg-
n the government. In governments in-
of another sort, such as that which
es so conspicuous a figure in the pre-
times, I mean the government of Buo-
rté, the case is altogether different:
no more necessity exists for corruption
in a nation of men perfectly wise and
ous. He (Buonaparté) is under no ne-
ty to bribe men's concurrence to mea-
s that are for the interest of the coun-
and has, moreover, methods far more
tual than any which free countries pos-
to prevent the abuses arising from fraud,
eculations. A man who could hang
out ceremony a custom-house officer
should be found conniving at any fraud
he revenue, and hang or send to the
es the merchant who should bribe him
ch connivance, may be pretty sure of
ining within reasonable bounds all
es of that description. The same will
he case with any other species of
e. But how, in countries where con-
is free, men can be prevented from
ng that, which they will not consent
ive, or how, where law is formal and
pulous, and beset on all sides with
ds and defences for the protection of
cence, it can be made to retain, in all
s, sufficient celerity for the overtaking
of guilt, are problems, with which the authors of these complaints never seem to trouble themselves. They call boldly and loudly for the suppression of abuses; and if the suppressing abuses was the only object to be attended to, the task would be easy. There is a government in the neighbourhood, that tells us how that work is to be done. I will pay this homage to Buonaparté's government as to say, that it either is, or may be, one of the most free from abuses of any that ever existed. But will the clamourers for this salutary reformation be content to have it upon the same terms? We have seen already, what the nature of the greater part of these abuses is, and from what source they spring. And do not let us take this upon trust. Let those who doubt, go into the inquiry, and examine one by one, the instances in which they complain that the public money has been transferred wrongfully into the pockets of individuals, or the public patronage perverted, and see what the utmost extent is of that portion, which has been appropriated to the interests of ministers or of those for whom they were personally anxious.

Upon this issue we may suffer the question to rest, considered as part of a general system, which aims at a great change in the constitution (a subversion of it as I should say) under the name of reform, and grounds the necessity of such reform upon the extent and number of the subsisting abuses. It remains only that we say a few words upon the more narrow view of the subject as introduced by the hon. mover. The direct end and object of the motion, as we collect from some passages in his speech, the specific effect which he means to produce, is that of erecting a barrier to the too great influx into this house of the monied interest. The means proposed are such as cannot but be approved, if the description of them be true, viz. that they consist entirely in the correction of a practice in the highest degree corrupt. The consequences, as usual in such cases, are to extend far beyond the removal of the immediate complaint, and to benefit the constitution in a thousand ways. It happens whimsically that the primary object of the mover, (a pretty important one, and requiring, one should think, a good deal of nice consideration, namely the altering the balance between the landed and the monied interest,) seems to be no object at all with those to whom the motion is principally addressed, and not much indeed to the hon. mover, if we may judge by the small portion which it has occupied of his speech. It slips in almost by parenthesis. It is lost and hid, in the splendour of the incidental consequences which the motion is to produce, in the confidence it is to restore, the unanimity it is to inspire, the heats it is to allay, the effect it is to have in silencing gainsayers, the foundation it is to lay of a new and glorious era, from the commencement of which nothing will be known but a determination to live and die by the constitution. What a pity that prospects so bright, and which my hon. friend contemplates with such unspeakable satisfaction, should be so soon obscured! Never was hope so sanguine, so suddenly blasted! It is nipped in its first bud. It does not live to the second reading. It is consigned to the tomb almost at the moment of its birth.

Oh just beloved and lost, admired and mourned!

This medicine, which was to produce such wonderful effects, which was to operate like a charm, so pleasant to the taste, so comfortable in the stomach, has totally falsified the first prediction respecting it, namely, that it would be taken with great avidity. What it may be in the stomach, we cannot well say; for those for whose special use it was intended, who were to seize it so greedily, will not suffer it to remain within their lips; they spit it out upon the hands of my hon. friend, while he is in the act of administering it.

Much useful instruction and information may be derived from hence as well to my hon. friend as to ourselves. My hon. friend, I hope, will learn a lesson, of great utility to all reformers, to distrust a little the more remote consequences of their measures, when they see how liable they are to error, even in those which they expect to take place immediately. The house, it is hoped, will learn this distrust with respect to the measure now proposed. It is no great recommendation of any medicine that its effects are totally mistaken by the person who advises it. All our confidence in the physician is already lost. The only certain knowledge which we have as yet of the measure, is that it will *not* do what the hon. mover predicted of it. It will not satisfy those, who at present inveigh against the abuses of the system, and contend that it ought to be reformed. On the contrary, they say that this measure, unless accompanied with others far more extensive, will only make things worse. I have already endeavoured to show that the practice meant to be corrected, has i crime in it abstractedly considered; i not *malum in se*. It is culpable only as may be made so by law, or as it m practically be found to produce effe injurious to the public interest. Wh opinion out of doors is urged as a reason i adopting it, the answer is, that opinion o of doors is a very bad reason for adopti any measure, inasmuch as there can hard be a worse criterion of what is really for t public benefit; and that, after all, t public opinion does not call for this me sure separately and unaccompanied w others, which the hon. mover would d clare, that he does not wish to see ta place. The inducements, therefore, to compliance with the present motion lie a very small compass indeed. They a simply its own merits; for, as to t splendid incidental consequences dw upon with such rapture by the hon. mov they are all at an end. There will be satisfaction produced. What is called "t public" will not thank you for the measu otherwise than as it may be made a su ject of triumph, and a stepping-tsone other objects. The objections to it on t other hand, are the dangers of this triump and of those other objects to which it meant to lead. Upon the result of the opposite considerations, first examined parately, and then compared together, have no hesitation in earnestly conjuri the house not to adopt the motion. T practice complained of has subsisted at times, without any ground to suspect, any suspicion being in fact entertaine that, according to the discovery now mad it has been sapping and undermining t constitution. The reasons in support the measure now proposed for the abo tion of it are perfectly unsatisfactory a inconclusive. We know the mischievo use intended to be made of it; and the can hardly indeed be any thing more m chievous in the first instance than t yielding to public clamour, what we not feel that we are yielding to truth a reason.

Mr. *Bathurst* said, of two dangers would prefer that which was most op and avowed. When Mr. Horne Too presented his petition to that house, t statements it contained were not credite though now they were admitted to true. He thought the house ought to ta notice of practices, which, to whatev degree they might have existed, had nev been till lately avowed. The right ho

.. (Mr. Windham), thought corruption,
ss it was such as rendered a man
us in society, ought not to be noticed;
hought the law of the land ought to
qualized so as to meet such abuses,
ng those abuses could not be con-
red as a part of the constitution. He
ght it the duty of parliament to avail
selves of some of the provisions of
bill, to satisfy the people, and put a
to such abuses.

ord *Porchester* said, the bill had been op-
d because it did not sufficiently further
arliamentary reform on the one hand,
for a contrary reason on the other.
e gave 5,000*l.* among 10 voters, he
ld not be considered as qualified to
n that house, but if he went to a
er and gave him the 5,000*l.* at once,
vould procure him the necessary votes,
he would be considered as a good
ber. He did not see the propriety of
a distinction. The bill, he thought,
ffered to go into a committee, might
rendered efficacious in no incon-
able a degree. He then spoke
the superiority of our constitution
t was at present over every other
try. This was strikingly exemplified
e tranquillity and security of England,
period when Europe was groaning
eath the most tyrannous hand that ever
yed her destinies. The constitution
never approached so near to perfection
the present day. The independence
e house had been strongly marked by
conduct with respect to the duke of
k (whatever might have been said to
contrary), as well as in the case of
Melville. If they did not then de-
e the name of the House of Commons,
never had merited that appellation.
censured severely the conduct of sir
Burdett, in representing the late de-
on of the house of commons in the
of the duke of York, as he bad done,
contended that the house had not vir-
y acquitted the duke.

r. *Tierney* said, if the design of the
e lord who had just sat down was to
e himself an honest man, he might just
vell have remained silent, for certain
ons would never think either him or
one else so, who did not acquiesce in
he chimeras of the hon. baronet (Hear!
!). It was the design of him and
friends to excite such an opinion
ng the people; and he believed, in
soul, it was also their wish not to have
y supporters in that house, lest their designs should fail, and the public would begin to think too favourably of the house. It was their desire to raise a popular ferment, by talking of abuses which often had no existence, and by vaunting of remedies which they never meant to put in execution! Far was it from their thoughts to come manfully and constitutionally down to that house and state their complaints, if any such they really had. No, it suited them better to make harangues at taverns, to mount the tables at the Crown and Anchor, to tell the people to meet as the people, and look not for redress to their representatives, who were no longer fit to be called an House of Commons. It was their plan to raise a cry by which the infatuated multitude might be hurried to their ruin, by hinting at corruptions which never had existence, and rousing expectations which never could be gratified. Now that the hon. baronet, whom he did not mean to designate as the leader of the party, (a distinction in his mind due to others who did not choose to appear so openly as himself) had favoured that corrupt house with his pure presence, he wished to put a few questions to him as to one of his reputed harangues at the Crown and Anchor, which pointed pretty plainly at his (Mr. Tierney's) character. Broad and indelicate were the freedoms which had been used with his name and political life in the course of the speech to which he alluded; and in one part of it the worthy baronet was actually represented as having the audacity to say that on his (Mr. Tierney's) retiring from office, his pockets were filled with the public money. Was this charge true? He now demanded of the worthy baronet, would he dare to repeat his assertion? If not, he would recommend it to him not again to vilify the name and character of an absent man; or if he did not so vilify it, to take care that a correct report of his real sentiments should go forth to the public. How did he know what effect such insinuations might have in the course of the summer? How could he hope not to be attacked by some seditious mob, roused against him by such unfounded calumnies? (Hear!) Such an assertion was directly false, and he called on the worthy baronet either to deny or to own it. He did not know how the worthy baronet could bring himself to make such an assertion; for his amiable manners in private life, and his conciliatory conduct, were proverbial. No man could be more mild than he was

until he mounted the rostrum at the Crown and Anchor; then all was changed, all was abuse, and as far as related to him, calumny. In this instance, not only his design, but his ignorance, was exposed; and to prove it, he would offer the worthy baronet, if he wished to turn a penny honestly, (loud cheers) some thousand pounds, provided he would take on him the profit and loss of his political speculations. But what were the worthy baronet's qualifications for this general censorship? What had he ever done? What feats had he performed? Why, indeed, he had harangued the mob and mounted the tables most eloquently at the public taverns. (Hear, hear!) He had never warded off any real danger, but had fluttered about during his public life, a political sea-gull, screaming, and screeching and sputtering about foul weather which never arrived. It was true the worthy baronet had never been troubled with office; the reasons for that might be various; perhaps the cause might have been his own disinclination; perhaps his immense fortune might have exempted him from its cares; or perhaps he had never been importuned upon the subject. Certainly he (Mr. Tierney) had been in office, for he had not such a fortune as could support him as independently out of it, as the hon. baronet, and he might perhaps, be compelled to live upon bread and onions, when the worthy baronet was faring sumptuously. (A laugh.) As to his tavern harangues, they might go on for him as long as the worthy baronet chose; and he was welcome to attack whatever political changes or tergiversations he chose in his conduct—let him spout away—if the people believed it, well and good—if not, why then the worthy baronet would enjoy the applauses of his speech, and he (Mr. T.) would have the satisfaction to think no one believed a syllable of it. (Hear, hear!) Let him mount the table, and cry, "They are all rogues and rascals, I am the man for you, the honest man! We must lay the axe to the root. We must have a radical reform"—and then there would be a general huzza, and the worthy baronet might retire, covered with glory and highly delighted at his popularity! (Hear, hear!) One hon. gent. of the worthy baronet's friends (Mr. Wardle) had made a great discovery, it appeared; he was to demolish the Income Tax! (a laugh.) Now, he liked this well; indeed he never was so pleased in his life as when he first heard of the discovery. It was the pleasantest way laying the axe to the root he had ev imagined. (Hear, hear!) He was su it would gratify the Chancellor of t Exchequer wonderfully to be able strike off eleven million and a half of tax Now, he had at last found out the reas why the hon. gent. and the Chancellor the Exchequer were perpetually comp menting each other. No doubt they w pulling together all this time. Indeed the plan was realized, it would be exce ingly diverting; but if it was only a fl lacious assertion, held out for the wick purpose of exciting discontent, it was c of the vilest and most execrable insin tions. He now called upon that h gent. to produce his plan, or stand c victed in the face of the world. As to worthy baronet, he also called upon h solemnly to state the truth or falsity of expressions with which he charged hi He might be superior to him in point talent or ability; but superior he co not be in political integrity; and he bo ly challenged him to a comparison of th lives, that their deeds might speak th deserts, and vile calumniators beco silent.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that he had not us the particular expression to which M Tierney had alluded; that he could n answer for the correctness of the report and that, for any expression which really did use, he would be persona responsible.

Mr. *Wardle* denied having ever sa that he had a plan to liquidate the Inco Tax; he had said that he had plans economy by which many millions of t public money might be saved; and th he was ready and willing to produce.

Lord *Milton* spoke shortly in favour the motion.

Sir *R. Milbank* also supported the m tion, and pledged himself to join the ad cates for a parliamentary reform, whe ever it should be brought forward.

Mr. *William Adam* was disposed to all the bill to go into the committee, becau the many objections that applied to it its present shape, might be removed in t committee.

Mr. *Lyttleton* observed, that from the to which the debate had assumed, he shou look upon himself a traitor to his opini and a coward with respect to his duty, he omitted to state the impressions up his mind. He was certainly not prepar to go the length of the hon. baronet (sir ett), but at the same time he could gree with his noble friend, that the ion upon the case of the Duke of had not shewn that there was some ency in the composition of that house. ould not admit that the manner in h that illustrious person had resigned ffice, had not prevented that house passing, in some shape or other, a of Censure upon his conduct, which have led to his removal from office. as his opinion that there had been in ouse a bias towards that personage, h justified his hon. friends in imputing a degree of real corruption. But if that were not the case, he was sure, certain admissions which had been in the house that night would fully ant the imputation of corruption. For wn part, he was not prepared to say, e expected any very important bene- effect from the measure before the e. But the rejection of it at the pre- moment would amount to a proof in mind of the public, that the house of mons was determined to cast a veil the corrupt practices which had been ght to light.

r. *Barham* rose, merely to put a ques- to an hon. gent. (Mr. Wardle). That gent. had asserted without doors, and repeated the assertion in the house night, that a sum of eleven millions been added to the taxes, in conse- ce of the corruptions and abuses of house. His object in rising, was to whether the hon. gent. had given no- of any motion upon the subject; and, had not, to press upon him the neces- of giving such a notice, which might to a decision upon that point, before lose of the present session.

r. *Wardle* said, that before the end of session he should state the grounds which he had formed the opinion ained in the assertion alluded to by on. gent. In order to prove that as- on, it would be necessary for him to for voluminous papers, which he not expect to be produced before lose of the present session.

r. *Curwen* rose and said:—Mr. Speak- in rising after the house has been so usted, and after the able discussion h has taken place, it would be pre- tuous in me to think of detaining long if my strength would permit of In justice to myself and the important ure which a sense of duty could alone induced me to bring forward, I have to entreat a farther continuance of the indulgence I have already received, which I neither can, or will abuse.—I cannot but regret, from the difficulties I have met with, that the conducting of this bill had not been placed in more able hands; on the purity of my intentions must rest my present defence and apology. I shall as shortly as possible, after a few observations on the arguments which have been advanced in opposition to the principle of my bill, endeavour to explain more fully my own views on the subject.—I am undoubtedly placed in a very novel and singular situation: I have to defend the measure against opponents who are at complete variance, and whose arguments refute and answer each other; agreeing in nothing but the vote they shall give against your leaving the chair. Those whom I should distinguish as the legitimate and natural opposers of the principle of the bill, are such as contend for the perfect purity of this house as it is; as well as others who consider the system as practically perfect, and that all change is therefore unnecessary.

Sir, those who argue that corruption is requisite, and that as such, it forms a part of the constitution, and contend further, that we cannot have the blessing of one without the other—I have but one observation to make in reply to them: I am aware that time has established a prescription in favour of poets and lovers, and sanctioned their representing as perfection that, which, to indifferent eyes, appears a defect and blemish; but I know of no authority that can justify the extension of this principle of enthusiasm to the sober and experienced statesman. If I am compelled to subscribe to the sincerity of such arguments, it must be at the expence of the judgment of those who profess them. However specious, however ingenious such arguments may be, the generality of mankind can view them in no other light than a satire and libel upon the constitution.—The speeches of a right hon. gent., and an hon. baronet, afford the strongest arguments of the necessity of some such measure as I propose.—Is there any man within these walls, that is at a loss to distinguish betwixt the fair and inseparable influence of property, and the corrupt influence of money given for the purchase of the election franchise? Has it ever occurred within this house for the last 240 years, to have a defence set up to justify the purchase of seats in parliament? Do not our statutes and journals concur in declaring the purity of parliament to be essential to its existence? To the hon. baronet I am more obliged and benefitted by his opposition, than I could have been by his support; he speaks out, and tells us, such practices render us no longer a house of parliament, that we no longer deserve the name of representatives of the people—whatever may have been the practice of former periods, it is now, for the first time, that all decency is lost. I think I am justified in drawing this conclusion, that the traffic in seats is become so common and usual, that all feelings of shame and impropriety are destroyed.

The sentiments of the hon. baronet, however harsh and discordant to our ears, have too much truth to be overlooked; the sophistry and ingenuity of the hon. gent. can neither hide them from the house nor palliate them to the public; nor have we a right to expect the respect of the people, when we cannot respect ourselves. Most singular is that species of defence, that justifies the corruptions of one age by a comparison with those of another. The hon. member who was so successful in pointing out the flagitious conduct of former periods, has fully proved the benefit that would have accrued from a more early reform of this house. To have proved our title to superior purity, he should have compared the present means of corruption with those of former times, and shewn us there were fewer placemen in parliament; that loans and contracts were less numerous, that the pension list was reduced, and that the harvest of honours was less abundant.—The taste of the times in this, as other respects, is changed; the temptation to adventure in lotteries in former times, was the number of small prizes; at present, it is the capital prizes alone that form the allurement. I believe the same principle is applicable to corruption.—The grounds upon which the house is called upon to put a stop to the traffic in seats is, the open and unblushing disclosure of the practice. It is become, as has been truly said, as open and indisputable as the sun at noon day.—What is the sensation this has produced in the public mind? Let me ask, gentlemen, has there been a public meeting in any part of the kingdom that has not expressed their sentiments upon the necessity of the reform of parliament? Do those gentlemen who contend against putting a stop to the sale
seats in this house, flatter themselves th
arguments will convince those out of doo
whatever they do those within, that su
things are right and ought to be tolerate
If they account us of any authority,
unvaried opinion of all former times,
they not in direct opposition to the
The honour, the dignity, and security
this branch of the legislature, is rec
nized to depend on its purity.

The best and most esteemed writ
upon the constitution are agreed, that
esteem and veneration of the people is
foundation of the democratic part of
government.—Can those who are best v
ling to contemplate the present crisis, ov
look the peculiarities of the present m
ment? In all other times, the peo
have addressed their complaints to us, a
looked to this house for redress. Is t
the case now? What has produced t
conduct, so different from former time
Does it proceed from the people hav
more or less confidence in us? In answ
to those who say, how has the nat
thriven, and could this have been the c
if the system had been so ruinous and t
as is now represented? Sir, there are w
will equally contend, that hitherto the
ertions of the people have been a count
poise to those growing evils. As proo
they point to the accumulation of
enormous national debt; the oppress
burdens under which the nation labou
They charge the facility with which,
the last hundred years, we have enter
into wars, and the pertinacity with wh
they have too frequently been persever
in; the pliability of parliament they
tribute to the defects of its constructi
as well as all the other evils under wh
they suffer. The people loudly expr
their disbelief that any one would sac
fice every six years five thousand guin
to procure a seat in this house, witho
having views that it would be unbecomi
in me to state. Sir, with such sentime
entertained of us by the public, is th
any rational hope we can regain our l
consequence, or re-establish ourselves
the public opinion, whilst we suffer t
continuance of a practice so degradin
Our nakedness is so apparent, that unl
we are determined to renounce all sen
of modesty, some measures must be take
our neglecting will be considered as eq
to refusing to act, and must disgust all t
sound and virtuous part of the communi
All those who wish our destruction,

number of such there be) will rejoice
omit to put an end to such practices.
l be in vain to condemn the practice
fter, if, after its present notoriety,
o not put an effectual stop to it.—
e who argue the present feelings of
eople will soon subside, and that in a
time their demands for Parliamentary
m will be forgotten, appear to me to
taken a very superficial view of the
of the country. I cannot believe the
e of England to be so besotted as to
with indifference upon the most im-
nt of their privileges.—The pride, the
of this nation, has been in its right of
ng the persons, into whose hands they
d confide their lives and property.
is the source from whence has sprung
pirit which has made us able to dis-
ish ourselves beyond all other people,
mparison to our physical force; with-
this prop, and what must be the con-
nces? What, Sir, must be the feel-
of all the virtuous and uncorrupt
rs in the kingdom, to have forced
them the certainty that the elective
hise, which they prize as the founda-
of their liberty and security, is a
le commodity? That those laws
n have been made at different periods
aintain the purity and freedom of
on, are violated with impunity, by
bers of this house? That the law is
against the retail dealer, but that the
esale merchant traffics with impunity?
ery breast that retains a spark of
tism or public virtue, we must be
ed with the strongest feelings of re-
tion; how shall we be considered by
who imitate our example, and make
rketable commodity of their suf-
s? They will accuse us of injustice,
demand reform conformable to our
ice; that is, that we should remove
barrier against their openly setting
eir suffrages to sale; that the stig-
attached to this practice should be
away, and the selling what, by our
ice, we contend we have a right to
nase, should no longer be mistakenly
dered as disgraceful; can you refuse
appears but common justice?—
er all these circumstances, I should
ad that any gent. would point out to
e class of the community from whom
ve a right to look for respect or ap-
tion.

, I am ready to admit, that it is un-
nate these disclosures should have
place at this moment, when unanimity is so necessary to carry us through the arduous struggle in which we are engaged. The experience of past times has proved the pertinacity with which government and individuals cling to abuses. These practices, however they debase all who have any share in them, and degrade parliament, will not be corrected without a great and arduous struggle. The only safe and honourable conduct for the house to pursue is, to follow the precedent of all former times, and to redress and provide suitable remedies for the abuse.—The attempt to bring the reasoning of Dr. Paley, to support such practices, is unjust to the memory of that great and good man; he decidedly condemns bribery, as laying the seeds of general corruption, and weakening the affections of the people for parliament. His conclusion is most striking of our present situation: he says, "No order or assembly of men whatever, can long maintain their place and authority in a mixed government, of which the members do not individually possess a respectable share of personal importance." Is not this a just description, and sufficient to carry home conviction to every gentleman's mind, of the absolute necessity for the measure proposed.

An hon. member, with some degree of triumph, boasts of the decrease of cases of bribery, and the rapid reform which has and is taking place in many of those places which were formerly under the influence of local interests. If it fell within the knowledge of the hon. member, I wish he had proceeded to point out the causes of this change; let me ask him, has it arisen from those who have thus succeeded in obtaining the favour of the people, discharging with more assiduity those offices, from which the public derives such advantage? Is it from their example? From their hospitality? From their virtuous example in private life? No, sir, not a word of this has been said, and I suppose the gentleman is ignorant, that their ancient attachments are broken by the grossest practices of corruption and bribery. The old and clumsy modes in which bribery was heretofore practiced, are exploded; a new system and vocabulary has been introduced; no one now asks for a bribe; but if the candidate proposes a breakfast after the election, the reply in the affirmative assures the voter from 20 to 30 guineas, as the price may have been settled at former elections; the intention of this system bids fair to destroy all principle and public virtue. From the improvements in this nefarious practice, the remedies provided at former periods are now rendered nugatory. Those who can make their minds up to come into the house by such methods, must excuse me if I think, their being kept out of it would, so far from being a loss, be a great public gain.

Sir, the first instance we have upon record of an attempt to attain a seat in this house by bribery, is in the 13th of Elizabeth; the description of that person is curious, he is stated to have been a weak and foolish man; what would have been said, if he had attempted to defend himself with the arguments we have heard this night? Their ability might have exempted him from the imputation of folly, but would not have saved him from the resentment of the house; on the contrary, I believe it would have enhanced the measure of punishment. The next head of argument is for those who profess to feel reform as necessary as I do; but who will be content with nothing short of a complete and radical reform. However I may regret the want of the support of any set of gentlemen, I have no right to complain of it, when their objections are made, when I and others have an opportunity to meet and censure them; but I do complain when it is represented, the bill I have brought into this house is the most dangerous and unconstitutional that was ever introduced. How does this accord with the imputation now attached to it, that it purposes to do something, and does nothing? Such if the hon. baronet knew me, he would not believe to be the habits of my life. Sir, I do believe, those who are most hostile to it, consider it as likely to do a great deal, and if adopted in the spirit with which it has been introduced, would in a very great and considerable degree, go to satisfy the people, and to do away much of the existing discontents. Sir, my intention is not only to stop the corruption of individuals, but that of the treasury likewise. It is curious to hear those who so vehemently argue against the corruption of parliament, contend for the sale of seats; they say, take money out of the market, and you will throw the whole power into the hands of the treasury. Sir, I aim to make it so difficult, that it shall be impossible for government to carry on any extensive traffic with patronage.

The imputation of corruption attaching upon ministers, would throw great power into the scale of their opponen but should the crown gain power by measure, may not future parliaments p vide a remedy for such a grievance, well as I hope we are about to provide this. It appears to me evident, this ab cannot continue, without endanger the existence of this house. The dan apprehended from the measure is triv compared with what must result from evil being suffered to continue. Th who contend against the measure, ad the ruin it must bring upon us, and are satisfied with leaving it where it and deferring their plan of Reform to future opportunity. The house can be ignorant of the advantage which taken of our situation, by those who h in contemplation Reforms, which wo find few friends amongst us; it becon us therefore well to consider, whet we will adopt salutary regulations, by refusing them, expose ourselves be reformed by means, that every frie to his country would deprecate. S I lament when I find public men lend themselves to encourage hopes wh cannot be realized; does any man beli a Reform in Parliament would exempt from the Income Tax? such things agg vate the evils we suffer, without the p sibility of providing a remedy.

Such, Sir, are my opinions, and in c formity to them, I have felt myself co pelled to bring forward this measure, weak for the strong, and too strong for weak. It has been powerfully exemplifi this night, that we have no longer means of defending ourselves; what, must have been your feelings on hear a language that was never presumed to uttered before any of your predecesso and yet the house will bear testimo the chair was never more ably filled, was there ever a Speaker who contribu to uphold in a more distinguished mann the honour and dignity of the stati May we speedily adopt such measures will enable you, Sir, to restore resp within the walls, and to command it fr the nation at large, and may we persev in the adoption of such measures, as m secure to us the blessings of a free con tution, and enable us to hand it down the latest posterity.

The motion was agreed to withou division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 30.

Duties on Salt.]—General *Gascoyne* eeded at some length to comment n the inequality of the Duties imposed n the importation of British and fo- n salts into Ireland, which he con- ed went to discourage the efforts of British manufacturer, by giving an e advantage to the foreign market. admitted the excellence of the Bay but insisted that the British Salt ld with proper encouragement very tly arrive at a comparative degree of llence. The British manufacturer had ght to every encouragement from Ire- , and he thought this would be best by an equalization of the duties. concluded by moving, That the house resolve itself to-morrow into a Com- ee, for the purpose of considering propriety of equalizing the Duties British and Foreign Salts, imported Ireland.

Ir. *Foster* said, that the British salt made by the operation of fire, and t was called bay salt was made by the ration of the sun. The British salt employed only prior to the packing of beef, and the bay salt in the packing, at there were no sort of competition he Irish market between the two kinds alt, as they were both employed for erent purposes, or at least in different nches of the art of salting beef; the ish salt would not be fit in packing beef, because that kind of salt having ergone the process of boiling would apt in warm countries to melt and slip n between the interstices of the beef, so fail in the object of keeping the f; in fact, what had made the Irish f so famous in different quarters of the ld for keeping so well in any climate, the virtue of the bay salt with which had been cured. The bay salt had n formerly 80 pounds to the bushel, le the British salt was but 56 pounds he bushel, so much as to the inequa- of the duties, since the measures of h bushel were rated at 56 pounds, and n the duties were on the one 1*s.* 5*d.* bushel, and on the other 2*s.* the hel. Any subject, however, that ex- ed so considerable an interest in so re- ctable a part of the community as the n of Liverpool, he should be at all es ready to pay every attention to. t it was now just at the end of the ses- n, and too late to get the necessary in- mation from those in Ireland who were interested in the question. He should be willing at an early period in the next session to agree to its being brought before the house, but he did not think the present the proper opportunity for discussing it.

Mr. *Hutchinson* agreed with the right hon. gent. who had just spoken, on the propriety of postponing to the beginning of next session a question of such importance.

Mr. *Jacob* entered into a chemical analysis of the nature of salt, and shewed, that the slower the process of drying the salt the slower the evaporation, the stronger the salt, and, that of course, if the process by fire was contrived to be as gradual as that by the sun, he did not see that the salt made by the fire might not be as serviceable as the foreign bay salt.

Mr. *Foster* said, in explanation, that he was aware that an atttempt had been made in Lymington to make bay salt, and that it had failed. He said, that it was called bay salt, because made by being exposed to the sun in inlets or bays in Portugal.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that he trusted his hon. friend who brought forward this motion would now be satisfied that it had met with as favourable a reception from his right hon. friend near him as circumstances could possibly admit of. He hoped, therefore, that the motion would not at present be pressed any farther, with understanding that the question would meet with every attention from that house early in the next session.

Sir *John Newport* said, that the evidence at present was but *ex parte* evidence, and that they ought to wait until they heard the sentiments of those in Ireland interested in the subject, before they decided either upon lowering the duties on British salt or augmenting those upon foreign salt.

General *Tarleton* said, that England had been on all occasions bounteous and indulgent towards Ireland, in giving her every fair advantage in her trade; and that if it was made out that the British salt was as effectual in curing provisions as the foreign salt, he thought Ireland should not object to the equalization of the duties. The bay salt was the cargo under which brandy in general was smuggled: and perhaps it might be owing to this method of disguising smuggling that the gentlemen in Ireland were able to drink such good wines. He had often been indebted to them for a very hospitable portion of their excellent wines; and he knew them to be very select in their wines in general, indeed they drank it much cheaper and better than gentlemen in this country were able to do; and that they did so, might be owing to the Irish market being pretty abundantly supplied in this way.

General Gascoyne then consented to withdraw his motion.

[FRAUDS IN THE IRISH REVENUE—MR. BEAUCHAMP HILL.] Sir *John Newport*, pursuant to notice, rose to make his promised motion, relative to the appointment of a person (Mr. Beauchamp Hill), to a situation in the Excise in Ireland, in direct violation of a statute of regulation made for that country, and which was expressly intended to guard against the Frauds committed on the revenue of that country. If this should appear to be the case, and that the person alluded to had actually incurred his dismissal from the situation he had formerly held in the Excise, under the very letter and spirit of that act, instead of the promotion he had met with, what terms were too strong to reprobate such a conduct in those concerned in such a proceeding? How did the present case stand? By a statute made in 1806, it was enacted, that any officer in the customs or excise in Ireland, convicted of taking money in the execution of his office, should be incapable of holding any place under the government. By a former statute on the same subject, it was declared, that such persons, taking a bribe for neglecting their duty, should be incapable of holding any employment; but it was found they got out of this statute, by asserting they took money for performing their duty. To remedy which the former statute was enacted. It appeared from the report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Customs and Excise in Ireland, that in Sept. 1806, they called before them a person of the name of Beauchamp Hill. Upon his examination, he stated, he had been a surveyor for four years, and that he was in the habit of taking a present of 20 guineas per month from every still contained in his walk. It also appeared, by his examination, that he justified this practice on the ground of precedent and notoriety, and also from necessity, owing to the inadequacy of his salary to his support. This might be admitted as some excuse in his favour, but still the law was precise in marking the offence, and pointing out the penalty; and though the offence might be overlooked on the plea of necessity, yet he conceived that should h been the extent of the mercy shewn h Notwithstanding, however, he was fou in the month of March, 1808, promote the office of Inspector-General of Exci that is, to oversee that others did not ab that trust of which he himself had b convicted; and this, jointly with anot person, in the room of two, who were moved on charges of misconduct, wh they had denied, and upon which t had demanded a trial. He concluded w moving: "That it appears to this hou that, by the 46th of his majesty, ch. 8 was enacted, on the 12th July 1806, t any Officer of Customs or Excise in I land, who should, directly or indirec ask, take, or receive any sum or sums money from any Distiller, for or on a account whatsoever, should be deemed a taken to be guilty of a misdemeanor, a should be rendered incapable of holding a office or employment civil or military that it appears to this house, from the fi Report of the Commissioners of Enqu in Ireland, appointed by parliament, t Mr. Beauchamp Hill declared before said Commissioners of Enquiry, in his amination upon oath, in the month Sept. 1806, that he the said Beaucha Hill, being a surveyor of excise, was th and had been for some time previous to said examination, receiving 20 guin per month from each distiller in the trict committed to his charge, which a part of the city of Dublin:—That it pears to this house, that, on the 8th of March, 1808, the said Beauchamp H having, by his own confession, under provisions of the before-recited act, curred the penalty of incapacitation tached to his misconduct, was promote the responsible office of inspector-gene of that department of the revenue in wh this breach of the law was committed, direct violation of the enactment of said statute."

Mr. *Foster* said, that certainly owing the inadequacy of their salaries, an u versal system of corruption had forme existed among the revenue officers of I land, and that out of 32 excise officers amined by the commissioners of inqu 30 of them had confessed that they received similar presents. They justi it from its being a constant practice, known to be so by the board who ployed them, and who yet took no m sures to stop it. The practice of receiv these gratuities was so universal, and in a manner connived at, that it ld have been unfair to select one or two iduals for punishment, as almost y other officer in the revenue equally rved to be dismissed. Mr. Hill, how-, was ever ready to give every infor- on in his power to the commissioners quiry, and was in every other respect ry good officer. He was therefore noted for his merit, although he had ommon with all the other excisemen a thing illegal and improper. He efore moved the previous question.

r. *Hutchinson* thought nothing could g the house into greater contempt than ng over so lightly such a flagrant case ad been now stated. Who could be- that it was utterly impossible to find gle honest man to fill any office in the revenue? If the revenue officers were orrupt from bottom to top, they should all removed, and honest men sought If men in high situation had known heir frauds, and connived at them, should also be dismissed. He had d with infinite pleasure, that his ma- y had been advised to annul a commis- granted to a noble lord (lord Burg- h). He hoped he would also be advised nnul this appointment.

Ir. *Croker* said, that it was sufficient of of the corruption of some of the re- ue officers that they were alive; for if y had trusted to their salaries, they t have starved. The salaries were ed in the reign of Charles II. and were 40*l.* a year to the guager, and 65*l.* a r to the surveyor. It therefore became essary for them to get by some other ans those necessaries of meat, drink, cloathing, for themselves and their ilies, which the pure abstract patriots the present day might not think they any right to think of. It was lord An- ley who had recommended this particu- promotion, on no ground but that Mr. was an active and good officer.

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, that without pre- ding to those abstract ideas of perfec- , he would still say, that although he before heard a system of bribery and ruption avowed, he never did suppose such a scene of bribery and corrup- as this could ever have been justified excused. It appeared from the Report he Commissioners of Inquiry, that the uds committed on the Irish revenue by licensed distillers amounted in a year 356,000*l.* and that the principal cause these enormous frauds was, that those officers were bribed to connive at them. These distillers now deprecated all manner of inquiry into those transactions.

Mr. *R. S. Dundas* defended the promotion, on the ground of its being necessary to select for promotion persons in the service of the revenue; and that it would have been absolutely impossible to have dismissed them all.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* said, that he had never in his life heard such doctrines gravely stated, as might be deduced from what had fallen from an hon. gent. (Mr. Croker). If a man's salary was not sufficient, was that an excuse for his taking bribes, and conniving at all manner of frauds against the government which employed him? As to the ridicule which the hon. gent. appeared to throw out against those pure and abstract patriots, who would not consider the necessity of providing meat, drink, or clothing for themselves and families a sufficient excuse, he would say that it never was allowed as an excuse for dishonest actions. If it were, any person indicted at the Old Bailey for a robbery would say it was only for the purpose of getting meat, drink, and clothing for himself and family. Such an excuse would not be admitted at that place. If the salaries of these places were not sufficient, did any body oblige these men to become excisemen? He must therefore support the original motion, as he conceived the promotion of such a person highly improper.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not think his hon. friend (Mr. Croker) had maintained the general proposition that the hon. and learned gent. imputed to him. It was to be considered that in this particular case, when all the excise-officers in Ireland had been in the habit of taking certain regular presents from the distillers, it would have been impossible to dismiss them all at once, as although that might be good in the way of example, yet it would be a sacrifice of the revenues of Ireland for two years. If it were not contended that all the revenue officers of Ireland should be dismissed, there was no reason why the best of them should not be promoted. This man, although he had taken money as others did, yet in other respects he did his duty. The cause, however, of this great corruption had now been removed by the increase of the officers' salaries, and the act might in future be strictly enforced. The act was of a prospective and not of a retrospective nature; and as to the case of Mr. Hill, there had been no legal conviction against him, nor any thing but his own confession before the commissioners, which was not asked for the view of turning him out of his place. It did not appear to him that it was desired to select this man or any other for punishment, and therefore, if he were allowed to stay in the revenue, he saw no reason why he should not be promoted if he was diligent and useful.

Mr. *Horner* spoke shortly in favour of the motion. He expressed his surprize at what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a man should be continued in office who had been found guilty of corruption. He for his own part thought that a more flagrant abuse of power was never heard of; a more unblushing breach of purity, he was certain, never till then appeared before that house, and as such he thought it his duty to give it his decided reprobation.

Sir *John Newport* replied, generally, to the several arguments urged against his motion. He thought the defence set up so extremely weak and defective, that it was only necessary to make a few observations. He insisted that the charge of Mr. Beauchamp Hill had been made out as strongly as the case would permit. The malt books of Ross Crea walk had not been returned. It was said some of them had been carried away; but what remained, proved that Mr. B. Hill was the surveyor then, that 15,000 gallons of pot ale had been found there suppressed; so that if you could not positively say a charge was found, it was very reasonable to suppose it. He declared he did not previously know Mr. B. Hill, nor any of his connexions, nor any of those persons in whose room he had been promoted; so that he could not be actuated by the slightest bias or motive of favour or partiality. The first he knew of Mr. Hill was seeing his name in the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry He censured the ground of argument that men known to be corrupt should be employed, on account of their ability to fill a particular station. On the contrary, he thought that in a public officer honesty and character could not be balanced by, nor ought they to be put in competition with any ability, however great it might be, He should therefore take the sense of the house on his motion.

Mr. *Barham* said, there was one argument which ought to make the house cautious in what way they dealt with this motion. It had been publicly and genera asserted, that many persons sat in t house by improper means. The pub had taken the alarm; and it had b found in support of that alarm, and th assertions, that a cabinet minister had tually been concerned in bartering fo seat in that house, and was defended such an act. It was by the motion t moment under consideration, and the guments urged in support of it, further serted that corruptions prevailed in a m extensive degree over the whole rever of Ireland. If something was not done rectify these corruptions and abuses, if steps were taken towards removing the he dreaded to think what the public o nion of that house must very soon be.

The question being loudly called f the house divided, when their appeared

For the motion - - - - - - - - - 50
Against it - - - - - - - - - - - - 77
Majority against sir John New-
port's motion - - - - - - - - —2

[Irish Tithes.] Mr. *Parnell* rose move for the appointment of commission to enquire into the state of Tithes in I land. He said that he was authorised consider the opinion of the house as favo able to an alteration in the system, in co sequence of the sentiments which we expressed by those who had opposed former motion. The grounds upon whi that was negatived were, because in t opinion of some members this period the session was too late to entertain a sp cific plan, and because in the opinion others there was a want of information the subject. To meet the objections of t first description, he intended to bring f ward a plan for a commutation of Tith early next session, and to remove the o jections arising from a want of informatio he now moved for a commission. He sa that a commission was preferable to a s lect committee of the house, because if w were to wait till the next session to appoi a committee, which would be necessar nearly a whole year would be lost in ma ing the inquiry, and besides a committ if appointed, could not well, sitting he obtain the information which was wante Whereas a commission could proceed up the enquiry immediately; and an inqui to be made by persons appointed by t crown would be more agreeable to t body whose interests were immediate concerned, than an enquiry made by committee of this house; and in this, as all other respects concerning the mode g the clergy he wished to proceed in ay that would least offend their feel- He said that there were several dents for this mode of proceeding the Union. Commissioners had been nted to enquire into the state of the ces of Ireland, of education, and of ns, and for trying controverted elec- all which inquiries naturally be- d to select committees, but which, in quence of the distance of Ireland, not so well be made as by commis- rs acting on the spot.—The house consider in coming to a decision s motion, why any inquiry at all was ng; if Ireland had continued to have l parliament, no such inquiry could been wanting, because each member have been completely informed of ate of the tithes; the house then was to place the people of Ireland by nquiry on the same footing as they have been without one, if the Union ot taken place, and to remedy as far vas able this great injury, which Ire- had sustained by the Union, of the ature being ignorant of the condition land and of the nature of the evils of n she complained. Besides the house l consider this motion with reference petitions on the table, and feel that were now called upon to give an an- to those petitions. When a specific of redress was proposed of the evil ained of in these petitions, it was re- for want of information, and will ouse, now that a mode of obtaining mation is brought forward, reject that and say we will neither adopt a re- for the evil, nor enquire into the e of your complaints? If the house so, it will do that in regard to the e of Ireland, which his majesty would do towards the meanest subject that oned him; for an instance was never n where a complaint was preferred throne, to which at least this degree tention was paid to it, of giving for er to the person complaining, that ature of the complaint should be en- into. The hon. member said, that ped, therefore, that the house of com- would not refuse to give the same e of attention to the complaints of eople of Ireland, which was uniformly by his majesty to the complaints of his poorest subjects. He moved, at an address be presented to his ma- to appoint a special commission to ire into the manner in which Tithes are collected in Ireland, and such other matters relating to the buying and collecting of Tithes in that country as they shall judge it proper to direct their attention to, and to report thereon."

Mr. *R. S. Dundas* (secretary for Ireland) opposed the motion, upon the ground, that before they went the length of addressing the king to appoint commissioners to make such inquiries they should first be satisfied, that some practicable measure could be proposed and adopted, to remedy the evils complained of, and acknowledged to exist, in regard to the buying of Tithes. It would only tend to raise the expectations of the people, while they could not realise them. The hon. gent. must be aware, that the feelings and passions of many individuals were already too much alive upon this subject throughout every district in Ireland; besides, the house were not at present deprived of information upon Irish subjects. It might as well be said, that they could not legislate as to the Tithes of Scotland, without instituting an inquiry; whereas it was well known that a law was lately passed relative thereto, merely upon the statement of those acquainted with that country. He doubted of the expediency of the mode of inquiry proposed, and also of its necessity, as sufficient information could be derived from gentlemen connected with Ireland.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* expressed his surprise at hearing such an opposition to this motion, as the former one had been opposed upon the ground of there being a want of sufficient information. With respect to exciting dangerous expectations in the minds of the people of Ireland, by the measure proposed, he could assure the right hon. gent. that they could only be excited by the continuance of the present system, and he was persuaded the inquiry would have quite an opposite tendency. There were parts of Ireland where the most serious disturbances had been excited within these last two years, upon this very subject; and he was sorry to say, such had been the case in that very part which he had the honour to represent. He was convinced the right hon. gent. when he became acquainted with the actual state of the Tithes in Ireland, would retract his opinion and sentiments in a future session. There were many abuses existing there, which did not exist here. From the sentiments generally expressed in the house upon a former night, he was sure that an inquiry would be the best preliminary to

any measure that parliament could adopt to remedy those evils. He should touch upon a few of the grievances relative to the raising of Tithes in Ireland, in order that gentlemen might contrast them with the mode adopted in England. In many cases the tithes were collected by the agents of absentee clergymen in the most severe manner. It was also a general habit for clergymen to set them up to auction, and sell them to a respectable tenant, who employed another to extort the utmost from poor and unfortunate individuals. If such practices existed in England no minister would dare to resist a parliamentary inquiry. In Ireland, almost all the lower orders of the people subsisted by cultivating the soil, and it was upon them in particular this tax operated as a grievous burden. Even the potatoe garden of the peasant did not escape the most rigorous exactions. This was contrary to the principles of taxation adopted in any country whatever. Add to the severities of collection, the plan of apportionment was far from being equitable. In some counties, such as Ulster and Connaught, the potatoe-gardens were not tithed at all. In Kerry, the tithe of potatoes was at the rate of 36*s.* per acre, and in two districts close to it, it was treble that amount. This he thought was a severe injustice. The disturbances of the Whiteboys were solely owing to the grievances of the tithe system in those counties, where arbitrary modes of exaction existed; while in others, where they did not exist, no disturbance had taken place. He did not wish to connect this inquiry with the question of religion, as he was convinced the catholics paid the tithes more freely and more willingly than the protestants. The former abstain from resistance, from motives of delicacy, and no political disaffection mingled itself with their conduct; the utmost they demanded, in any instance, was, that they might be allowed to deal immediately with the clergyman for the tithes. If the matter of tithes was to become the subject of future discussion, it was surely proper that the house should be prepared for it. In the views he had in regard to a commutation of tithes, he thought nothing but a complete commutation would ever tranquillize Ireland. It would put the established church on a happier footing, and would afford greater encouragement to agriculture. It was quite paradoxical that pasture land should be exempted from any premium to the church. Indeed all the gr
landed proprietors, although more inter
ed in the church establishment, were
empted from the payment of tithes, a
cumstance which was most discouragin
agriculture, and an evil which could o
be remedied by a commutation of tit
by which every individual should pay
portion to the clergyman. Under th
circumstances he should vote for the
tion for inquiry.

Mr. *Dundas*, in explanation, said,
never meant to convey any other opin
than that this was a subject highly wor
of the consideration of parliament.
thought, however, that the inquiry p
posed at the present time was altoget
unnecessary.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said, it would be hig
satisfactory to know at what period
vernment would think fit to make any
quiry, or adopt any measure upon this s
ject. Last session the Chancellor of
Exchequer had said, he had even gone
length of preparing a bill to remedy th
evils; but this session he said it was so
of difficulties, that he had neither bi
propose, nor any measure to adopt. W
his hon. friend (Mr. Parnell) moved
leave to bring in a bill, the previous q
tion was moved, for the want of infor
tion; no information was yet procu
and now the house were told it was un
cessary.—The time was not far dis
when that right hon. gent. and all ot
would find that information, as to Irela
was indispensably necessary. The sys
of tithes was a subject of great importa
and surrounded with great difficulties,
not such as were wholly insuperable.
arguments used against adopting this m
sure, were the best reasons in the w
for taking it immediately into consid
tion.—The longer it was deferred,
more was Ireland exposed to calam
and difficulties of every kind. Why
the right hon. gent. not take some ste
the interval, since last session, to pro
the information he wanted? Why di
now say, that on account of the difficu
and importance of the subject, he sh
take no step at all?—The subject wa
such vital importance for the tranqui
of Ireland, as well as of this country,
he hoped his hon. friend would take
sense of the house upon it, and that
vernment would not meet the house
the same ignorance next session as t
did upon this one. As to exciting dan
ous expectations, how could it be supp

such a matter could be conducted se- y? It was impossible to proceed in way without exciting the hopes and tations of the people of Ireland upon ubject. The measure proposed by his friend appeared to him to be both ju- ns and temperate. It applied to the n, as to the head of the church, to in- i into this church property. It placed omination of the persons composing ommission entirely in the executive rnment, where it ought to be. He l that these repeated motions on this ct would at least have this good ef- that they would compel ministers to some measure to ameliorate the si- on of Ireland.

. *Grattan* thought that the Commis- of Inquiry proposed would not have esired effect, as it had been generally that such commissions were inade- to the objects in view, and rather d to discourage the adoption of a ure than otherwise. Even although a commission were to deliver in a re- he should not be disposed to reckon ding. He had seen many commis- appointed by the crown, but they had found never to go to the root of the and rather tended to recommend a e than an effectual measure. He ht that it would be better to move, session, that a committee be appoint- d that the loss of this motion would nbarrass that one.

e *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not that the house were in ignorance with ct to the subject of tithes in Ireland; e conceived that the difficulty was o find out a practical mode of secur- e property of the church. He had objected to the former motion of the member, on account of the want of nation; but he objected to it, be- it was not a measure capable of be- dopted for the reasons he then gave. ad not been remiss in making in- es, and had even produced a plan, however he afterwards found it ne- ry to abandon, as it appeared it could ave the effect desired. He could not rsuaded that any inquiry, either by ission or committee, would do any for they did not want information, ey wanted merely a plan of how to e better of the difficulties they knew st.

J. Newport spoke in support of the n. He thought the arguments used st it were very extraordinary. If they did not institute a previous inquiry, the house were attempting to apply a remedy, without knowing what was the nature of the disease, which appeared to be entirely a new mode of legislating. If the result of the commission did not satisfy the house, they might have recourse to some ulterior information. At all events, the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh) was bound by his former professions, at the Union, to find out some modifications to lighten the burdens of the poor oppressed people of Ireland. Instead of doing so, however, that noble lord appeared to forget all his pledges for the public good, and merely to attend to those that went to provide for individuals whom he had taken care to seduce to his own standard. That noble lord professed to be the follower of Mr. Pitt; *sequitur non passibus equis.* If he were so, he ought undoubtedly to perform the pledges which that statesman had made, as well as to perform those which he himself had undertaken. If ministers profess to be the successors of Mr. Pitt, let them come forward, with one consent, and redeem the pledges he had given, otherwise they could not pretend to be other than unworthy successors.

Lord *Castlereagh* stated, that he knew of no pledge whatever that was made either by Mr. Pitt or himself, upon the subject of tithes, or upon the Catholic question. He should most distinctly deny that he ever had made any pledge as to Ireland.

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson* supported the motion, and in strong terms deprecated the conduct of the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh), as to Ireland. He looked upon that noble lord as the parent of the Union, and he, in order to effect it, had made many promises; but whenever any question, as to the amelioration of the situation of Ireland came to be agitated, he either put a negative upon it, or moved the previous question. If the noble lord thought he should be handed down to posterity, either for private virtue, or public political conduct, he (Mr. H.) must beg leave to be of a contrary opinion. [Here was a cry of Order! order! and the Speaker interfered and observed, that it was irregular to allude to the private character of any individual of that house.] If (continued Mr. H.) the whole of the country were to stand up in support of that noble lord's conduct, he should be proud in standing single, and stating that he had grossly discharged that public duty which he owed to that country, called Ireland.

How many years had passed since the Union, and yet nothing had been done to ameliorate its situation! No one of the expectations of its unhappy people had been answered, nothing but personal degradation had ensued. Absentees were greatly increased, the capital had been deserted by its nobility, and almost the whole of the great landed proprietors. Much had been promised to that country, but nothing had been as yet performed.

Mr. *Parnell* said, in reply to the assertion of the right hon. gent. that a want of information had not been laid as a ground of objection to his former motion, that he could appeal to the recollection of several members now present, whether the Secretary for Foreign Affairs had not distinctly stated as the reason which induced him to negative that motion through want of information on the subject which prevailed in the house. If there was any doubt upon this point, he said it was cleared up by the absence of that right hon. gent., for he had a right to infer, that he was absent because he could not vote with his colleagues on this motion, in consistency with the opinion which he had given on the former motion. In answer to what the right hon. gent. had said, of his appearing not to be aware of the difficulties which attended the plan which he recently proposed, because he had not replied to the objections which he had urged to it, he said that the reply made to those objections by a right hon. friend of his, rendered it unnecessary for him to do so. He had said, that the plan of enabling incumbents to make leases for twenty-one years was a plan of no detail and of no difficulty. The fact was, that nothing would have been so easy as to have secured the successor to the incumbent making the leases against injury, because it would only have been necessary to have adopted the same regulations as those under which all tenants for life under settlements are controled in making leases of their lands, and then the situation of the successor to the incumbent making leases, would have been exactly the same as the situation of tenant in remainder under the established law. With regard to what the right hon. gent. had said about no inquiry being necessary, and of the competency of the house to discuss and decide upon any specific plan that may be brought before it, without any previous inquiry, he begged the house would not forget the declaration of the right hon. gent. when he should bring forward a specific plan next session, in o
that his motion may not be opposed a
former one was, on a plea of want of
quiry and of information. The
Secretary for Ireland had said, the
posed inquiry could do no good, becau
was impossible that it could lead to
practical plan. To this doctrine of
impossibility of the house being abl
discover any plan for a commutatio
tithes he must protest; for though it m
be difficult to say what plan was the
still there were so many great autho
in favour of a commutation, and who
pointed out plans for effecting it, th
certainly must be in the power of
house, if it would sincerely set about
work, to discover some plan which w
meet the evil complained of. The au
rity of Dr. Paley was quite decisive
the subject; he had said that he kne
no measure so practicable, and of no a
ation that would be so beneficial, as a
mutation of tithes for corn rents.
opinion should therefore give the h
reason to suspect, that the assertion of
right hon. gent. that no practical pla
be discovered, was wholly unfounded.
begged the house to consider, that
were now called on by his maje
ministers to tell those who had sent
tions to this house, that the house w
not inquire into grounds of their
plaints; and he submitted to the ju
and good sense of the house, whe
under the circumstances of Ireland
of the continent, this was an answe
ought to be given to them.

The house then divided,

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - - 7
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - - 14
Majority against the Motion —

[MEDICAL BOARD.] Mr. *Wardle*
to bring forward his promised motion
this subject. The supply of the
with proper medicine and medical
was, he was observed, a matter of so m
importance, that he could not concei
possible to raise a doubt, as to the
priety of making it the subject of p
mentary investigation, where any gr
for complaint appeared. That such gr
existed was manifest from the Report
the table. For in this Report it was st
that out of 20,000 men employed in
peditions to the West Indies, no less
13,000 were the victims of disease;
third owed their death to the ig
ance of their medical men. But thi
not the only ground of complaint w

eant to refer to the consideration of ouse. The charge for medicine was mously dear. He instanced the article ark, which was charged at no less 100 per cent. beyond the prime cost; this article alone he observed that sum of 15,000*l.* was laid out. To this exorbitant charge he was to produce the most satisfactory evi- e at the bar both documentary and

As a principal witness to substan- his statements, the hon. gent. men- d the name of Dr. Chisholm.—With two facts he had stated, he did not the motion which he was about to it could be consistently opposed with ew to the necessary inquiry. He rstood, indeed, that no opposition d be attempted, and therefore, with- further preface, he moved, "That a rn of the whole of the Medical De- ment should be laid before the house, ly, the physicians, surgeons, inspec- and deputy inspectors, apothecaries, distinguishing the period of the ap- ment of each, the situation from h removed to such appointment, ther with the length of service."

ne *Secretary at War* would not object e motion, but could not help express- wish that the subject had been rather rred for inquiry to the board of officers, h being constituted by parliament, the power of obtaining the fullest and satisfactory information applicable to se of this nature.

r. *Rose* was surprized at the unquali- assertion, that upon the article of bark the sum of 15,000*l.* had been lost to country (No, no, no! from the Oppo- n Bench). Having had occasion to ire into the subject of the medical sup- to the army, he was enabled to state, the medicine for that department was ished at a rate of seven or eight per less than that of the navy. If, how- there was any real ground for com- nt, he thought it would be better to re- he case to the Commission of Military iry, which having the power to admi- er oaths, was competent more satisfac- y to investigate the business than any mittee of that house, which had no such er.

r. *Wardle* repeated his assertion with ect to the charge for bark, correcting, ever, the misconception of the right gent.; as he only stated 15,000*l.* as amount of the supply. With regard he Commission alluded to, he would frankly state that he had no faith in Commissions of that nature, and therefore he wished to bring this business before the house. And as to that Commission he had no hesitation in saying, that it would not do its duty if it did not produce to the country a saving of 100,000*l.* a year in the department to which his motion referred.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* would not hesitate to state, that if the hon. gent. was in possession of information that 100,000*l.* a year could be saved to the country, and if it was his object, as no doubt it was, to conduce to the public benefit, it was his duty to furnish such information to the Commission alluded to. That Commission, it was to be remembered, had the power of administering oaths, and was therefore best enabled to act upon the hon. gent.'s information. It therefore struck him as desirable that the case should be referred, in the first instance, to the Commission, and should the result of its inquiry not prove satisfactory, the hon. gent. would not be precluded from again bringing it before that house.

After a few words from Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Rose, Mr. Wardle, and general Walpole, the motion was agreed to.

[America.] Mr. *Marryatt*, after a few prefatory remarks, with regard to the propriety of satisfying this country and America also, as to the conduct of our government upon the subject of recent transactions, in which the commercial interest of the country and the character of its government was so deeply involved, observed, that he had understood it to have been alleged by the highest authority, that our ambassador was authorised by his instructions to conclude the arrangements which government had lately refused to ratify. In order, therefore, that parliament and the public should fully understand the case, he felt it his duty to move an Address to his majesty, praying for copies of the Notes which passed between our ambassador and the government of the United States, respecting the repeal of our Orders in Council of January and November 1807; also for copies of the Instructions transmitted to our ambassador, authorizing him to enter into a negociation, and to conclude an arrangement upon this subject.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* observed, that although upon a former occasion, when asked, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to make any communication to parliament respecting our relations with America, he answered, that it was not deemed expedient to do so pending the existing negociations with that country, he did not feel it inconsistent with the motive of that declaration, to give his assent to the present motion, which was rendered necessary by the peculiar circumstances of the case. The Notes referred to in the first part of the motion having been published in America, there could be no objection to authenticate them by complying with the call for their production; and as to the Instructions, his majesty's government having, in that spirit of frankness and candour which marked the whole of their communication with the American government, directed those instructions to be shewn to that government, he saw no reason for with-holding them from the house, although the production of such a document was rather unusual. As the papers were not before the house, he would abstain from delivering any opinion upon them. It was known that he had no disposition to throw blame upon the individual implicated in this transaction; but as a matter of fact and truth he was bound to state, that which our ambassador would have full opportunity of explaining, namely, that he had not only not acted in consonance with his Instructions, but in direct contradiction to them: that being authorised to make certain concessions to America in return for stipulated conditions, he had thought proper to go to the full extent of the concessions, without having obtained any of the conditions. At the same time that the right hon. gent. acquiesced in this motion, he thought it right to say, that he should feel it his duty to oppose the production of the Instructions transmitted to an ambassador with respect to the affair of the Chesapeake, at least pending our present discussions with the American government.

Mr. *Ponsonby* thought that as the alleged proceeding of our ambassador was so very extraordinary, it would be right, in order fully to understand and fairly to judge of the case, that any justification or attempt at justification, sent home by this ambassador, should be also laid before the house, together with the papers referred to in the motion. He was not aware that any such paper as he alluded to was in existence, but if it was, and the right hon. gent. had no very urgent reason for resisting the production of it, he should much wish to have it laid on the table, and to know whether the right hon. gent. had any objection to do so.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* declined for t present decisively to answer the right h gent.'s question. When the papers mov for were laid before the house, the rig hon. gent. would then be better quali to decide whether any, and what furt papers, were necessary.

Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Canning mutua explained; in the course of which the l ter observed, that unquestionably a d patch had been received from our amb sador, transmitting the intelligence wh gave rise to the motion.

Lord *H. Petty* conceived with his rig hon. friend, that it was essentially nec sary to a just comprehension of the subj under consideration, that the reasons signed by our ambassador for concludi the arrangement alluded to, should be before the house. He therefore hop that if it were consistent with his pub duty the right hon. gent. would not wi hold this information. Many occasio occurred in war to justify a departure fr positive instructions; so in a diploma mission circumstances might arise to f nish a similar justification. Possibly, su was the case in this instance, and the pa required by his right hon. friend was cessary to enable the house to form a c rect judgment. Indeed, it was almost dispensible, and therefore, unless it v produced, he must disapprove of an tempt to bring forward what he could help considering as partial information.

Mr. *Canning* begged not to be und stood as refusing the paper required by t noble lord. He only deferred decidi upon the proposition to produce it.— answer to a question from lord Milton, M Canning stated, that the expectation to formed as to the conduct of the Americ government towards our trade, must d pend upon the existence of a correspo ent disposition on the part of that gove ment, to that manifested here upon t occasion which gave rise to the discussi But in fact, what arrangement might made by that government, must be, he o served, at present mere matter of specu tion, of which any other man could fo an opinion as well as himself.

The motion was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 31.

[Cruelty to Animals' Bill.]—T house having gone into a committee this Bill,

ord *Erskine* rose, and expressed the
satisfaction he felt at their lordships'
gnition of the principle of the bill he
nad the honour of submitting, by their
eing to go into a committee upon it.
hought it unnecessary in the com-
ee to make use of any further general
ments, in its support, though, if it
necessary, he would, from the va-
of information he had received
the most respectable and the best
med quarters, give their lordships
reasons, and abundance of particular
nces, which shewed (beyond contra-
on, as he thought) the propriety, ne-
ty, and justice of passing the bill.
particular information wanted? He
letters upon letters stating facts con-
ing such cruelties. Was evidence
ced? He could bring the most un-
eptionable testimony to their lord-
s' bar, to prove the existence of such
tices as were a disgrace to humanity,
civilized nation, and to every moral
religious profession. He had with
letters, stating the readiness of the
ies to appear, from the most respect-
clergymen, as well as others, not in-
l saying that such cruel practices
e universal, but that they were too
eral, and specifying many particular
ances. His lordship then adverted to
inhuman and wicked practice of
ghing and hamstringing cattle, of cut-
the faces of sheep intended for future
ghter for the use of man, and of still
re barbarous practices, such as some
could substantiate: the cutting and
ring out the tongue of so noble an
mal as the horse. He stated an old
of Henry the eighth against this last
me, which inflicted a fine of that of-
ce of 10*l.* to shew the sense our an-
tors had of such inhumanity. Hitherto,
matter had been perhaps too much
sidered only as it related to animals
the private property of individuals;
he wished this bill to take a higher
und, so that the legislature should de-
re its opinion upon the morality of the
nciple, and on the duties that man
ed not only to man, but to the lower
rld; duties so much connected with
general state of the moral feelings.
stated a variety of circumstances in
our of the bill, and alluded to many
ormous cruelties practised on animals.
meant, however, to propose some
endments, to ensure the most favourable
eption of the bill from those who might entertain some objections as to its practicability. He had left to the commons the opportunity, which he did not doubt would be taken, of giving the alternative mode of punishment to the magistrate by a pecuniary fine, or a limited confinement. He intended to propose, that the magistrate should be armed with the power of summary decision, as it would be exceedingly inconvenient to oblige all prosecutions to go to quarter sessions. He begged, however that it might be remarked that there was no boon, no reward whatever to be held out to, or received by any informer. He also proposed an amendment by which he wished to introduce the words "to abuse," as applicable to the maltreatment of animals. Here he referred to old statutes, and seemed to think that this word, in addition to others in use, would best convey the meaning of the legislature. His lordship then adverted to some other amendments which he intended to submit, and contended against the supposed difficulty on the part of the magistrates, in deciding upon the guilt and punishment of such offences. It was the intention, coupled with the overt act, which constituted the criminality in a variety of other cases, and he saw no difficulty that was insuperable in the application of similar principles in this instance. He had limited himself in the first instance, to what he had termed "reclaimed animals:" he now wished to amend that expression by using the word "tamed" instead of reclaimed. He did not therefore, endeavour by legislative measures to interfere with wild animals, and kept out of the question field sports. He was so convinced of the great importance of an unanimous vote of their lordships on the subject, instead of carrying the question by a mere majority, that he was most desirous of hearing and of receiving any information or amendment upon the bill. With respect to bull-baiting, which had been alluded to, he could not see how those who were so desirous of continuing that practice should agree to going into the committee, and thereby acknowledging the principle of the bill. If bull-baiting was a fair sport—if it was, as he had heard it stated, for the amusement of that fine animal; and if no wanton and malicious cruelty occurred, then the magistrate would have no such crime to punish the parties for committing. If, on the contrary, it was attended

with such odious circumstances, the bill would give the magistrate that salutary power which he ought to possess.

The *Lord Chancellor* was not adverse to the principle of the bill, but thought it would be advisable to limit the object of its operation. The house would do well to proceed with measured steps in a business of this nature. He should therefore advise his noble and learned friend to confine the operation of the measure, in the first instance, to beasts of draft or burthen. If afterwards it should appear that the practical effect of the bill could be obtained on a more extended scale, then would be the time to propose the extension of it.

The Earl of *Liverpool* perfectly coincided in opinion with his noble and learned friend, as to the propriety of confining the bill to beasts of draught or burthen; the horse, the ass, the ox, and mule, or any other animal that might be employed to the same purposes. Any attempt to make the bill apply to every species of domestic or tame animal, might in many instances become ludicrous, and defeat the main object which the bill had in contemplation.

Lord *Ellenborough* could well recollect, that the measure now brought forward, was one which had engaged, to his knowledge, the attention of his noble and learned friend for these twenty years past, and which every man must allow, did infinite honour to his heart. He was anxious the bill should succeed, and he should therefore advise his noble and learned friend, to adopt the opinion of the noble and learned lord on the wool-sack, and to confine the measure, for the present, to beasts of draught or burthen. He should also beg leave to advise him, to new model his bill upon that suggestion, and in that hope to have it printed and re-committed.

Earl *Darnley* could not see the benefit to be derived from the bill. More cruelties would be committed on animals, upon the 1st of September next, than all those of which the bill professed to complain of, and correct.

Lord *Erskine* observed, that the species of animals, to which the noble lord who spoke last alluded, was different in every respect from that of which he solicited protection. As he was very anxious, that to some extent at least the bill might be allowed to operate, he should cheerfully adopt the suggestions of his noble and learned friend, and shape the meas with the limitations he had advised.

The bill was then ordered to be re-co mitted on Friday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 31.

[PETITION OF MR. BEAUMONT.] Francis Burdett presented the follow Petition from George Beaumont: viz.

To the honourable the Commons of Gr Britain and Ireland in parliament sembled.—The Petition of Geo Beaumont, late printer, publisher, a sole proprietor of a Sunday newspa called the British Guardian, but n a prisoner in his majesty's Gaol Newgate:—

"Sheweth; That your Petitioner in paper of the day of last, inser a letter under the signature of "Tiber Gracchus," condemning the disgrace Convention of Cintra, which "disappoi ed the well-founded hopes and the j expectations of the nation."—That y Petitioner therein attributed this disas to the same cause as the late Earl Ch ham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. P had attributed the war against the fr dom of America—to an interior cabi irresponsible to the people; to a pow behind the throne, greater than the thro itself.—That for treading in the footste and repeating the language of these ill trious persons, his majesty's Attorn General filed an information against y Petitioner for a libel, on which he w convicted, and sentenced to two years i prisonment in Newgate, to pay a fine *50l.*, to enter into recognizances for good behaviour, for five years after t expiration of his imprisonment, himself *300l.*, and two sureties in *200l.* each, a to be imprisoned until such fine be pa and such security be given.—That su sentence is contrary to the mild spirit the British constitution, as it will neces rily occasion his perpetual imprisonme —That soon after the information w filed, your Petitioner was arrested un and by virtue of the powers given to t Attorney-General, by an act passed in t last sessions, chapter 58, and was detain two months in prison before he receiv his sentence, a circumstance before known in the administration of our la and such previous imprisonment was taken into consideration by the learn s, in the sentence which they afters passed upon him. Yet, but a few before, when a public defaulter was ght up for punishment, only twentymonths imprisonment was inflicted m, a previous confinement of three hs being taken into consideration, o fine was imposed; for your Petir submits, that the having, previouscoming up for judgment, repaid the y which he had improperly obtained, ot in any sense be called a fine. on the same day, on which judgment passed on your Petitioner, a person cted of corrupt and wilful perjury, sentenced to an imprisonment of months only; yet your Petitioner, a undefined offence, is to undergo, and dergoing, an imprisonment of two and two months certain, and for the inder of his life, unless he can find ient securities.—That mankind in ral estimate crimes by the punishs affixed to them, and it therefore to ruin the morals of the people, to t a more severe punishment on a perwho has blamed the conduct of an nistration, than on those who have lated from the public stock, or forn themselves in courts of justice.— your Petitioner was not fairly tried, e forty-eight special jurymen were impartially and indifferently chosen een the crown and your Petitioner, were selected by the master of the n-Office.—All which your Petitioner its to the consideration of your hoable house, and prays that you will him individually such redress, and such measures generally to prevent ecurrence of similar evils, as to your om shall seem meet."

e Petition was ordered to lie on the .

EAMEN'S WAGES BILL.] The house g resolved into a committee upon ill,

Charles Pole objected to it, on ac- of the discontent excited amongst seamen, veterans in the service, by the ctions from their pay, first for their , and secondly for the allotments to wives and children; through which s it often happened, that at the end long voyage, for six or a dozen hs, a seaman had not more than 40*s.* ceive; and contrasting this with the of militia soldiers, whose wives and ren were provided for by their parishes, ought it a hardship, and one which was the frequent ground of complaint. At the very moment when such seamen were called on to set out for a subsequent voyage without a shilling in their pockets, they saw volunteers, inferior seamen, and even landmen, who had never served an hour, receiving large bounties for entering on board, and were often so piqued as to desert their ships.

Mr. *W. Pole* answered the objections of the hon. baronet, by saying the bill was adopted in compliance with the recommendation of the Committee of Naval Revision, and it was considered rather as an indulgence to seamen while fighting the battles of their country, with the admiration of all the world, to enable them to allot a part of their earnings for the maintenance of their wives and children, and save them the necessity of appealing to the parish. This bill extended the principle, and enabled them to allot part of their pay to their aged fathers, which, by law, they could not do before. The honourable admiral argued as if this allotment on the part of the seaman, were compulsory, whereas it was merely optional.

Sir *C. Pole* said, that this bill might be very favourable to the parishes, but he did not conceive it would be favourable to the navy. He should not, however, divide the house upon it.

The bill then went through a committee, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[VOTE OF CREDIT—ADDRESS RESPECTING AUSTRIA.] The Report of the Committee of Supply and of the Vote of Credit was brought up. On the question that the Resolutions be agreed to,

Mr. *Whitbread* rose. He felt himself under a difficulty as to the line of conduct he should adopt in this case. In one part of the vote he could agree, in the other he could not; and he saw no way of extricating himself but by a step which he had taken once before, and which he must now again resort to, if he found any person of the same opinion with himself, namely by proposing an Address to his majesty on the Message, which should be expressive of the opinion he entertained on the subject, and record it upon the Journals of the house. He agreed that it was right, that ministers should be vested with a power to assist Spain and Portugal, though he doubted much, from appearances, and from the exaggerated statements both of our commander and ministers, that the contest would terminate in the subjugation of the one country, and in the other being wrested out of our hands. He did not wish, however, that ministers should have no power to afford to those countries such assistance as they thought proper, and might be necessary; While there was life there was hope. The peninsula was engaged in a glorious cause, and after the share we had taken in it, he could not say that we ought, till the very last moment, to abandon men who were fighting for what was as dear as life itself—liberty and independence. He could not agree with a member of administration, in another place, that the cause was as hopeful as ever, but still he did not wish it to be abandoned without another effort. He understood a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Ponsonby) not now present, was to have said something on the present question as to Austria; and in the absence of that right hon. friend he felt himself called upon to state his own views upon the subject. If the struggle in which she was now engaged was not forced upon her by France, she seemed to have chosen an improper time for it. It appeared that it had been entered into without any concert or advice of this government; that every thing had been conducted on the part of his majesty's ministers, in the language of coldness; that they had even dissuaded her from the contest. But whether she had been compelled by necessity to adopt the measure, or had resorted to it from choice, the events which had taken place during the short period she had been engaged in war, plainly shewed that she had gone to war without making a good calculation of her own strength, or any correct estimate of that of the enemy she had to encounter. Flattering accounts were circulated of insurrections having taken place in favour of Austria, but every one knew that Buonaparté had marched from the Rhine to Vienna in a shorter time than he did when he subdued the country before, without experiencing any opposition from the people of Austria or of Vienna, who had been represented as glowing with the most ardent enthusiasm in the cause. Some faint resistance had been made by the archduke Maximilian with a small body of troops, by whom some even of the inhabitants of the city had been destroyed, but the people had taken no part in the struggle. In the same manner we had been pompously told of the enthusiasm of the people of Oporto; yet they, it appeared, had ceived the French troops as willingly they did the English army. We w now amused in a similar manner by counts from Austria, but in his opin no rational hopes could be grounded such information, and whatever might the motive which again induced Austri brave the power of France, he thou such an ill-advised step would end in subjugation and ruin. With respect the conduct which this country un such circumstances ought to pursue, trusted he should not be thought unge rous in his sentiments, or niggardly in posing of the country's resources, nor ye furthering the views of France, as in so of the public prints under the control of Treasury, he had been libellously rep sented, when he asserted that Austria co not successfully withstand the force France. [The allusion to the public pr produced a cry of order, order!] He insi that he was perfectly in order; and, if gentleman thought otherwise, he sho repeat his words, to afford an opportu for their being taken down for the purp of making him justify them. Notw standing the libellous misrepresentat of the prints under the control of Treasury, he would still assert as his u terable opinion, that, as from the ev which had already taken place, and f those which he thought would certa take place (God grant that he might mistaken), it was probable that Austria well as Spain and Portugal, would she be crushed beneath the power of Fra and we alone should have to wage with fearful odds against the enemy, resources ought to be most carefully banded, that we might be enabled to m the firmer stand. What, then, remai for us, but to enter into the struggle w the undivided and augmented powe France, single-handed? With the pr pect, then, of what might be the poss event, were we not called upon to hush our resources against the day of ne the more especially, as, by looking the Treaty recently concluded with power, it appeared that we were pledged to any specific advance to A tria; and considering that although aid of money would or could afford any effectual assistance, under her im diate difficulties; yet, that very adva would operate as a most severe pres upon us. Contemplating, therefore, enormous sums that had been alre

ed upon that power, whether under
ame of subsidy, or that more spe-
one of loan, he thought it his duty,
member of parliament, to make a
against granting any further subsidy
an to assist her. Conscious of his
ectitude, and regardless of what
be said of his conduct, he would say
s own part, that he would not con-
that a single shilling should be ex-
d to support the cause of the Aus-
empire. Austria, it was true, might
nsidered as having been always a
ul ally to England. In 1805, she
seduced by Russia and England to
her faith with France. The en-
ments of nations were generally re-
d only as far as they were connected
he interests of the powers who con-
d them, or the coalition between
, Austria, and England would not
been avowed openly as it was: a
ion entered into on the principle of
ining France within her ancient
, in violation of the faith of existing
es. England was to have paid for
iolation of good faith, and largely
he to have paid, had not the rapid
sses of Buonaparté rendered it im-
ble to fulfil the contract. Austria
completely subjugated through the
hery of some of her generals, as it
said, but certainly by the prepon-
ing power and genius of her adver-
The Prussian empire was next
urned by the armies of France; that
the battle of Friedland, which, fol-
by the Treaty of Tilsit, had united
a and France against England, and
probably against Austria. Where,
remained the hopes of success in the
nt contest, when already her capital,
ore, had been conquered? or could
really entertain any expectation of
able to restore Austria merely by
ng our purse-strings? After the
ity of movement of the last month,
we expect that the assistance which
hould be able to dole out, could do
ood, or could even protract the con-
He would not therefore consent to
se burdens on his constituents, which
as their sacrifices might be, could
xceed a scanty pittance, which at
could only serve to protract the
gle four or five days. He thought
endently of all those circumstances,
ould not agree to grant the sums re-
d, as they were moved for. It would
ablishing a most dangerous precedent to pay bills which Austria without any authority had drawn on this country. Were he for giving the sum required for her assistance, he would never consent to vote it in that form. Whether Austria or France was in the right, he would not take upon himself to say, though, for the sake of argument, he was ready to admit, that the good faith in this instance was all against France: yet he would assert that from the period of the Revolution down to the rupture with Spain, France had almost always been attacked, and never the attacker. Every one must know, that France, immediately after the Revolution, was attacked by the coalesced powers of Europe. Their plan was to drive France within her ancient limits, and curtail her territories. The war of the first coalition enabled her, however, to extend her territories; and was continued with the object of driving her again within her old limits. He did not say France was in the right. He had never said so. Yet he was not persuaded that Austria was not to blame. Her territory, even her capital had been restored to her; and he could not find himself prepared to say that she was correct in forgetting these, supposing them only to be, nominal obligations. That France might have had it in view, at some convenient season, to swallow up Austria, it was not in his power to deny, as ambition was a growing quality. He could not think, however, that the present was exactly the time he would choose for putting such a purpose into execution. It might be a moment convenient for Austria, but could hardly have been so selected by Buonaparté. Whatever the plans of Buonaparté might have been; however connected with the future fate of Austria, the present war could not be thought to be one of his seeking. The presumption therefore was, that Austria, from the circumstances of the French armies being employed in Spain, thought it a good opportunity to commence hostilities. Under all the circumstances of the case, and upon these grounds, he was decidedly against granting money to Austria, but he did not oppose the grant to Spain and Portugal. At a time when the people of England were every where talking of the injustice of Buonaparté towards Spain (which he did not defend), he was surprized at the national blindness to our own feelings and aggressions, recently manifested in the choice and approbation of our ambassador to that country. If there

were a man in the universe who in another part of the globe had acted as Buonaparté had done with respect to Spain, it was the marquis Wellesley. His conduct in the East Indies was perfectly similar to that of the French emperor. He knew many would scout these notions, and assert that what the marquis Wellesley did was from zeal for the public service. The people of Spain, if they knew any thing of the affairs of this country, must know what that noble lord had done in India; but, then, all he did there proceeded from an ardent zeal for the public service, while Buonaparté, in acting the same part, was said to have been urged on by the instigation of the devil. They were doubtless the same acts, however dictated by different motives. Be that, however, as it might, the nomination of his lordship was certainly a bad omen, as the people of Spain must know that the marquis Wellesley would, if the opportunity should offer, take both Spain and Portugal as Buonaparté had done, through his ardent zeal for the service of his country. He had not had the advantage of hearing the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Canning) nor his hon. friend (Mr. Ponsonby) prior to his rising, but he had an advantage which he could not have expected; for after having heard so much about gentlemen making speeches at the Crown and Anchor tavern, amidst shouts, huzzas, &c. which of course were excluded from the London Tavern, he did not expect to find a taverner among the gentlemen opposite in the right hon. secretary. He only knew of the circumstance from the papers;—perhaps there might be some mistake; it might be some other Mr. Canning; but it was somewhat remarkable, that on the day on which that favourite actor, Mr. Lewis, was announced by the play bills as intending to take his leave of the stage, the newspapers should contain so fair an account of the *debut* of so promising a performer at the London Tavern, when after three toasts had been drank with three times three, Mr. Canning arose, amidst loud cries of hear! hear! hear! to declare, what he believed no other minister had ever before done in such a place, the intentions of the government with respect to Austria, Spain, and Portugal, at the suggestion of the chairman, Mr. John Inglis, who had greater authority there than the Speaker had in that house. [Here the hon. gentleman produced a newspaper, to prove that Mr. Canning rose at the suggestion of the chair.] The Father of the Administration (the Lord Chancellor) had decli
that office—his feelings would not su
him to enter into the detail—but one
his sons, with stronger nerves, had ta
the task upon himself, and gone throug
to the admiration of the company. T
right hon. gent. had stated, he believ
more than had ever been stated in a tav
before. Persons out of office had b
censured for speaking of what passed
parliament on a table at a tavern, but
did not believe a right hon. secretary
ever been censured for developing the
tentions of government on a table at a
vern before. He did not know whe
the right hon. gent. stood on a table
which circumstance so much had on s
occasions been said); but whether he st
on a table or a chair, or on the floor,
not of much importance. A right hon.
cretary's expounding the mysteries of
government to the multitude assemble
a tavern dinner, was a sufficient novelt
attract a crowded house, whenever the
hibition might be expected to be repea
He could not refrain from remarking
of all misrepresentations, that was
basest which unreasonably elevated
public mind, by holding forth the ex
tation of happy results, which never c
be realized. A gallant officer, to wh
whether absent or present, he should
the sincerest tribute of respect, (Sir
Wellesley) had gone out to Portugal,
in the late accounts received from him
certainly made some exaggerations;
these were nothing when compared to
exaggerations contained in the letter
noble lord to the Lord Mayor, on the
ject of that communication. In fac
had been stated by that noble lord,
Marshal Soult was vanquished in t
successive battles. In his opinion, ou
my was only engaged with the rear g
of the enemy, and not with its main b
under Soult. He would wish to ask, v
force on our part, would be efficient to
sure ultimate success, if not mainly, an
principle, supported by the people to w
we were giving assistance? Within a
days, accounts had gone abroad of a
cond evacuation of Madrid; but
really believed no diminution of the Fre
force in Spain had taken place, on acc
of the French Emperor's attention b
called to Austria; on the contrary,
conceived their force in that country t
much more than equal to the resist
opposed to them.—The hon. gent.
marked on the dissensions of Spain a

ed with considerable danger to its
e, and particularly adverted to the ac-
ts lately received with respect to dis-
ng the Junta of Oviedo. Were we
ompelled he would ask to husband
esources for the last contest we might
ngaged in for the preservation of our-
s? Whatever heart-breaking there
t be in the case, upon these grounds,
lt it impossible to acquiesce in the vote
r as regarded Austria, at a time when it
t happen that we should have to con-
against the enemy, not in Spain or
many, but at home.—On the subject of
e he would say, that the ways of pro-
nce were inscrutable, and that in the
desperate cases were frequently per-
d the openings to safety. As long as
ved he should never despair of that
able object, which was the greatest
sing a country could receive, and
th on the first practicable opening
ld be eagerly embraced. He should
ose instead of the resolution, the fol-
ng address to his majesty—"That an
ble Address be presented to his ma-
, to return to his majesty the thanks
is house, for his majesty's most graci-
message, wherein his majesty has been
sed to inform his faithful commons,
the ancient relations between his ma-
and the emperor of Austria have
happily restored, and that his ma-
will be graciously pleased to direct
treaty, whereby such relations have
confirmed, to be laid before the house,
n the ratifications should have been
hanged. To assure his majesty that
house will lose no time in taking such
ty into its most serious consideration,
e earnest hope that it may be found,
the stipulations of such treaty have
concerted with wisdom, and that the
rests and existence of the Austrian
ire may not have been put to increased
ard, by the adoption of rash and preci-
te counsels.—To acquaint his majesty
this house sees with satisfaction, that
provisions of the treaty with the em-
or of Austria, do not include any sti-
ation for pecuniary assistance from this
ntry. That his faithful commons have
nt with surprise, that without any au-
ity given on the part of his majesty,
Austrian government has thought pro-
to draw upon his majesty's treasury,
certain sums of money, in aid of
warlike operations: that with what-
regret such refusal may be accompa-
l, his majesty's faithful commons do nevertheless feel themselves bound to refuse the payment of such bills, or to give countenance to such an unauthorised act on the part of a foreign power, which, being totally without precedent, might itself go to the establishment of a precedent of a most dangerous nature, and such as the house of commons, as guardians of the public purse, can in no way consent to sanction.—And further to acquaint his majesty, that upon a review of the enormous sums of money, which, under the direct title of subsidies, and under the most specious denomination of loans, have been advanced by this country to foreign powers, by far the largest part of which has been given to the house of Austria, and the result of such exertions, as manifested in the present state of Europe, his majesty's faithful commons do not feel themselves justified in consenting to the advance of any further sums of money for the emperor of Austria. The view taken by his majesty of other intended demands likely to be made upon the resources of the country, plainly shew that his majesty does not contemplate the propriety or possibility of making any such large advance as could be likely to give any great additional support to the internal resources of the Austrian empire; whilst at the same time every additional burden upon the subjects of these kingdoms must be severely felt, and ought not to be imposed, except where the national faith is pledged, the advantage to be derived probable, and the expectation of such advantage grounded upon wise and well matured calculation.—To assure his majesty, that so long as a hope can be entertained of a successful issue to the Spanish cause, and consistency and effect can be given to the exertions of the people of Portugal by pecuniary assistance from this country, his majesty's faithful commons will cheerfully grant to his majesty the means of furthering so great and glorious an object; but in making such sacrifice, on the part of the people, his majesty's faithful commons earnestly recommend it to his majesty, that the application of the money entrusted to his majesty's disposal, should be made with the greatest care and the most attentive discrimination; always recollecting, that the events of each succeeding day shew the necessity of strict economy in the management of the resources of the state, in order to be prepared for that last and most arduous struggle, to which, as it appears to

this house, these events are but too likely to lead."

Mr. *William Smith* said, that he was inclined to pay the utmost respect to every thing that fell from his hon. friend, not only on account of his talents, but on account of that industry with which he was known to attend to subjects of this nature; and he had no doubt, but that the country held in just estimation the motives by which the conduct of his hon. friend was, in every instance, influenced. It was, therefore, with the utmost pain that he differed from him upon any subject, still more, in the present instance. For his part, he did not see any great distinction between standing on a table at the Crown and Anchor, and standing on the floor at the London Tavern. He did not see any great distinction between meeting to celebrate the birth-day of Mr. Pitt, and meeting to celebrate that measure (Parliamentary Reform) most prominent in his politics, and one which perhaps those who supported him would be inclined to regard as the most distinguishing feature of his character. He (Mr. Smith) was one of those who firmly believed, that the war at the commencement of the French Revolution was a defensive war on her part; but it appeared to him that the aggressions of France, since that period, particularly in the instance of the attack upon Spain, which was accompanied with such enormous aggravations, entirely altered the complexion of the politics of Europe, and the nature and character of the war. He believed that France had a disposition to attack Austria. He was extremely ready to agree, that his hon. friend had brought forward strong arguments in favour of the side of the question which he espoused; at the same time, he considered them all reducible to one ground, namely, whether under any circumstances, any step should be taken for the preservation of Austria? He was averse to saying, that under any circumstances he would not agree that his majesty's ministers should afford any such protection and support. If the gentlemen who had some time ago conducted the affairs of government were still in power, he would be willing to confide in them; to the gentlemen now on the opposite side he was willing to give credit for integrity and honesty of intention; and therefore, under the present circumstances, he thought himself bound to give them his confidence, and entrust them with the means necessary to the object they had in view.—He thought there would be an convenience and mischief to Austria tending the sending back those bills, discharged, infinitely greater than any consequence that was likely to arise fr the precedent; and he was willing contribute his sanction to the payment them.—Before he sat down, he would t the liberty to advert to some other poi He had formerly made some observati upon Sicily, which had given some fence. It was done in compliance w his parliamentary duty. He thought i the utmost importance, that that coun should be capable of resistance, and much doubted whether it was placed that situation which was calculated to mit of successful resistance. There another topic upon which he would tou that of America. He could not suffici ly deprecate a practice which, he sorry to say, obtained some kind of sa tion from the conduct of this coun that of condemning, as Droits of Ad ralty, vessels that had the misfortune approach her shore, under the confide of an amicable disposition; but which war breaking out in the mean time, w detained as prizes. The hon. mem concluded his speech with expressin hope that his majesty's ministers wo hereafter give way to a more enlighte policy.

Mr. *C. Hutchinson* spoke in favour the vote of Credit, and thought a sup should be afforded to Austria, even though it enabled her to hold out but one week longer against the comn enemy. He condemned the tedious ill-concerted military operations of government, who contrived to send armies into the field always out of pl and time.

Mr. *Ponsonby*. The question before Sir, I take to be this; whether we s grant three millions of money in the sh of a Vote of Credit, and leave it to the cretion of his majesty's ministers to ap some part of it in support of the contes which Spain, Portugal, and Austria are gaged against France? This, altho much of other matter has been introdu into the discussion, is certainly the point we have particularly to cons upon the present occasion. That we sho enable his majesty's ministers to a Spain and Portugal with part of this ney, every body seems to allow, as be reasonable, politic, and proper; the doubt started is, as to how far we sho

whether we should go any length at
assisting Austria? My own opinion,
oon this point, certainly is, that mi-
s must be vested with a discretionary
I cannot say positively whether
wise or not to assist Austria with
y in our present circumstances. It
ossible for me, with the limited in-
tion I am possessed of, to give a po-
opinion at the present moment; but
ar I am disposed to state, that in my
n, any assistance we can afford to
ner in that way, will not be of any
tility to her. If, however, ministers
vance any of that money to Austria,
an shew, upon another and a future
on, that there was good reason to
ne advantage was likely to arise from
n although Austria should ultimately
nsuccessful, I shall not be then dis-
to blame them. As to the mode in
this money has been asked for by
ia, I must observe that I perfectly
with my hon. friend (Mr. Whit-
) in thinking it most extraordinary.
e same time I am bound to add, that
ajesty's ministers will be deeply re-
ible, if it should be found that any
encouragement had been held out by
to Austria, to induce her so confi-
y to rely upon our assistance, though
y perhaps be justified, when we con-
the nature and character of that power
st whom she is contending. When
e involved in the same struggle, I am
isposed to condemn ministers for not
sting those bills which Austria has
drawn upon this country, but my
opinion is, that Austria, in her present
ion, is irretrievably ruined. I thought
vould be reduced to that condition,
e she drew the sword, and now when
as drawn it, I find no reason to alter
opinion. I am much afraid it is not
in the power of this country to avert
calamity. If it could have been done
s our duty to have done it. As that
r has undoubtedly been our great
upon the continent of Europe, our ob-
should be to maintain her to the ut-
as the greatest continental power
etent to contend with France, and
tain a balance in Europe; but now it
late, when we find that France is de-
ined to seize the opportunity of a fa-
able moment to crush her, and render
ncapable of further resistance.—With
d to Portugal and Spain, the case is
otherwise. We have already so far
ged ourselves with those countries, and have acted with them so long; have given them so much encouragement, and are so bound by stipulation and alliance with themselves and their cause, that it is impossible to retract, or that any one can say that we ought not to leave the money at the discretion of ministers, to bestow upon those powers as it may be necessary, and they shall think fit. Upon such an occasion as the present, it would be, perhaps, most discreet, to abstain from offering any opinion as to what may happen, or as to what may be most for the interest of this country in the proceedings of government; but I cannot, Sir, consistently with my own feelings, and the duty I owe to the country, refrain from hazarding one by way of caution, as to their future conduct. My opinion is, that the contest of Spain and Portugal will wholly fail of the wished-for success, and that the power of France will become as completely predominant in these countries, as it is over any other part of Europe. What, then, does this country require on the part of ministers? It requires that they, as the government of the country, should, at a time when there is yet the means of doing it, take care to secure the insular and American possessions of Spain and Portugal, so as to place them out of the reach of France. When I say secure, I do not mean that this country should exercise any act of dominion over these possessions, or steal them as plunder arising from the wreck of the Spanish cause. No; but I say that this country should, by the employment of its counsels and advice, together with the application of all its strength and means, place South America, in particular, in that state, in which it shall not be possible for France to make Joseph Buonaparté in reality, as he is already by assumed title, king of the Indies. I hope we are not so entangled by any of our engagements, as to Ferdinand VII, (who, although the lawful monarch of Spain, is at present nothing more than a prisoner of Buonaparté,) as to be prevented from availing ourselves of doing that which necessity might teach us we ought to do; I mean, of supporting any disposition that may be evinced by the people of South America to set up a government of their own. If they choose to set up the government of Ferdinand the VIIth, be it so. This country should support them in following their own inclination, so far as is compatible with their interest and our security. But if we put off taking our steps till a distant day, when the power of

France becomes thoroughly established in Old Spain, she will find the means of drawing a part of South America along with it, under her dominion and controul.—I take the present opportunity of making this observation, as, before the next session of parliament commences, perhaps the time may actually be past, in which this country can take any steps at all upon the subject. Every one knows, that it is not in the power of gentlemen on this side of the house to have all that information that can enable us to form a correct opinion; but I only suggest, for the consideration of ministers, previous to that period, what I conceive to be for the real interests of the country.—There is also another subject upon which I wish to hazard an opinion by way of suggestion to his majesty's ministers. If France succeed in Spain and Portugal, what will be the situation of those countries? All those individuals who have resisted the power of France, must expect from her that treatment which she has never failed to deal out towards those in other countries that have resisted her. Whatever promises may be made to them in the moment of difficulty, France will never look upon them but with a jealous eye; and will govern them with an overbearing hand, and it is therefore the interest of these individuals to unite with us in effecting whatever object may tend to the permanent interest of England; for in doing so, they effect their own safety. If, therefore, we must quit those countries entirely, we should render their resources of as little avail as possible to the naval power of France. When that crisis occurs, we should have it concerted with the inhabitants of those countries, that they should agree with us to destroy their maritime power and ports as effectually as possible. France should be disabled from fitting out fleets from the ports of Lisbon, Cadiz, and Carthagena, against this country. If the inhabitants should lose, or yield those fleets and naval arsenals, they ought to know that they are yielding them to the enemy of their ally; and that if they are sincerely our friends, they ought to surrender them to those who will and can manage them for their advantage. I desire not that this country should by this procedure and advice act the part of a pirate or of a treacherous ally: nor that we should forcibly destroy those ports I have mentioned. I mean no such thing. But I do mean, that the government should be upon its guard to use all possible means, in a proper season, to induce those, w now resist the power of France, to prese the evil consequences that might sub quently result from their subjugation, rendering their naval force of as little vantage to the enemy as possible, and enter into all our views; for it is manif to every body, that the first thing that a statesman at the head of the councils this country ought to look to is, to crease, as much as possible, the mariti power of England, and to destroy or di nish that of France. We must look u ourselves as wholly independent of continent of Europe, cultivating the co merce of all other countries in the wo and by our maritime force directing efforts to exclude France from that enj ment.—I have thus, from a strong se of duty, taken this opportunity of excit the attention of ministers, between this riod and next session, to what appear me to be the only means of ultimate saf for this country by securing what it sesses; and increasing its power in same proportion as that of France, as only means of enabling this country close successfully the contest in which are engaged.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that wh ever shades of difference there might h been in the speeches of the hon. gen men, yet the general result of them was so much in favour of the proposed solution, that he might agree with t general matter, and be dispensed f making any further observations. should incline to act thus, were it not he stood liable to be challenged by right hon. gent. who last spoke as having attended to his call, though many other occasions it might be said had attended to calls of a more irreg tendency. There was but one part of right hon. gent.'s speech which in de he should consider it necessary to opp for in fact an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Smith) had, in what he said, dismissed other points which the right hon. g had stated. The sum which on this oc sion was voted was the same which usual in war time, and upon the like o sions to grant. There could be no g jealousy in the house with respect to sum or the method of its application. specific mention of Austria in his majes Message had not been, in fact conside as by any means necessary. If it had been for the peculiar exigencies of country, she would not have proce

aw for pecuniary advances in the
er she had done. There were three
lds stated for this vote of credit, any
wen of which he should have thought
ent to induce the acquiescence of
ouse, and to insure the accustomed
dence in the discretion of his ma-
s government, that the sum would be
erly applied to any exigency that
t arise. With regard to the sums for
n the Austrian government had thought
er, without any authority, to draw upon
ountry, he could assure the house,
ugh it was determined to pay them,
such measures had been taken by re-
ttrance and other means, as were cal-
ed to guard against such a case being
n into precedent. In the remon-
ce, however, which had been made
ustria upon this occasion, care was
that nothing should occur, which
have the complexion of harshness,
he nature of the exigency and the
ult circumstances of the communica-
with this country must, independently
her considerations, forbad the slightest
t to any thing of that description.
the manner in which something that
bed from him on a former occasion
been interpreted by the gentlemen on
other side, he thought it necessary to
at, that ministers left it entirely to
ria herself to consider the capacity of
wn resources to engage in the present
est, and to determine the question
her the situation in which he was
ed with relation to the enemy, was to-
le, or whether it was preferable to
a struggle for her liberation. Such,
ed, was the conduct of this country
every other state. Austria was ad-
l to examine her own internal strength,
mpare it with the resources of the ene-
with which she had to contend, and not
ok to any auxiliary support this country
capable of affording, to enable her to
out of such a war with safety. His
sty's government, therefore, although
l not discourage Austria from making
fort which she deemed necessary to her
honour and safety, could not be said
fer any counsels that could commit it-
in the undertaking. But when Aus-
had embarked in the contest, it was
ght wise by our government to furnish
y assistance in its power. It was not
Austria, engaged in the war exclusive-
o the aid of England, acting as a
luctor to withdraw from its shores the
ence of the dreaded lightning, but it was under the impression, that as she had entered into, so she should either come whole out of the contest, or expect that her ruin would be the consequence.—Austria sought self-preservation. She determined rather to attack the enemy beyond her frontiers, than by waiting his approach, to afford facilities for her destruction. Under the impression made by this situation of Austria it was, that every hon. gent. save one, had made an allowance for the manner in which she acted, respecting the advances demanded from this country. The hon. gent. had not perhaps, in so decided a manner as on a former occasion, expressed his opinions on the question of justice on the side of Austria; though not content with other presumptions in favour of France, he had collected from the early periods of the revolutionary war materials to show that all Europe had not acted with any other view than the partition of unoffending France. The hon. gent. here rested only on exploded documents, which were known to be forgeries, representing the princes of Europe in the light of partitioners, and which documents were current at that period when all Europe was inundated by representations against the crowned heads and old establishments of the continent. On this occasion there was the precedent of the oppressed rising against the oppressor. The hon. gent. had said much of Austria not turning round till she saw France engaged in another quarter. Was it to be expected that Austria should patiently and unresistingly wait till France had thought proper to swallow her up? He could not persuade himself to acquiesce in the gloomy forebodings of the hon. gent.; because though Austria might ultimately fall, it would be setting an example of hopelessness and submission even then to despair. He would say, that the powers which now assisted the enemy in his exertions would perhaps, ere the last act was accomplished, regret that they had ever united their means with his. If it should prove, that even after the capture of its capital, the heart of Austria had yet remained entire, then was her situation much superior to what it was at any former period. If the example of the contest in Spain, in which alone the arms of France had been as yet opposed with effect, should be imitated in Austria, he saw no reason to justify despondency as to the Austrian cause. With respect to Spain and Portugal, all were of one

opinion as to the propriety and policy of the assistance to be rendered to them. He could not, however, but observe, that the speech of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) would place ministers in a situation of considerable difficulty. The last session a warning came from the other side of the house on this subject, to the effect that ministers should abstain from any thing which would look like the exclusive consideration of British interests. They now were bequeathing a legacy of caution rather to provide for a reverse than for success, and thus encouraged in this instance what they on a former occasion disavowed. The advice of the right hon. gent. might in fact, if followed, furnish him with a certain ground of attack against ministers. Between these two contradictory courses, ministers were placed in such a situation, that he had no doubt that which ever should be pursued, the party to which the right hon. gent. belonged would contrive to find materials for censure. Thus the right hon. gent. would in either point of the dilemma have the best of the argument over ministers. With respect to the observations that had fallen from an hon. gent., in relation to the maritime rights exercised by Great Britain in the detention of neutral vessels: he besought those philosophers and theorists, who were so fond of recommending their abstract notions of justice to the adoption of ministers, particularly respecting our maritime ascendancy, which might, and no doubt was sometimes abused, to consider the character of the enemy whom we had to encounter, and to reflect whether we ought to disarm ourselves of any retaliation upon him, by whom no principle of justice whatever was held sacred. When it was considered that in all the countries of Europe British property had been confiscated; when it was considered that contrary to the mitigated practice of the law of nations in modern times, if not contrary to the recorded law, the persons of unoffending travellers had been seized not only in France but in every country under the direction of France, it must be manifest that if there was any thing in the maritime practice of this country which ought to be modified, it should be so modified, not by an act of the parliament, but by a mutual arrangement with the other powers of Europe. It would be most unwise to seize a moment of unexampled violence as the fittest for disarming ourselves of a practice so long adhered to, and which had wove
itself into the principles of our maritin
warfare. As to the connections betwee
this country and the island of Sicily, h
had formerly made some observatio
to the house relative to the right which
was asserted Great Britain had acquire
by defending Sicily to interfere in th
melioration of her internal affairs. H
differed widely from the hon. gent. o
posite in thinking, that a period wh
a British garrison was in a country w
the period when recommendations of th
nature alluded to ought to be mad
The blessings enjoyed under the Briti
constitution were the effect of gradual, n
of sudden improvement. It was not b
cause we carried in our bosoms the imag
of that constitution, that we should e
pect to see it reflected in every oth
country. It was to be hoped that an
nation whose intercourse and union wi
Great Britain were intimate, would gr
dually imbibe the feelings of Great Br
tain; but it could not be expected th
16,000 bayonetted philosophers wou
suddenly produce the effect which
Great Britain had been the result of th
Revolutions, and the accumulated wisdo
of ages.—After adverting to the allusio
made to the speech imputed to him at
late Meeting, at the London Tavern,
the formation of which he declared h
gave no assistance whatever, the rig
hon. gent. begged it to be understoo
that he never expressed any disapprob
tion of the discussion of politics at su
meetings, his observations always a
plying to the nature and character of su
discussions. He did not object to th
practice but to the matter. Before h
sat down, he could not avoid saying
few words on what had fallen from th
hon. gent. respecting the appointme
of a British minister to Spain. The ho
gent. had said, that this country had give
the worst proof of its intentions towar
Spain by the choice that had been made
and he had grounded this assertion o
the presumption that the charges whic
had been made against that noble lord
conduct in India were well founde
But whatever might be the hon. gent.
opinion of the noble lord's conduct, h
had no right to presume that the hou
or that his majesty's ministers would b
influenced by that opinion. For his par
he believed there could scarcely be fou
another individual to deny that marqu
Wellesley possessed all those great an

adid endowments which must qualify man to act a distinguished part on political theatre ; nor did he believe there would be found in the empire ner individual to assert that any thing passed in that house, by which the try ought to be induced to forego the ntage of lord Wellesley's talents.

r. *Ponsonby* in explanation said, that, session, he refused to give any opi- or advice, as to what conduct ought e pursued towards Spain and Portu- he then declined, because he was in ect ignorance of the actual situation fairs, nothing having transpired. He not so at the present time ; he there- gave his advice, and his decided opi- was, that if far other measures were taken by his majesty's ministers, ce would ultimately subdue the pe- ula.

rd *H. Petty* said, he was surprized on a former night so much stress ld have been laid on speeches at pub- inners, when one of the ministers of rown, had, at a tavern, made a decla- n as to foreign politics, and excused self in that house, by saying, it was first time he was led into the indiscre- He hoped the right hon. Secretary Canning) would reap the same bene- om his first night's experience, as a l person, who was eternally exclaim- against gambling, and who stated that was so inveterate against that vicious tice, because he had once attempted nd lost the chief part of his fortune, which time he never gambled. He ed, therefore, the right hon. Secre- had exhibited for the first and last With respect to Austria, he consi- d it a matter of great importance, how laid down a precedent, which might parliament in a situation in which it ld be obliged to grant succour against will. He was inclined to take the l of the right hon. gent., that no im- er inducement was held forth to Aus- to incline her to go to war. Infor- on, however, should be laid before the e, or submitted to the inspection of a mittee on the subject. With respect e assistance which it might be deem- xpedient to afford Austria, for the fur- prosecution of the war, it was quite her matter. He felt that she was left ther alternative than war or subjuga- ; she found herself in the last gasp of existence, and it became her to make st struggle ; but this country was bound to consider of what use the degree of assistance which she was able to contribute, was likely to be ; whether the very small and limited supply in her power to bestow, was likely to enable that country to resist the power of France? and whether what would be much for England to give, might not be little for Austria to receive?—From this view of the subject, he saw the strong necessity for economising our resources; it was not economising merely for ourselves, but for Europe and the world at large. The period might arrive when the restoration of a new order of things would depend upon England alone ; in the prospect of which she ought to be studious of economy.—With regard to the dilemma in which they were placed respecting Spain, if his majesty's ministers took the wrong side it would not be extraordinary ; if the right, they still might not be exempted from reproaches—(Hear ! hear ! from the Ministerial side.) "I mean, said his lordship, if they choose the right side, and determine to give assistance to Spain, they may yet make such an application of the force—they may so divide, scatter and delay it, as to expose themselves to the just reproaches of the country" (Hear ! hear ! from the opposition.) He agreed in the principle which the right hon. gent. had laid down (though it was a new one for that gentleman to adopt) that they should suffer any thing rather than compromise the honour of the country. The warning of his right hon. friend was a good one ; they should not lightly hazard an expenditure of money and of blood ; but reserve them for that great effort which they might be called upon to make, and he hoped would succeed in making, at no distant period.*

Mr. *Whitbread* then moved the Address, which was negatived without a division, and the Resolutions of the Committee were agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Thursday, June 1.

[King's Message respecting the Clergy.] Upon the order of the day, for taking into consideration the Message from his majesty, relative to the Clergy.

The Earl of *Liverpool*, before moving an Address, in answer to his majesty's most gracious Message, observed, that it was intended to extend the bounty of parliament to small livings, under 150*l.* per annum.

From the returns made of all the livings in the several dioceses of the kingdom, excepting four, of which the return was not yet made, there were in all about 11,700; out of these, 3,291 were livings under 150*l.* per annum; upwards of 800 did not exceed 50*l.* a year; and of those which were above 50*l.* and not exceeding 100*l.* per annum, there were upwards of 2,000; but it was not altogether unsatisfactory, there was so large a proportion of greater livings, and that the proportion of those under 150*l.* was no greater than about a third. It was highly incumbent on the legislature to do all in their power to better the situation of a class of men, who, of all others, were most serviceable to their country. For this purpose, it had been thought proper by his majesty's government, that, agreeably to the system of an act of parliament, which created what was called Queen Ann's Bounty, application should be made this year to the other house of parliament, for a grant of 100,000*l.* which might in the same manner be appropriated to the increase of these small livings. In the mean time, he wished it to be understood that this was only a temporary measure for their relief; it preceded a system which, he trusted, in the next session of parliament, would be provided, for a more speedy and effectual increase of all these small livings. He thought, at present, there was not much necessity for saying more on the subject, and concluded by moving an humble Address, in answer to his majesty's Message, assuring his majesty of their readiness to concur in every measure which could promote so desirable an object as that recommended in the Message.

Viscount *Sidmouth* said, he could assure the house it was not with any wish to throw any objection in the way of extending the bounty of parliament to a class of individuals so deserving, that he rose to express his sentiments on the motion proposed for their lordships consideration. No man was more anxious than himself that the liberality of parliament should be extended to those small livings under 150*l.* per annum; but he was apprehensive they were now called upon to agree to a measure without sufficient explanation, and which was to be left to the other house of parliament; from those votes, he was led to conclude, the grant would come before their lordships at the end of the session, in the Appropriation Act.

The Earl of *Liverpool* shortly explained: the purport of this measure was o
for the present year, and the grant wo
be disposed of on the principle of Qu
Ann's Bounty.

Viscount *Sidmouth* continued to be
opinion, that the manner adopted wo
leave their lordships an opportunity of o
an imperfect discussion, as in the pre
instance on the message itself. He c
pared it to Mr. Palmer's Claim; and t
lordships should now, as they did t
entertain a jealous sense of any infrin
ment upon their privileges.

Lord *Harrowby* entered into the me
of the measure under discussion. He c
ceived the privileges of the house wo
not, in the smallest degree, be affected
the present proceeding; he shewed
the grant on Mr. Palmer's Claim wo
not resemble the present; the former
unprecedented, whereas the latter had b
recognised by the legislature in a for
act of parliament. He compared the d
culty of increasing small livings, in
reign of Queen Ann, with that of the
sent times; there was on this acco
much room to be gratified. At that ti
it was calculated it would take 203 year
increase small livings to fifty pound
year, and 510 more to increase them to
hundred. This consideration proba
led to the tardiness which ensued,
started difficulties in the way of their
crease, accounted insurmountable.
in the present times, on a moderate ca
lation, thirty-nine or forty years wo
produce what it was before calcul
would require 203 years, and the o
period of 510 years would be equally
duced in proportion. His lordship c
tended strenuously for the importance
the policy of attending to the interest
comfort of those clergymen who posse
small incomes.

The Duke of *Norfolk* coincided with
sentiments of the noble viscount. He
sorry the session of parliament did
commence in November, and thereby
ford more time for the discussion of im
tant business, and prevent their attenda
during the hot months, and during
season of the year when many of t
lordships were called upon to attend t
respective duties in the country.
contrary practice, in his opinion, prev
ed, on the present occasion, that necess
discussion which ought to precede such
important measure as that under co
deration.

The Address was unanimously agree

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 1.

ORD BURGHERSH.] Colonel *Shipley*
agreeably to the notice he had given
ue subject of the papers, relative to
Burghersh's commission as a lieut.-
nel in the army. From circumstances
h had occurred, he was happy to
, that it was not necessary for him to
eed in this business. He must, how-
be allowed to say that, in bringing
appointment in question under the
deration of that house, he had not
actuated by any personal motive, or
ny feeling of hostility to the noble
who was the object of it. The noble lord
done nothing wrong. It could be no-
but a praise-worthy motive which
d induce him to court preferment in
rmy, which, while it was an honour-
was also a laborious and hazardous
ession. As for himself, he was solely
ated by a regard for the public ser-
He felt regret that the noble lord
been deprived of that rank to which
ad so lately been promoted. He
d that the circumstance would not de-
the country of the services of so
nt and meritorious an officer, as he
given to understand the noble lord
proved himself to be. He must,
ever, be allowed to congratulate the
try on the result of the present busi-
as it proved that due regard would al-
s be paid to the opinion of parliament
of the country. He congratulated the
ce on the victory which had thus been
ed over ministers; and by which an
rance was held out to them, that no
ation would be suffered to exist in the
lations of the army, when any such
ation was fairly and fully made the
ect of investigation. Having said
much, and again declaring himself to
been entirely free from every private
arty motive, he begged leave to with-
his motion.—Leave was given ac-
ingly.

UDGES' SALARIES.] The Chancellor
he Exchequer rose to move the order
he day, for the house resolving itself
a committee upon the proposed Aug-
tation of the Salaries of the Judges.

r. *H. Martin* declared his anxiety to
n whether it was proposed to defray
amount of the proposed increase out
he reduction of the Sinecure offices
nected with our judiciary establish-
ts; a measure strongly recommended by the most able reports of committees of that house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not think that the present question should depend upon the nature or quantum of these proposed reductions. He considered the merits of the increase stood upon intrinsic grounds, and that the other was an after consideration. He then moved, that the Speaker do leave the chair for the purpose of going into a Committee.

Mr. *H. Martin* expressed his anxiety to guard against any misconception or misrepresentation of his opinions. He was distinctly a friend to the principle of the measure, upon the ground that to the great and valuable services of the judicial administration such an increase was highly necessary. But whilst he did justice to the judge, he also thought that it should not be withheld from the people. Fourteen years ago, after very laborious investigations, a Committee of that house had recommended the cessation of Sinecure offices, connected with the courts of law, to the amount of 27,879*l.* With such information before the house and the country, he asked whether the public were called upon to pay additional and deserved salaries to the Judges, that was not the proper moment to ask the minister who proposed it, whether it was his intention to meet such an additional augmentation from the fund, which must arise from the recommended reduction of useless offices in the courts of law? The answer to the question he was solicitous to obtain, as it would determine his support to the particular motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* forbore to pledge himself to any conclusive course of conduct, relative to the reduction of those offices. The present measure stood, he contended, upon wholly independent grounds, without any reference whatsoever to the subordinate offices connected with such situations.

Lord *H. Petty* also considered the present proposition wholly distinct from any reference to its collateral consequences. It was merely, whether in the present state of the public circumstances, the country was not called upon to render the elevated situation of a judge more commensurate with the labour he performed, and the dignity he was bound to support.

The Speaker then left the chair, and the house went into a Committee.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after various preliminary observations, stated the object of his intended resolution, namely, to vote from the consolidated fund, such a sum as would afford 1,000*l.* a year additional, both to the chief barons and justices, and to the puisne judges of the courts of law in England. In pressing such a measure upon the house, he was aware that it would feel the necessity of enabling the elevated individuals in the administration of justice in this kingdom, to support that decent and due dignity; at the same time that such a course should not trench upon their property as individuals, or upon the future interests of their family. With respect to the other judiciary establishments of the united kingdom, he had to propose an increase at present only for the judges of Wales; taking the same standard as he did in the former instance, merely to make the real income equal to the nominal, he proposed an increase for the Welsh judges to the amount of 300*l.* a year.—With respect to Scotland and Ireland he was obliged to postpone any measure upon the subject. The house was aware that within a very short period a considerable alteration had taken place in the constitution of the court of session in Scotland. Until that alteration was fully completed, and its effects visible, the delay of such consideration could not, in his opinion, be deemed improper. And as to Ireland, although he had received a letter from the Lord Chancellor of that country, stating the equally strong claims of the Irish Judges to an augmentation of their salary, yet he was not, without further information on the subject, at present inclined to vote any similar proposition relative to that part of the empire. He wished at the same time to be understood, as giving no improper partiality, but as anxious that each measure should be brought forward upon the due occasion. He then moved, That there be voted a sum of 40,000*l.* out of the consolidated fund for that purpose.

Lord *H. Petty* supported this measure, so necessary to the proper establishment of dignified and exalted characters, who had always refrained from interference in politics. He trusted that it would be a spontaneous measure with every party in the house. Under all governments, the purity of the judicial establishment was never called in question, so that from the past, we might anticipate security on that head for the future.

Mr. *C. Wynn,* from the extended nature
of the Welsh circuits, did not think the a
mentation proposed to the Welsh Judge
sufficient one. He proposed, theref
by way of amendment, that the augm
tation should be 500*l.* per ann. instea
300*l.* He knew many respectable p
sons, who, on being applied to, in or
that they should fill those places, declin
on the ground of the great expences.

Mr. *Bankes* supported the amendm
and wished that the Welsh Judges sho
be excluded from parliament, on the c
stitutional principle that it was not ri
that those who were concerned in the e
tion should have any share in the legi
tive part.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said,
proposition of the hon. gent. deser
more consideration before it should
adopted, as it would tend perhaps to o
turn the present judicature of Wa
He could not agree with another hon. g
that the Welsh Judges acted in a p
petual judicial character as the Judge
England did.

Mr. *Adam* defended the propositio
further augmentation to the Welsh Jud
and hoped that those of Scotland, on
count of their labour, would be sho
placed in situations relative to those of
English Judges.

The Amendment of Mr. Wynn
further supported by Mr. Bathurst,
Horner, lord Milton, and Mr. W. Smi

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* did not approv
the Welsh Judges being admitted as me
bers of parliament.

Mr. *Whitbread* did not oppose the a
mentation of the salaries, but asserted
expediency, at the present moment, of
recting that public justice should be c
ried into distant parts of the island tw
instead of once a year. He thought, a
that a Welsh judge ought no longer to
allowed to sit in the house of commons
to hold an office under the crown.
supported the opinion of his hon. fri
(Mr. Martin), that the sinecure place
the courts of justice should go to m
the increase proposed in the salaries of
judges. If these offices were not abolis
at the present moment, at least a ple
ought to be given, that at some given
riod the sentiments of the commit
which had laid a Report on the ta
on the subject, would be taken into
consideration.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did
think that the time of the judges wo
allow them to go the northern circ

: in the year; but this might be a ect of after consideration. As to the osition of excluding the Welsh judges t the house of commons; if such a retion were at present adopted, it would ar to be pointed at an individual who always been most zealous in the disge of his public duties. Nor was this erly the subject before the house.

r. *G. Vansittart* thought, that this was time for declaring that the place of x of Assize should not be sold in future.

r. *Ponsonby* was of opinion, that in ting an augmented salary to the ges, the house ought not to mix any r question with that before them.

r. *Wilberforce* stated, that many comits had reached him of the inconvece sustained in the north, on account here not being two assizes in the year.

fter a few words from lord Milton, Mr. Wynn, and the Attorney General, the inal resolution, and also a resolution granting to the Welsh judges an addial salary of 400*l.* per annum, were eed to.—The house having been reed, the Report was ordered to be reed to-morrow.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] On the ion of Mr. Curwen, the house resolved lf into a committee on the Seats in Parment Bill, Mr. Wharton in the Chair,

he Right Honourable the Speaker rose, addressed the Committee as follows:

Mr. Wharton;—Before you proceed to the Question of Reading this Bill a t time, I wish to offer myself to your ice:

And although I am at all times unling to request the attention of the mmittee of this House, thinking that I uld render them no service by mixing their general Debates, and feeling also inconvenience of being precluded erwards by my other duties in this use from explaining or defending my inions in any subsequent stage of dission; nevertheless there are some subcts of a paramount importance, upon ich I do conceive that I have a peral duty imposed upon me (and perhaps House may think in some degree an icial duty) to deliver the sentiments ich I entertain:—And such is the prent.

The Question now before us, is no less an this—Whether the Seats in this House all be henceforth publicly saleable?—A roposition, at the sound of which, our Ancestors would have startled with indignation; but a practice, which in these days and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of Parliament, has been avowed and justified.

We are now, however, come to a pass from which we have no retreat. Upon this Question we must decide, Aye or No. To do nothing is to do every thing. If we forbear to reprobate this traffic, we give it legality and sanction. And unless we now proceed to brand and stigmatize it by a prohibitory Law, I am firmly persuaded that even before the short remnant of this Session is concluded, we shall see that Seats in this House are advertised for sale by Public Auction: And we shall have brought a greater scandal upon Parliament and the Nation, than this country has ever known since Parliaments have had an existence.

According to the course which these Debates have taken, three distinct points have been put in issue: First, Whether the traffic be a Political Evil; in the next place, Whether it be any Parliamentary Offence; and lastly, whether there is any safe and practicable Remedy by which this mischief can be put down for the time to come.

Sir; Into the first point, Whether this be a Political Evil, I do not mean to enter at any length; nor is it necessary to my purpose.

That the Influence of Property in maintaining Civil Order is of the highest importance, no man living can doubt: it is the firmest cement to all the relations of social life, it gives Stability to the State, and Prosperity to the Empire. That the Possessions of Property may, and must, and ought to have a predominating Influence in the Election of Members to serve in this house, I think is equally clear. But, that, abandoning all their legitimate rights of Influence, and laying aside all the virtuous and generous Motives of Friendship, Affection, and the fair preference of Talents and Integrity to fill places of such high Public Trust, they should go to a shameless and open market; that they should sell the Attachment of their Friends, Neighbours, and Dependants, for dry and sordid gain; and sell it to utter Strangers, of whose Qualities they can have no other Estimate than the Weight of their Purses; this does indeed appear to me to be a great Political Evil, and a great Public Grievance. It degrades and debases the habits of the higher ranks of life, who confess their own sense of the nature of these transactions, by the concealment with which they seek to cover them: It taints also and contaminates the general Character of Parliament: and it furnishes the most formidable weapons to those who are professing, and I am willing to believe sincerely professing, to *reform*, but as I fear, are, in truth and in fact, by the tendency of their endeavours, labouring to *subvert* the entire System of our Parliamentary Representation.

With respect, Sir, to the next Question, whether these practices are any Parliamentary Offence. That it is a high Parliamentary Offence, every page of our History, Statutes, and Journals appears to me to bear evidence.

It is essential to the very idea of Elections that they should be free. *(a)* Such is the antient language of the Statute of Westminster in the reign of Edward the First, speaking of Elections in general *(b)*: such also is the modern language of the Bill of Rights, with reference specifically to the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; *(c)* and we have a memorable instance in the year immediately following the Revolution of the sense in which this fundamental principle was understood, in the case of the Cinque Ports; for by a Statute in the Second of William and Mary, it is not enacted only, but declared, that for the Lord Warden to nominate or recommend any Member to serve in any Port or Place within his jurisdiction, was a violation of the Freedom of Parliaments, and contrary to the Antient Laws and Constitution of the Realm. *(d)*

In the description of these Offences, which constitute a Violation of our Privileges, there is nothing technically narrow, but the Rule is to be tried by its substantial Effects. Force, Fraud, Corrupt practices and undue influence of any sort, by which the freedom of Elections is controlled, have been reprobated in all ages.

These Offences, if pursued as matter of personal delinquency, were antiently triable before the Committee of Privileges; if they touched the Seat, they were cognizable in the Committee of Elections. At a later period, [Anno 1592] when these Committees were united, all such offences were of course tried indiscriminately before th joint jurisdiction. And so things continu until happily the functions of the Co mittee of Elections were transferred the Grenville Act to a better Tribun But the general conservation and v dication of our Rights and Privileg except so far as divested by spec Statute, still resides, as we all know, the House at large, and its Committee Privileges.

Whoever therefore looks into the p ceedings of all these several jurisdictio according to their different periods, w find abundant traces of the inquiries whi have been instituted, and the censures whi have followed upon offences of all th descriptions. And from the period of t Revolution, we may see them exemplified the prosecutions conducted by sir Edwa Seymour against the Directors of the N East India Company in the reign of Ki William; in the Reports of the Sec Committee upon the last ten years of Robert Walpole's administration duri the last reign; in the charge broug against Lord North upon the Milbo Port Election, and the general charac of these Offences is evidenced by all t language of similar proceedings, in o own time.

But, Sir, beyond this:—Practices of t description are not only offences by t Law of Parliament, they have been lo since adjudged to be criminal by the Co mon Law of the Realm.

The Bribery of Votes was adjudged the Court of King's Bench, in the ea part of the present Reign, to have be a Common Law Offence, *(e)* even thou no precedents could be adduced to sh it, and to have been punishable as su long before its encreased prevalence ma Parliament deem it necessary to restrain by special Statutes*(f)*. And in like ma ner any previous agreement or compact control the Votes of Electors (even though the Electors are not themselv bribed) has been adjudged to be illeg upon general grounds of policy and jur prudence.——Such was the Case whi arose in the Burgh of Stirling in the ye 1773, *(g)* where some of the Town Co cil had entered into a corrupt Agreeme to divide the Profits of the Burgh, a

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(a) 2 Doug. p. 402.

(b) 3 Edw. I. c. 5.

(c) 1 W. & M. Sess. 2. c. 2.

(d) 2 W. & M. Sess. 1. c. 7.

(e) K. v. Pitt & Mead, Burr. Blackston

(f) 7 W. III. 2 Guest.

(g) 2 Doug. p. 412. Wright's Law Elections.

they were also pleased to call the mentary Profits, and to bring no per- to the Magistracy but such as should with them upon all Parliamentary ons; under this Agreement, Elec- were had and passed unanimously. hen this Agreement was discovered uestioned, although it was manifest e other Electors were neither party ivy to the Agreement, nor had pro- hereby, the Court of Session not only ed the Agreement itself to be ille- nwarrantable, and *contra bonos mores*, so that by reason of the undue influ- nder which such Elections were had, ose Elections were void and null. Judgment afterwards came by Ap- o the House of Lords, and was there, vember 1775, affirmed.—At a later nother question of this sort came be- n Election Committee under the ille Act, from the county of Ber- in 1781. *(h)* The Petition there that two of the Candidates had by elves, and friends, combined to con- e Election, by chusing first one of two Candidates, who should sit for a n number of years or sessions, and hat the other should be elected to ed him. The Election Committee whom that Case was tried and l, reported the Agreement to be cor- nd illegal, and voided the Election. at, therefore, it remains for us to do n. And as our Ancestors, when they the censures of Parliament, and the ons of the Common Law, were in- ent to restrain the growing practice bery to Voters, proceeded to super- e cumulative penalties of the Statute so also it is for us, who have before h flagrant proofs that the traffic in has broken through the existing s, to put it down by a new Prohibi- aw.

d now, Sir, we are brought to the consideration—whether we can by fe and practicable Remedy suppress ischief: And of this I have no doubt, h sincerity and diligence we apply ves to the task.

cording to my views of this subject, ommittee will perceive, that I must ally desire in the first place that our should be in itself declaratory; lest ould impair the principle which we deavouring to strengthen. The de- n or description of the offence should also be marked with such a degree of precision that we may not include in it things or consequences beyond our own intentions. And the prohibitory provisions should be such as are most analogous to the rest of our Election Laws upon corresponding cases.

Of course, the honourable Member who has brought in the present Bill will not be surprized that I should think he has fallen short of the true point, in not making it declaratory. As to the main part of his enactments, he will also be prepared for my dissenting from the use of such lax and wide modes of expression as he has employed; a defect into which it is no peculiar reproach for him to have fallen, as our modern forms of legislation have too much involved all our provisions in language so cumbrous that it is generally difficult to discover their sense and substance, through the multitude of words with which they are overcharged. But beyond this, it is quite impossible for me to consent to that part of his proposed enactment which makes the tenure of Seats in this House dependent upon Judgments to be obtained in the Courts below, or in any way puts the trial of our own Rights out of our own accustomed jurisdiction.

With regard to the Oath proposed by the hon. gentleman, it is such in its present form as I should entirely object to. I do not know that a proper Oath for a proper purpose is in itself an exceptionable provision by law. Nor do I think that for solemnity or importance, so long as any Oaths are used in Election Laws, that any occasion for it could be more suitable; agreeing as I do very much with sir William Blackstone in opinion, that the Oath, if administered to the elected, would be far more effectual than when given to the elector. Nevertheless, knowing that to many persons any form of Oath whatever upon this subject would be highly obnoxious, and not thinking it indispensably necessary to the efficacy of the Bill, I should not be disposed to insist upon it.

What I should require would be, that the party who purchased should not reap the profit of his bargain, but should fall under the same disability as that enacted by the Act of Wm. the Third, which I think would be improved also, if it excluded him not for that vacancy alone, but for the whole Parliament. The party who received the price of his venality should

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(h) Com. Jour. vol. 38.

also of course forfeit it, with any further penalty which it might be thought right to superadd.

And, beyond this, I would think it a proper course to declare it by positive law, what is implied by the judgments which I have already cited—that by such traffic each party becomes guilty of a Misdemeanor.

Upon the whole, Sir, that for which I am most anxious is the establishment of the principle; being firmly persuaded that honourable minds, which may have hitherto deviated from what I think was the straight path of their duty, or may have been made to vacillate by the practices which they saw prevailing around them with impunity—will shrink from them with abhorrence, when they find them condemned by a specific law: And other men, if actuated by motives less honourable, will be restrained by fears not less efficacious.

I shall therefore listen with satisfaction to any amendment that goes this length, accompanied by such brief and distinct provisions as may give a reasonable security that its execution will be accomplished.—And I shall be contented to lay aside for the present all questions of doubtful policy or difficult expressions; thinking it better to reserve them for future experience, and, if necessary, for future legislation.

I would presume also to recommend this course to the House, as the most prudent and most likely to contribute to the further progress of this Bill, and its ultimate passing into a law; on my own part most cordially and earnestly hoping for its success, as a measure which has now become indispensable to the honour of this House and of the Country.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that the alterations which he had been enabled to frame would go a great way to meet the ideas of his right hon. friend who had just sat down; and he concurred with him, that it would be equally wise and prudent to make not only an enacting but a declaratory law. He also concurred with him, that the person guilty of this offence ought at least to be deprived of his seat. It was not necessary, he thought, to state what the law was before. He would merely say on that head, that in his opinion the law was so doubtful, that in a court of law, if the point came forward in a civil suit, it would be declared to be unlawful; but if a person should be indicted for a misdemeanor, the law was not so very clear, but that the defendant wo
in all probability be acquitted. If
offence could be described in such a
as not to endanger the safety of the i
cent, he should be ready to concur in
principle of the measure. But at the s
time, the enactments ought to be
guarded, for he confessed that he had
great difficulty lest the house should
troul where it had no such intention;
he thought they ought rather to fall s
in the first instance, than go too far.
object was to come at the case where t
was a distinct sale of the seat. In
case, it would be proper to reach not
the individual who could influence
whole of the voters, but also the pe
who by a minor interest could effectu
decide the election between two ca
dates. It would be still farther neces
to extend the provisions of the act to
person who received money for his
fluence, whether he was a voter or not
to render a contract for the payme
money to any person for his influen
ground for vacating a seat. He perf
concurred in the opinion, that he who
received the money ought to be liable
forfeiture of the whole; to be pun
for a misdemeanor; and he would fu
propose a penalty of 500*l.* to the infor
But he was rather disposed to stop sho
what had been suggested by his right
friend, respecting the rendering thi
fence in the member a misdemeanor
court of common law; for if such a
fence was tried there, and a verdi
guilty pronounced, the house would
sider the crime as proved, and proce
expel the member; which would thro
question of the validity of a seat in
house upon a court of common law.—
same objection, the right hon. gent
mitted, applied to the bribery laws a
present moment; but it had so occu
that since the passing of the act of th
of George II. the offence had never
brought to a court of common law
previously exposed by a petition in
house. He thought also that certa
mits of time as to the inability of
member should be established, and
the seat should be merely vacated i
first instance. He was not surprized
at first, it should be intended that th
should extend to the promise of o
But the more he considered this the
it appeared utterly unsafe to go to thi
tent. Offices there must be: the bu
of the state could not go on without t

isposal of offices must rest some- , and here that power was vested in own. That this power must create nce was beyond all question; and body agreed that it was proper that influence should exist in the crown. nly objection that had been made the extent of it. But the effect of regulation as that which was pro- with respect to offices, would be, one would either ask or receive an without the risk of a conviction for emeanor, however innocent. The vidence which a jury would have to e upon would be, that a member had red an office for a friend who had for him at an election; and the pro- ty in many such cases would be so and the difficulty of proving the ab- of all corrupt motives so consider- that the most innocent men could escape conviction. It might be ut of doors, that he urged these ar- nts for the purpose of preserving e use of the patronage of his office. e should not do justice to that office, the house, unless he stated plainly ews on the subject, to whatever it might expose him. If he were pt the proposition, he would expose nsciences of all who were to succeed o the greatest snare that could pos- be imagined.—Another object was, ard against the possibility of con- n for the lawful expences of an elec- such as the payment of agents, &c. expences did lawfully occur in the on for the largest counties particu- and he instanced the last election e county of York.—With regard to ath, the right hon. gent. had ob- , that the difficulty of describing ualifying the acts to which it was to with sufficient precision, rendered it y inadmissible. Suppose an oath existed in the case of treating, one mittee might decide that a certain ame under the provisions of the ng law, while another decided in a er directly the reverse. It would possible, in such cases, to ascertain a member might safely swear, and not. The hon. gent. (Mr. Curwen) sed to bring the question of the before the law courts; and even with roviso against conviction for legal nces, the court of law might hold to be illegal which a committee pronounce to be legal. It was, fore, impossible to admit of the oath, without a degree of precision of which he did not at present conceive the case to be capable.—The right hon. gent. then proposed his amendment, that the member guilty of purchasing his seat for money, should lose it; that the person receiving the money should forfeit the whole, be liable to a penalty of 500*l.* and to conviction for a misdemeanor; with the proviso that the act should not extend to the sale of estates to which influence was attached, not to legal expences at elections. This might not be altogether satisfactory to some gentlemen, but it was as much as the house could do, with safety, in the first instance.

Mr. *Curwen* congratulated the house upon the important information derived from the high authority (the Speaker), with whose sentiments they had been favoured upon this subject. With respect to the measure which he had thought it his duty to bring forward, as it was prepared in a hurry, he was willing to admit the probability that it was very inadequate to its object. He should, therefore, be ready to pay every possible attention to any amendment that might be suggested. No difference of opinion, he perceived, appeared to exist as to the necessity of a provision of this nature. So convinced, indeed, was he of that necessity, that if asked whether he would rather have the regulations proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer than nothing, he would promptly say, that however inefficient he considered those regulations, they should have his support. At the same time, he could not help observing, that he must consider any arrangement upon this business unequal to answer the end in view, if the oath were omitted. He did not mean to be tenacious of the particular form of oath which he had submitted, but he thought that such an oath should and could be framed, as would serve to guard against the evil complained of, and at the same time be free from the objections urged by the right hon. gent. The hon. gent. concluded, with protesting against the idea of supporting any proposition which could in any degree tend, as seemed to be the apprehension, to transfer to a court of law that jurisdiction over its own members, which ought alone to belong to that house.

Mr. *Ponsonby* was of opinion, that the effect of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposed succedaneum for his hon. friend's bill, would be to vest the patronage of the boroughs almost entirely in the minister of the day, and therefore he should oppose it. The right hon. gent.'s conception of the oath proposed by the bill, appeared to him very extraordinary indeed. If the crime to which the law was meant to apply was intelligible, and nothing seemed more explicit, he could not see the difficulty of understanding the oath, or that any conscientious man could hesitate to take it. No man of common sense, indeed, could have any apology for hesitation upon the subject. He thought, however, that in order that the question should be fully considered, the bill should be re-committed, and that the regulations proposed by the right hon. gent. should stand beside the provisions of that bill, and be fairly compared with them. It was due to the character of the house, and the opinion of the public, particularly after recent transactions, that this business should be thoroughly investigated. The evil to which the bill referred was long known to prevail, and after that confession by the house, what was the country to think if it should go forth that no adequate remedy could be provided? After the confession was made, the house was bound to contrive some remedy. For could any thing more extraordinary be imagined, than that the solemn trust of legislation should be bought for money; that it should become a matter of bargain and sale, and that such a thing should be publicly declared to a free country, accompanied by an admission that the evil was incurable? This, however, he would not believe. What! the sale of seats in that house should be notorious, and that the scandalous interposition of the Treasury to purchase such seats should be equally notorious, and yet that no remedy was to be provided? It was impossible that the public could think the house sincere if it did not frame a measure calculated to put an end to those practices, not only on the part of the Treasury, but of individuals also, and that all members should be bound to swear at the table, that they did not owe their election to such practice; subjecting to the most ignominious penalty any man who violated that most sacred obligation.

Sir *John Anstruther* congratulated the house on the advance they had made in this necessary measure, and the excellent effects likely to ensue from the clear mode in which the law had this night been laid down from high authority (the Speaker). He expressed a strong wish that the right hon. gent. had also given them advantage of his ideas on the manne carrying the law into effect by this b particularly with respect to the Oath. could see no difficulty in applying the to the exclusion of patronage as well a money, and had no objection to the cl of the Chancellor of the Exchequer w the addition of the words "office, place employment," as subjecting to the pena

Mr. *Tierney* considered this bill as of utmost importance to establish the pu of election. But if no adequate provi could be made to guard against the un influence of the Treasury at elections, bill must be nugatory. The framing such a provision he, however, did not th at all impossible. It did, indeed, appe monstrous proposition, that the gran any place or patronage for the purpos improper influence at an election, c not possibly be provided against. If such proposition could be bottomed u sound sense, he would immediately upon his hon. friend to abandon his As to an action against any member should violate the obligation propose the bill, he would ask, how could it supposed less practicable to maintain an action for any penalty than that alre prescribed by law, against, for insta any contractor who should become a m ber of that house? With regard to oath, he thought it essential to the ob of the bill; and he was also of opin that a clause should be introduced, sub ing to heavy penalties those who sh dispose of patronage in any manner to travene the spirit of such a measure. his impression of the importance of oath, as applying to such dark transact was such, that he would rather adop oath alone, than take all the Chancello the Exchequer's clauses without the

Mr. *Rose* had no objection to any pe or imprisonment that might be propo to provide against the evil to which bill referred, but he must deprecate oath, because he thought that consci ous men might feel it difficult to tak oath which was merely a constructio law. If corrupt practices could be tinctly defined, this objection would apply. But really, as the matter s he did not see that the oath could i cases be safely taken by those even meant not to offend.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* argued ably in fa of the bill, which, however, he conce would be not only nugatory, but ous, if it was not framed so as to to the patronage of office, as well as grant of money. After the incon- rtible evidence which had recently ared, with regard to a traffic in patron- or the purpose of purchasing a seat in ouse, the people must consider any ure of this nature as a mere mockery, id not provide against the recurrence ch scandalous practices. As to the tions offered against the adoption of oath, he confessed that he could not heir weight. He could not conceive reason why men should not be pre- d from giving as well as from receiv- ribes at an election. Indeed, he was nced that such prevention ought to ; the more particularly when he re- ed upon the disgraceful advantage h had been taken of the law as it . He had, in fact, seen members of ouse come forward in a court of law rosecute under the bribery act, the men who had accepted bribes from ; thus acting the part of informers, rder, as they avowed, to save them- s. What an exhibition for an intelli- and honest public to contemplate? he hoped that this measure would be ontrived as to guard against the re- nce of such scenes.

r. *Hawkins Browne,* from all the ar- ents he had heard, considered it as difficult to frame an Oath which d not imply an opinion on the con- tion of the law. He was therefore se to it, as tending only to exclude cientious men from the house, in order ake room for the perjured, worthless, abandoned. Dispensing with the he would be happy to give his t to any proposition that would rescue ouse from the aspersions of corrup- thrown upon it; but if the question e oath was annexed to this bill it d compel him to vote against it.

e Right Hon. THE SPEAKER, thanked committee for the flattering attention deference that had been paid to his ments, and had now only to offer his on on the subject of the new clause h had not been introduced when he ddressed them. He had no hesita- n stating it distinctly as his opinion, unless the Bill applied to the grant fices in return for seats in parliament uld be mainly deficient. It appeared under the title of "gift or reward," application was included, and as the lready covered the case, it would be much better to have the enactment distinctly made. The course the committee would now have to pursue would be, to receive the amendments proposed, and have them printed. It would then be a proper motion to decide that the bill with the amendments be recommitted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted the strength of the observations of his hon. friend, who had just sat down; but said at the same time, that the oath was so generally worded as to call for amendment. The oath by which any man was to be bound could not be worded in too special pleading a manner. This might seem an odd phrase, but his meaning was, that a man should thoroughly understand that to which he was to swear. He reminded gentlemen of that interchange of kindness that so generally took place between the electors and the elected, and which yet might, however honestly accepted and proffered, give rise to serious scruples in the breast of a man of honour in taking that oath.

Mr. *Ponsonby* submitted to the committee, that all those members who had amendments to propose should propose them, in order that they might be printed together with the bill, so as that the house would be better able to decide upon the respective merits of the amendments.

Mr. *C. H. Hutchinson* said, that he could not avoid taking that opportunity of expressing his personal acknowledgements to the right hon. the Speaker, for the manly, dignified, and constitutional part he had that night taken in the discussion upon the bill then before them. Anxious as he was that the house should stand well with the country, he must be glad to witness such conduct in any member, but peculiarly happy was he to see such conduct sanctioned by all that grave authority, that must have the effect of making it exemplary. He would return to his home from the house that night, with a prouder sense of his situation as a member of that house, than he had reason to indulge in for many nights back.

Mr. *W. Smith* was of opinion, that the objections to the oath seemed to be founded upon the supposition that the same practices which now existed would still continue to exist; but he rather thought that, should this bill take effect, its operation would be so salutary as to counteract those practices which it was thought would run counter to the oath.

After a short conversation between the

Speaker, Mr. Tierney, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Curwen, it was agreed that the Bill should, in the first instance, be printed, together with the Amendments, for the perusal of the members.—The house having then resumed, the report was brought up, and the further consideration was ordered to be gone into on Tuesday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 2.

[Cruelty to Animals' Bill.]—The house having gone into a Committee on this Bill,

Lord *Erskine* said, he trusted he had now made those amendments to the bill, which would render it less objectionable in the opinion of those noble lords, who on a former day, had expressed their sentiments upon this intended measure. The preamble, " Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God," &c., he wished to continue in those words, which had presented themselves to his mind as the most appropriate to express its introduction. An imperfect obligation of duty was thereby enjoined, which, as he had before observed, coming sanctioned by the authority of their lordships, would not fail to have its due weight upon the people of this country. " No man," said his lordship, " more than myself can pay reverence to the name of God, nor is it used with any impropriety on this great and important occasion." The words which defined the acts of cruelty, he had so altered, as, in his mind they would meet with the approbation of those who very prudently were anxious that great caution should guard the operation of this act. In that part of the bill which was now confined to beasts of draught and burden, he had altered the words to " wound, cut, maim, and with wanton and malicious cruelty, should beat or abuse ;" and he trusted the house would feel the propriety of inserting the word " abuse," coupled with the words preceding ; because, upon reflection, several acts of cruelty, requiring the interposition of such a statute, would not easily be comprehended under any other term. " I, one day," continued lord Erskine, " in going along Coventry-street, was struck with horror and disgust at the shocking scene of cruelty which presented itself to my observation. There was a cart, loaded with greens to a most unmerciful extent, drawn by one horse.
The poor animal was in such a state th
its skin alone covered its bones ; an
what was more shocking upon nearer o
servation I perceived there was no cau
saddle to prevent the chain from cutti
through the skin of the animal's back
and, upon still nearer inspection, I s
the blood and matter descending its si
Besides this, the fetlock-joint was dis
cated, the skin broken, and, upon eve
exertion of this wretched creature, t
bone was visible to the eye. My atte
tion being peculiarly extended to the u
happy object's sufferings, I accosted t
man who was driving the cart, upon
coming up to the place, and remonstrat
with him about the misery of the hors
situation. I was answered with nothi
but abuse ; which generally is the fate
those who interpose their humanity on su
an occasion. The man inquired if I wou
give him another? I offered him a g
nea, provided he would part with t
horse. " Why," says the man, " a g
nea, Sir ! I can work this horse th
weeks longer, and after that I can sell h
to the slaughter-house, and thereby ma
four or five pounds." I wish that yo
lordships would attribute to my condu
no more than the discharge of my dut
the act I performed, was, to my mind, u
avoidable ; I followed the man and pu
chased the beast ! But this mode of
lief cannot always be applied to the s
ferings of animals, which meet our e
almost every day, and in almost eve
street of this metroplis. It is also in ca
like that to which I have alluded, the wo
" abuse" will most aptly apply ; an
when preceded by the other words I ha
adverted to, there can be no danger of t
operation. Sorry should I be if any
jury could possibly arise from this pen
statute, and it is my anxious wish th
every precaution should be adopted whi
may prevent any hazard of the liberty
the subject."—His lordship then state
that there was another clause by itse
and by way of amendment, which he h
framed for the better prevention of cru
ty to other cattle, while proceeding to
fair or market, by means of cutting, mai
ing, and houghing. The house would
astonished if they knew all the cases whi
had been described to him by lett
from magistrates, who particularly desir
clauses to be inserted for the prevention
each particular case. He then observe
" During the thirty years of my parli
mentary life, I never introduced any

on in the law, or any new act of par-
nt. I possess no ostentation in coup-
a statute with my own name; and,
he present occasion, your lordships
I trust, give me credit for being
ted by the purest of motives (Hear!
). I have no desire that the measure
templation should be considered as
ating from myself. I would rather
people of this country should con-
it as proceeding from the unanimous
urrence of your lordships, whose au-
ty will give due weight to its opera-
On this account, I feel desirous, so
er and amend the bill, that it may
the unanimous approbation of this
, and be less likely to incur any ob-
on in another place. After all, if this
ative measure should be attended
any injurious consequences, now un-
een, I pledge my honour, that I will
e of the first to propose such altera-
as shall prevent their recurrence.—
e is one point more to which I beg
lordships' attention; although my
, I have seen with regret the growing
of cruelty to animals in this land, and
thought it expedient to introduce the
before you; yet, my lords, in this
in which our lots are cast to live,
is more honour, there is more huma-
there is a stronger sense of moral
, than in any other country on the face
he globe. I am proud to say so, and
I live in such a country. And I re-
I can say, still more, there never
times when more goodness of
eople existed, than in the present.
e never was more purity in the mind
an, than in this country, and in these
s. I do not mean in a certain month
ear; but there is a progression of
qualities, up to the times in which
ive, and which have emanated from
ious institutions, founded upon the en-
ened system of Christianity; the
ficence and mildness of which I have
ys admired; and, consistently with
principles of which, I have framed
bill.

arl *Darnley* said a few words, ex-
sing his most cordial support of the
and that he had on a former day only
ed due caution might be used in
ing it, so that it should not be injurious
s operation.

he Bill, as amended, passed through
committee, and was ordered to be
ted with the amendments.

Licences under the Toleration Act.] Lord Viscount *Sidmouth* rose to move for an Account of the Number of Licences issued within a certain period, under the act of 1 W. & M. c. 18. commonly called the Toleration Act, and of the 19 G. 3. c. 44, entitled, "An Act for the further relief of Protestant Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters." It appeared, he said, to be highly desirable and important, that the information which it was the object of his motion to procure, should be possessed by parliament and the public. He had no reason to doubt, that a large majority of those, who had obtained licences under these Acts, had applied for them from motives the most strictly conscientious: as little could he doubt, that the wise and liberal policy, by which these acts were dictated, had, in numerous instances, been grossly abused. That such was the fact was well known to magistrates, who were in the habit of attending quarter sessions of the peace in the several counties of England and Wales.—Under these acts, it was competent to any person calling himself a protestant dissenter, of whatever age, or condition, however ignorant, however exceptionable in conduct, and character, by taking the oaths, and making the declarations thereby required, to qualify himself, as it was termed, to present any doctrines he pleased, and thus to obtain an exemption from all parochial offices, and from serving on juries, or in the militia. Thus was a strong incentive afforded to schism, and in proportion to its success, an increased buthen thrown upon the members of the established church. He desired, however, to be understood as applying his complaint on this point solely to immunities claimant by self-appointed preachers and teachers, not attached to any dissenting congregations; or by those who, being in the ministry, were also engaged in secular occupations and callings. Persons duly appointed and devoting themselves to the performance of their spiritual duties, ought in his opinion, to enjoy the same immunities as those who had received episcopal ordination.—As to the description of persons, to whom licences ought to be granted (for they were now claimable as of right,) it was a point of extreme delicacy, and importance, concerning which he should be averse to any regulations, but such as all sober minded, and rational dissenters must approve. He could not however, but presume that every individual of that description must be desirous that the doctrines, which he believed he considered as incompatible with the independent and impartial administration of justice, as well as with the principle upon which the judges of England held their appointments. There was another point to which also he should take occasion to advert; namely, the great grievance under which the remote parts of the kingdom, and particularly the county of York, laboured under from the delay of justice, as being only visited by the judges of assize once in a year, and that only for a week; a circumstance extremely oppressive, not only to suitors in that great county, but to all persons there awaiting the course of justice, civil or criminal.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the judges, on going a circuit, certainly allotted by anticipation the time they should remain at the different towns on their respective circuits, according to their calculation of the time the business to be done at each would probably occupy; sometimes certainly the business occupied more time than they expected, and, rendered it impracticable to accomplish the whole, consistently with their arrangements made for other places; this, however, seldom happened; and where it was conceived the business would occupy more than the ordinary time, two judges went to York instead of one, whereby double the business was disposed of within the same period. It would be for the wisdom of parliament to make such arrangements on this head as might seem necessary hereafter; but he hoped the house would not clog the present bill by such regulations.

Mr. *Bankes* coincided in the necessity of rendering all the judges equally independent of the crown with those of England, and therefore agreed in the propriety of precluding them from seats in parliament, as well as from other lucrative offices under the crown, in order that they might not only be removed from the influence of the crown in that house, but even from the suspicion of it; and he thought that a clause for this purpose, as well as for preventing the sale of the office of clerk of assize, ought to be inserted in the bill.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* deprecated the idea of precluding the Welch judges from seats in that house, under any idea of their dependence on the crown, their places being for life. By such an exclusion, the house would be deprived of a valuable portion of talents: and he begged leave to instance the speech of one of those judges upon a late important occasion (that of Mr. Burton, in the case of the d of York) as one of the most lucid eloquent ever uttered within the walls parliament.

Leave was given to bring in a Bill p suant to the Resolutions.

[Gas Light Bill.] Mr. *Mellish* mo the third reading of the Gas Light but at the same time prayed the indulge of the house in allowing him to prop five new clauses; and that the house w take the debate upon the question that bill do pass. He read the clauses in place.

Sir *J. Anstruther* saw no necessity in present case to depart from the us mode of proceeding; and hoped the ho would not encourage a custom which prevailed of late; namely, that of ke ing back the principal clauses of priv bills until the very last stage, and t proposing them by surprize upon house.

Mr. *D. Giddy* delared himself decid ly averse to this bill; first, upon the neral principle of granting chartered nopolies to any great body of men, to preclusion of all competition. He wo admit there might be some exceptions cases where great advantages to the pu must manifestly arise, and where the tunes of a few individuals must be ina quate to the accomplishment; in the c for instance of a great aqueduct, for supply of a city, such as the New Ri or of a canal, as the West India Docks such great undertaking, where the pu advantage was clear, and the profits w in some calculation. But upon such undertaking as the present, where, h ever ingenious the plan, the practicabi was problematical, and no estimation duced to prove it capable of adoption any thing like the extent proposed, he against the sanction of parliament be given to the measure, for the purpos procuring immense subscriptions to undertaking, which, on the face of plan, seemed unmanageable by any of directors; for it appeared that in parish of St. James's alone, six diffe establishments would be required to fur the light, and that the expence of lig ing by Gas would cost 550*l.* a year than by oil. What, then, must the n ber of establishments be for all London, where was the advantage to the public, posing the plan practicable? It might t out ultimately a second South Sea bub He could not at all events, agree to aut

ne company to receive subscriptions
amount which would enable them to
olize oil, coal, and the other mate-
hich afforded the public an alterna-
n order to drive them into the adop-
this scheme, the failure of which
entail disgrace upon the nation.
ncluded by moving, that the bill, in-
of now, be read the third time this
ree months.

bill was also opposed by sir James
Mr. Thompson, of Hull, Mr. Hall,
r. Babington.

Wilberforce opposed the bill. It
ot necessary, he observed, to re
p. charters to procure capital. He
not encourage these gambling pro-
by which men were to be princes
ggars, in a moment. He could not
directing the attention of the house
extravagant expectations that were
out in a pamphlet recommending
an. Among other impudent impo-
, it was endeavoured to be shewn,
t would produce, in the course of a
ime, no less than 10,201,741*l.* 13*s.*
the way of taxes. In the same
ent, the annual profits, after a cer-
eriod, were calculated at two-hundred
inety-nine millions. He considered
one of the greatest bubbles that had
been imposed on public credulity.
uld compare it to nothing so well
Ayr Bank, the loss by which was
nse to the public, and had involved
iculties, for years, most of the great
l proprietors of Scotland.

e house having divided, the amend-
was carried by a majority of 52 to
The bill was consequently lost.

ISH DISTILLERS' REGULATION BILL.]
ouse then went into a Committee on
ove bill.

Parnell objected to the nature of
nishment inflicted by the bill upon
persons as were concerned in un-
ed stills. For the first offence, cor-
punishment was inflicted; for the
d, transportation. He did not ap-
of such severity, especially as
stem now acted on was so defective
give encouragement to the offence.
ould therefore move, That the
e inflicting such punishment should
itted.

Bernard disapproved of the entire
m of laws that regulated the distil-
in Ireland. He was strengthened
opinion, not only by the Irish com-
ners of inquiry, but by a trial of the
present system for many years. He contended, that at no period were the illicit distilleries carried on to a greater extent than the last two years, which must alone be attributed to the present regulations. Though the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) would not at present agree to a change in the system, he was happy to hear him say even so much as that next session he would meet an inquiry on the subject. He (Mr. Bernard) pledged himself to bring it forward at an early period, and hoped to convince the house that a change of the system would be of considerable advantage to both countries, by encouraging agriculture, and increasing the revenue.

Mr. *H. Martin* said, that he had never yet heard of corporal punishment being inflicted for a fiscal offence; such a punishment, in such a case, was unknown to the constitution. Besides, the nature of the corporal punishment was not ascertained; whether it was to be flogging or hanging they did not know. Great care, he admitted, should be taken of the revenue; but not by subverting the principles of the British constitution.

[THIRD REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.]—The House having resolved itself into a Committee to consider of the Third Report of the Finance Committee,

Mr. *Martin* rose and observed, that it was his anxious wish to impress upon the committee the propriety of attending to the principles of economy in every department of the public expenditure. The necessity, indeed, of such attention must he thought be obvious to every man who took the trouble of looking into the subject, and felt any solicitude for the interests of the country. The amount of our annual expenditure, and of our national debt, was enormous, while the declining produce of our revenue was notorious. According to the papers on the table, the produce of our permanent taxes was only 30,190,178*l.* which, compared with the interests of our debt 31,350,000*l.* left a deficit of above one million. How then, in the event of peace was this deficit to be supplied and our establishment to be defrayed, without permanently pledging the war taxes? If peace were to be concluded to-morrow, it would be impossible to make such a reduction in our establishment as to place us in any thing like the situation in which we stood before, either with regard to expence or revenue. The consequence would be, that they would be compelled to have recourse to the Income and other war taxes, and reduced to the absolute necessity of making them a perpetual burthen upon the country. The continuance of the War-taxes in the event of peace, was a thing scarcely to be endured, even in idea; and yet he really was at a loss to divine to what other fund the country was to look for support in supplying the deficiencies of a declining revenue. He begged the committee to consider this point, upon which he was induced to dwell, with a view to urge more strongly the necessity of paying the utmost possible attention to every thing connected with economy. It was quite clear that every practicable arrangement should be made for that purpose, and with that impression upon his mind, he regretted much to observe that such a tardy disposition to promote the objects recommended by the Committee of Finance should have been manifested by those, who had the power of giving effect to the recommendations of that Committee. He had therefore felt it his duty to bring this business forward. Since he had given notice of it the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thought proper to propose a set of Resolutions in lieu of those which he had the honour of submitting to the house. Being anxious only for the object which his Resolutions had in view, he was not of course tenacious of terms or forms, and therefore he would interweave with his first Resolution, upon proposing which the discussion might arise, some of the words suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Upon the adoption of these words he was the more determined, because in reviewing his own Resolution, he saw that it contained rather a sort of apology, for calling the attention of the house to a consideration of the principles of economy, than a direct assertion of the expediency of economising the public Expenditure in every possible case. The hon. member then proposed his first Resolution, which declared in substance, that it was peculiarly necessary in the present circumstances of the country, to attend closely to the principles of economy, and to make every practicable arrangement for the purpose of limiting the public expenditure.

This Resolution being put from the Chair,

Mr. *Huskisson* rose, to correct some mis-statements with respect to the finances of the country into which the hon. gent. had fallen. He had stated that
amount of the Permanent Taxes was
equal to the discharge of the interes
the public debt. This was not the c
On the contrary, last year they had vo
a surplus of between four and five mill
out of the Consolidated Fund, indep
dant of the other heavy charges to wh
that fund was liable.—The commi
must recollect, that there had been v
for the year the sum of 3,500,000*l.* as
surplus of the Consolidated Fund, toge
with 800,000*l.* which remained unap
priated from the produce of that fun
the preceding year. Of course, it
quite a mistaken idea, that the perma
taxes were insufficient to defray the
terest of the public debt. The hon. g
had fallen into this mistake from his c
founding the produce of the Perma
Taxes, and the Consolidated Funds.—
difference between the permanent char
and the produce of the permanent ta
was what was usually voted as the sur
of the consolidated fund, being an ex
of produce above the charges. He r
not, therefore, inform the Committee,
not only the interest of the public d
and other permanent eharges were defra
out of the permanent taxes, but m
other items of expenditure conne
with the various branches of the pu
service were charged upon the sur
of the consolidated fund. The perma
public charge was thirty-three milli
The supply to defray that charge amou
to thirty-seven millions. This statem
could admit of no dispute, as it was pro
by the returns on their table, and th
fore it was impossible for the hon. g
to say that the permanent taxes fell s
of the annual expenditure. He did
deny that the produce of the reve
this year fell short of that of last
by about 300,000*l.* but this was owin
the peculiar circumstances of the w
some falling, too, was to be expected
year, when compared with a year of g
abundance, and could not possibly
such a cause of despondency as the h
gent.'s statements went to make it.
Huskisson then went into a detail of
financial operations of last year in m
gaging one million of the duties on
and sugar to pay off Exchequer bi
instead of allowing it to go as usual to
consolidated fund. By this means t
was an apparent defalcation in the pre
year to that amount, which did not e
in reality, as would be found in the

of the revenue for the year 1810. regard to the Convoy duty, that necessarily cease on the re-estab- ent of peace; but it did not follow considerable part of what was now l under the head of Convoy duty t not then be continued under the mination of Customs. There was eason, then, for the despondency fested by the hon. gentlemen, but this d not state in opposition to the pro- on that economy was desirable; the burdens continued to be so great ey were, in his opinion, the house red no other incitement to alleviate by every means in their power.

r. *Martin*, in explanation, stated, that oted from the returns laid before the as to the funds to be relied upon in vent of peace. There was at least part of the war taxes, namely, the oy duty, which must inevitably cease.

rd *Folkestone* considered that a falla- d run through the whole of the state- made by the hon. gent. (Mr. Hus- n) as in his calculations he had not l the produce of new taxes laid on in to the amount of 1,700,000*l.* The lord was going on to point out this osed inaccuracy, when

r. *Huskisson* rose and corrected his onception of the matter. He shewed, what the noble lord intended to con- as new taxes, were only a new ar- ement of the assessed taxes already istence.

r. *Tierney* said, he did not expect the te would have taken the turn which peared to have done. He thought, ver, his hon. friend who brought for- these Resolutions, had acted very in drawing the attention of the to economy. As, however, the hon. who had just sat down had gone into es on the occasion, he would beg to state a few similar facts from a he happened accidentally to have pocket, but which he never had an till that moment of mentioning on the nt occasion. He calculated that, the arrival of peace, if it were to place to-morrow, the amount of the c expenditure for the support of the , navy, and miscellaneous charges, d, at least, be equal to 48 millions, to n add the interest upon exchequer which would make it exceed 49 mil- and he would ask, how was this sum provided? The whole of the reve- applicable to a peace establishment, he estimated at about 38,500,000*l.*, and the deficit must, of course, be supplied either by new taxes, or by loans. According to his estimate the deficit would exceed 11 millions, but even according to the statement of his hon. friend, it would amount to more than 8 millions. This deficit would be to be met either by continuing the war taxes, or by a loan, or by raising new taxes; unless recourse were had to the Property Tax. Even suppose the other war taxes to be made perpetual, there must be a deficit of many millions, which must, if peace were to take place to-morrow, be provided for; and we must either make the property-tax perpetual, to the amount of five per-cent. on income, or else have recourse to a loan. This statement he made with a view to demonstrate the propriety of attending to the principle of his hon. friend's Resolution.

Lord *Milton* thought that the discussion was taking a turn entirely foreign from the subject of the Third Report upon Offices, and therefore suggested the propriety of proceeding to the matter in question. There would be no end to the debate, were the finances of the country to be made the subject, when the question was simply as to the necessity of economy.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* coincided in opinion with the noble lord, yet thought it but fair to say that his hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson) had not introduced the subject originally, but had only risen to correct the misstatements which had been made on the other side. As the hon. gent. (Mr. Martin) had declared his preference for his (Mr. Perceval's) first Resolution in opposition to his own, he could wish that instead of putting the committee to the necessity of previously negativing that Resolution, he would withdraw it, and suffer the other to be put in its stead. With respect to what the hon. gent. had said about comparing and contrasting the two strings of Resolutions *seriatim*, he could scarcely suppose that necessary, as his Resolutions were merely a new arrangement of those of the hon. gent.

Mr. *Martin* withdrew his first Resolution, and that proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was put from the chair and agreed to. The following was the Resolution: "That the utmost attention to economy in all the branches of Public Expenditure which is consistent with the interests of the Public Service, is at all times the duty of this House."

Mr. *Rose* requested the attention of the committee to some observations he had to submit to their consideration. Great pains, he said, had lately been taken out of doors to make it be believed that no attention had hitherto been paid to the retrenchment of the expenditure of the public money. He begged, however, to shew that the contrary was the case.

OFFICES SUPPRESSED SINCE 1782.

1782—Under Mr. Burke's Bill.—
(22d Geo. 3. ch. 82.)

	No.	Ann. Value.	£
Above 500*l.* a year, -	37	£.43,600	
Under 500*l.* a year, -	97	13,900	
	134		57,500

Under Treasury Regulations in 1782-3.

Above 500*l.* a year, -	3	2,156	
Under 500*l.* a year,	141	11,469	
	144		13,625

Making a Total of	278 Offices.	£.71,125	In Annual Value
Offices created to perform the duties of those suppressed, ...	62	10,909	
Reduction in the whole	Offices 216.	£.60,216	

1783—Under the Exchequer Regulating Act.
(23 G. 3. c. 82.)

Offices suppressed	4	£.6,000
And six regulated		(*a*) 60,000

Savings under this Act on an average of Peace and War may be	66,000	Ann. Value
Making total Offices 220	£.126,000	

1785—Under the Auditor's Act.
(25 G. 3. ch. 52)

Two Offices suppressed (*b*)	44,000		
Expence of New Board	11,500		
		32,741	Annal Value.
One Auditor of Hides in the Excise......................	400	400	
Total saving by the three Offices		33,141	

The number of employments was affected by these measures, as three Commissioners for Auditing were appo ed in addition to the two Comptroller Army Accounts.

	No.	A Va
In 1785—Were suppressed as they should fall in, Patent Offices in the Customs, which were actual sinecures, and usually given to private friends, not being considered as local patronage	196	£.4
The offices were not abolished by Law till 1798, by the 38 Geo. 3, ch. 86, but no appointments were made to them (except in two special cases) from 1781; and so early as 1791 there had 38 fallen in of the annual value of 10,600*l.* a year.		
In 1788—An arrangement was made by the Treasury which reduced the Officers of the Excise in their number	765 ...	1
which saving was effected in the amount of salaries, although additions were made to those of the remaining officers to put them above temptation.		
In 1799—The Offices of Auditors of the Land Revenue in England and Wales were abolished by Act 39 Geo. 3, ch. 83, after the deaths of the possessors...............	3 ...	
In 1799—The whole Salt Board and department abolished, and the duty transferred to the Excise; the total reduction, in consequence of which, after deducting the necessary appointment in the excise was	261 ...	2
By this arrangement the Treasury lost the appointment of 459 offices, the new ones being in the gift of of the Excise.		

RECAPITULATION.

	No.	
1782—Under Mr. Burke's Act, ...	134	£5
1782-3—By the Treasury, ...	144	1
	278	7
Do. Officers appointed to perform the duties of those suppressed, ...	62	1
Savings and reductions in the years above mentioned	216	6
1782-3—Under the Exchequer regulating Act, by abolition and reductions	4	6
1785—By the Auditor's Act, two offices for life of great value, the reversions of which were both open, were abolished; but a new board was established (in which not one political friend was placed) the number of officers remained the same, but a saving was effected...		3
1785—Patent Offices in the Customs	196	4
1799—Auditors of the Land Revenue, Sinecure Employments, the Reversion of one open	3	
1799—Suppression of the Salt Board		

(*a*) The Auditor of the Exchequer, nett profit in 1782 was 19,880*l.* a year; the Tellers present profits are three times the amount of that year. The Auditors fees would therefore have been now	£60,000
The four Tellers full fees would now have been	88,000
	£148,000
Deduct Auditor's present Salary £4,000 Four Tellers, when they all fall in 10,800	14,800
Saving in time of war	£133,200

(*b*) This is very much under stated, the amount at 100*l.* a million on the National Debt only would have been 60,000*l.* a year.

all its Officers; the whole in gift of the Treasury	459	26,952
	878	£.233,809
t the Savings under Mr. Burke's the Treasury Regulations in equence of it: under the Ex- quer Account	220	126,000
s made by Mr. Pitt's Mea- s alone	658	£.107,809

the preceding total of 878 offices of nnual value of 233,809*l.* suppressed 1782, the offices suppressed in the e are not included, as they were in ift of the Commissioners of that Re-

t it has been said the immense in- e of Revenue in the war from 1792, ccasioned a proportionable number ices and the necessary expence at- nt thereupon; adding of course ly to the influence of the Crown. s instance however, the same attention onomy, and to avoid such an objec- will be found.

m 1792 to 1799, Taxes were imposed to the mount of 7,682,000*l.*
harges of manage-
t were .... 6,955*l.* 52 Officers appointed
es discontinued 3,779 53 Do. abolished.

£.3,176
e Employment was therefore added: and the reased charge of collection only 3,176*l.* about . in the 100*l.* or 2.400 per Cent.

is statement is made to 1799, because as been in print many years, with Rose's name to it, shewing the parti- rs in each department, and has never called in question.

ere should however be opposed to savings some new establishments ted subsequent to Mr. Pitt's coming first office. The Board of Controul, with ies to the amount of 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* ar, defrayed by the East India Com- . The Committee of Trade; no sala- except to the clerks who were paid r the board suppressed. The Trans- Board, against which is to be set the ression of the Sick and Hurt Board, the commission occasionally paid to ons employed from favour, to take up s in the former war; and the naval bers of this Board, having no other es to attend to, the advantages derived n their attention very much exceed expence of the establishment. The rack Board and the officers under it, inst which is to be set the savings arising from keeping the men and horses in barracks, instead of at quarters in public houses; much more than equal to the annual expence of this establishment, as appears by a Paper in the Appendix to a Pamphlet published by Mr. Rose on Finance, in 1799. Several Commissioners added for the examination of Public Accounts at home and in the West Indies; which may amount in the whole to 20,000*l.* a year. And some smaller employments rendered necessary in different departments.

It is however to be observed, that the offices abolished were chiefly sinecures, disposed of as mere favours, and useful only as sources of influence; whereas the offices created have all been required by the actual necessities of the public service; they are all efficient, and cannot therefore be given to the same class of persons who filled those which have been abolished: of course, the influence derived from them is essentially different both in its degree and in its direction. Of the former, influence was almost the direct object: of the latter, it is only the collateral consequence.

Thus far there has been no reference to any thing but positive savings arising from the suppression of employments. Other measures, however, of higher importance than these were adopted both with respect to public economy and to influence.

1st, Loan and Lotteries.
2d, Contracts and Commission Business.
3d, Renewals of Crown Leases.

1st, Loans.—The influence derived from these extended infinitely beyond the six or eight persons to whom they were given on such advantageous terms as were privately settled between the minister and those persons; as each of those had on his list a considerable number of the friends of the minister; or the names of the latter were sent to the bank as original subscribers. In one year of the American war the loan was at a premium of 10*l.* per cent. when the list was sent to the bank.

Suppose the saving by the mode adopted for the first time by Mr. Pitt, to be only * 3*l.* per cent. and the Loans 12,000,000*l.* (unhappily one year,

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* How very moderate an estimate this is may be judged of by reference to the following premiums on Loans in the American war:—

1779	£.11	0
1780	8	10
1781	9	0
1782	13	10
1783	7	10

1797, the amount was 32,000,000*l.*) the saving would be	£. 360,000
2d, Of the sums which would have been issued to Contractors under the former system, it is very difficult to make an accurate computation; but it would be a low estimate to state it at 1,500,000*l* and we can hardly suppose, when the Contracts were given as matter of mere favor without competition, that the profit was so low as 5*l.* per cent.	75,000
Probably thirty persons, making purchases at 150,000*l.* each, at a profit of 2,500*l.* These were chiefly members of parliament, till the Disabling Act in 1782; after that they were still given as mere favour.	
3d. Renewals of Crown Leases has already under the new system, produced an increase of	[†] 59,611
In addition to these heads under which there was a mixture of influence and prodigality, an important article respecting the latter is to be added. In former wars certain parts of the naval services were paid in navy bills, which from the middle of 1779 to 1785 were at a discount of from 10*l.* and 11*l.* to 13*l.* per cent. The non interest bills at 13*l.* and 19*l.* Those parts of the naval expenditure have amounted in the present war to upwards of 10,000,000*l.* annually, which are now paid in 90 day bills *at par*, received as ready money, by which there is a saving of more than	1,000,000
	1,494,611
Secret service Money to the Treasury was on an average of four years to 1725, 83,000*l.* a year; in seven years to 1740, was 65,000*l.*; in the nine first years of this reign was 54,000*l.*; now limited to 10,000*l.*: Let the saving however, be estimated at only	45,000
	£.1,539,000

Here, then, is a saving of more than a million and a half, in addition to the 233,000*l.* before stated; without reckoning any thing for the saving in Ordnance Debentures, or the profits on the Lottery in time of peace, or indeed in war, by which the public now derives a large profit. It is also to be observed that the Lottery tickets, like the loan, were privately disposed of to the friends of the minister. The saving upon the whole may truly be stated at more than 2,000,000*l.* after deducting the 66,000*l.* saved under Mr. Burke's act and Treasury proceedings in consequence of it, and the 60,000*l.* under the Exchequer regulating act.

And exclusive of the reduced influe
of the Crown here stated; there w
eighteen Parliamentary offices among t
abolished in 1782.

Total 513......	In England Members now holding place during pleasure ...
45......	Ditto in Scotland ... .
100......	Ditto in Ireland ....
658	

Of the above, two or three are in
cided opposition to administration; a
the remaining 51 or 52 may be supp
to be influenced by their employmen
is not less likely that a number of ge
men in opposition are influenced by
desire for office. He had heard a g
deal of good times, but in this respect
were much lessened. He hoped gen
men would not suppose what he had st
was for the purpose of checking the ar
of gentlemen in bringing forward re
tions like the present; he had no such
tention; in what he had done he was
tuated solely by what he thought his
at the present moment. As to the Res
tions, as far as they went they appeare
him to be unexceptionable.

Mr. *Creevey* was at a loss how to re
cile the Report which he held in his h
with the high panegyric which the r
hon. gentleman had thought prope
pronounce upon his deceased friend.
right hon. gent. had gone so far bac
the year 1713, when he came to tre
Pensions. If he had looked at later
riods, he would have found that they
increased very much since the begin
of the present reign. From the Re
under consideration it appeared, that
amount of the Pension List had been
enormously increased by Mr. Pitt.
this was a part of the case which the r
hon. gent. had felt it convenient to o
look, although the subject of pensions
the first topic that offered itself in the
port. There was also a strong fact w
the right hon. gent. happened to fo
but he would call it to his recollec
The right hon. gent. would, perhaps
member when Mr. Pitt, and himself
duced that house to acquiesce in the g
of 9,000*l.* a year to the duke of Glouce
from the public purse, upon the allega
that the produce of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. du
upon which that sum had been previc
charged, was inadequate to pay it. By
grant the public lost 105,000*l.*, yet
after it was made, the " inadequate fu
was found a resource sufficient to pr

[†] This will go on increasing to more than 400,000*l.* a year; the leases till 1794 were granted at low reserved rents and small fines; now they are on the sworn value.

eral of Mr. Pitt's friends and rela- Indeed, but a short time after- pensions were charged upon it of .. a year for Mr. Long; 1,200*l.* a for Mr. Huskisson; of 6 or 700*l.* a each of Mr. Pitt's nieces, together an allowance to lady Chatham; and than 1,500*l.* a year to lady Gren- With this fact, and several others milar nature in his recollection, he not subscribe to the justice of the hon. gent.'s panegyric upon Mr. solicitude to curtail the public ex- ure, and to sacrifice to that object personal connection or ministerial nce.

. *Rose* vindicated the conduct of his hon. friend in the transaction alluded d averred that the 4½ per cent. duties inadequate to furnish the allowance ed to the duke of Gloucester at the he proposition complained of by the gent. was brought before the house. roved that in the year 1720, inde- ent of the relative value of money, ension List was greater than at this ent. He also corrected his statements respect to the 4½ per cent. fund, and ed the nature of its application, in g off 172,000*l.* of debt, after it was sed from the payment of the duke of cester's annuity. As to the provision n his right hon. friend had thought er to make for his relations, he was that the country would justify that, they considered the merit of a life ed to their service, and the circum- es under which he died.

. *Wilberforce* thought the poverty in h Mr. Pitt died was very much to redit; he was a man who practised e most, and made the least display ; he indeed "Did good by stealth, lush'd to find it fame."

r. *Creevey* thought the crown had no to the revenue arising from the 4½ cent. The question was, what had ractice been? 20,000*l.* had been ad- ed in aid of the Civil List, which was irst sum ever thus appropriated, in . He wished to know if any law could ointed out to his notice that he might overlooked, authorising the crown to pensions out of that fund. He con- ned the giving political pensions from fund, which ought to be only appro- ed to the salaries of government.

r. *Long* would by no means admit this ciple; it would be found that in the n of George I. pensions had been given from this 4½ per cent. fund, to many persons, and among the rest to lord Hobart, governor of Jersey. In the reign of George II. it was also applied to such purposes, as from 70 to 80,000*l.* had been drawn from it in aid of the Civil List, and in the year 1762, a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum was given to the late lord Chatham. No Attorney or Solicitor General, or Lord Chancellor, since that time, could be named who had not been a party in such grants. It did not come within the spirit of Burke's Act; for Mr. Burke himself expressly stated, in one of his pamphlets, that he had a view only to the Civil List in his regulations, and that he knew of the 4½ per cent. fund, but thought it best to leave that as a reward for merit. The hon. gent. had alluded to the annuity granted to the duke of Gloucester in 1786. What did parliament do on that occasion? Did they say such a grant was contrary to Mr. Burke's act? No, it had ever been admitted that that fund was a part of the hereditary revenue, and consequently at the disposal of the crown. The attention of every Committee of Finance was turned to the subject, and they all sanctioned the legality of this application.

Mr. *Creevey* said, it was stated as a part of the public revenue.

Mr. *Rose* was of opinion it was part of the customs.

Mr. *Creevey* stated, that lord Grenville and lord Harrowby (then Mr. Ryder) had, in the Report of a Finance Committee, reported the 4½ per cent. funds as public money.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he could not see, even admitting for a moment the truth of the statement, how it bore upon the question.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that as his hon. friend had introduced this subject before the house, he hoped some gentleman for Ireland would institute a similar exposition with respect to that country, for he had a statement to make to the committee with regard to the financial arrangements of Ireland, at one time, that would, he apprehended, astonish gentlemen who heard him, and incline them to think that such an exposition would not be unnecessary. In the administration of a noble lord who was now a cabinet minister, he meant the Lord Privy Seal (lord Westmoreland), it was enacted by parliament, that until the Pension List establishment for Ireland should be reduced to 80,000*l.* the grants of pensions should not in anyone year for each year exceed 1,200*l.* The act to this effect passed in the latter part of the month of July, in the year 1793, but was not to take effect till the 25th of March, 1794. Now, the Committee would scarcely believe, that in the interval of only seven months the enormous sum of 13,000*l.* had been added to the amount of pensions upon the Irish establishment in the administration of that noble lord, so that it appeared from the Returns made to that house, a copy of which he held in his hand, that a leading member of the present cabinet had, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, taken advantage of the interval between the passing of a law and the time of its taking effect, to violate the spirit of that very enactment [Hear! hear!]: that so far from any attempt to reduce the Pension List; so far from confining the grants for any one year within 1,200*l.* he had actually within seven months imposed upon the establishment the enormous burthen of 13,000*l.* and thus disposed of the amount of ten years pensions within the short period of seven months. The gross amount was 13,500*l.*, but from this he excluded lord F. Campbell's pension, and that to the Burgh family, leaving a sum amounting to 13,000*l.* and it would further appear from the accounts, that in the course of five years, from 1790 to 1795, the sum of 39,000*l.* a year was added to the public burdens in that country with regard to pensions. The time was now fast approaching when, by deaths, it was expected that the Pension List would be brought within the due limits; but whether that expectation would prove well founded or not, he had no hesitation in saying, that it was his intention, early in the ensuing sessions, to call upon parliament to continue the limitation of the grant of pensions to 1,200*l.* annually, until the establishment should be reduced to 30,000*l.* or at most to 40,000*l.* He stated farther that the 1,200*l.* in one year was disposed of between three members of that house, late or present.

Mr. *Foster* denied that in the viceroyalty alluded to so much money had been granted in pensions. Deducting the pensions to the Burgh family and to lord Frederick Campbell, instead of 13,000*l.* only 4,000*l.* would appear to have been given.

Sir *J. Newport* repeated his assertion, which was verified by the returns of the house of commons, and even-expressly deducting the pensions now m
tioned, 13,000*l.* annually would be f
to have been granted.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared it was no
intention to enter into the former d
of the debate. He was very ready to
fess that Mr. Pitt had laid many pe
cuous financial statements before the h
and believed it to be his object, at on
riod, to attain the utmost perfectio
could in the science of finance. Wh
he deviated from that determination s
the year 1793, it was for the hous
judge. He certainly failed in some o
calculations, and as an instance the
mittee might refer to his prophecy in
year to which he alluded, that we sh
have a fifteen years peace. Whil
paid every tribute to the disinterested
of his private life, and praised the pov
in which he died, still he must say tha
war had been carried on with the ut
prodigality. In the barrack depart
alone the extravagance was ama
Notwithstanding all that had been
by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose
prove that every attention had been
to economy; he still thought, that t
were grounds for complaints of the
serious nature, when the great wast
the country's resources was consid
which had been discovered in e
branch of the war department.
thought it something extraordinary,
it should be said the hon. gent. rece
that pension still, which it was unders
was to be given up by a person holdi
situation of more than 2000*l.* a year.
did not know that he received more,
he supposed that at least his inc
amounted to that sum, and did not d
but the hon. gent. would explain the
ter in the most satisfactory manner.
did not intend to enter into the disp
question, as to the 4½ per cent. fund,
yet he thought both the right hon. g
opposite (Mr. Long) and Mr. Burke
self most incompetent judges upon
subject, because they were themse
renters from that very fund. The
ruptions of former times had been
much dwelt upon in contradistinctio
the purity of the present; and much
sion had been made to the degradatio
that house, at an early period, when
bery was common, and doles of the
lic money were dealt out to the mem
of that house by the government. N
he had no doubt, even in those cor
days, when reform and retrench

proposed, that a loud outcry was on the occasion, and the integrity ractors, &c. highly vaunted. Much said, had been corrected since; but he contended, had been left behind ect; many branches of expendi- be retrenched, and much extrava- to be curtailed. Now, because men were pure, it was not necessa- be inferred that all were so, and a he was of course inclined to pay ghest compliment to the patriotic rance of the right hon. gent. oppo- Ir. Rose), still he was not sure that one else deserved the same eulo- The right hon. gent. had touched, , but slightly, on the subject of the ck Board, that great source of pub- travagance, and still less on the s of the Transport Board, where ast sums of money were so unneces- squandered. [Mr. W. Pole said the table, he did not believe it.] on. gent. was welcome not to be- t if he chose, but he (Mr. Whit-) believed it, and thought it was a on even whether that board ought allowed to exist at all or not. Some ince a noble lord, member for West- er, whose gallant and patriotic wements were the theme of every panegyric, (lord Cochrane), was of on, that the influence of the crown t house was greater than it ought to d moved for a return of all the mem- olding offices, sinecures, or pensions government. That motion was afterwards made more general, and the re- to it referred to a committee, the Report of which committee was before them. The influence of the n he still thought greater than it t to be in that house. He certainly ot mean to say that no officer of the n should sit in that house, but he ght the error too much on the other There were for instance the Chan- r of the Exchequer, and the other mi- s of state, who might have seats in ament; but it was not necessary for e lords of the treasury, who, indeed, generally silent in the house. Secre- of the treasury may also have a seat house. Of one of these gentlemen d not mean to speak otherwise than negyric, for his close and accurate s of business, but the other was abso- a mute, of whom they heard no- , but saw a great deal. The Lords e Admiralty, perhaps, also ought to be excluded, but to the liveliness of one of them, he must pay his tribute. One person perhaps connected with the board of controul was requisite in the house. Of its President he could not speak, for he was at present so full of his Irish affairs, that in fact the office was vacant. Persons holding that office were understood to act gratuitously on their first appointment, but that idea was soon done away, and lord Melville received much in the shape of salary before he was created Treasurer of the Navy, and then created two new offices for the education of young statesmen under him. It was not exactly conformable to Mr. Pitt's practise, for young men who were but a few years in office to take pensions for life. He did not wish to speak of living persons, but he must be excused for the allusion, as so many were mentioned in the Report. He did not see the propriety of giving persons pensions for life after being in office two or three years. Men of talent would be found to fill the principal offices of the state, even though they were not thus pensioned off. Mr. Pitt, whom the gentlemen opposite professed to make their model, did not act so. He did not seek some snug thing for himself as soon as he got into power. He (Mr. Whitbread) thought the influence of the crown in that house ought to be less than it was, and would therefore, in order to bring the question fairly before the committee, move as an amendment on the Resolution, that the words "And as a further limitation, be it provided, that no person shall hold a seat in this house having a sinecure or other private place of emolument under the crown," should be added. He wished to say a word or two on those very respectable members, the Welsh Judges. Though he thought them less exceptionable than others, yet there was a something in their sitting there which offended so far against the principle he wished to establish, that he would submit it to the house, whether or not they ought still to be considered as eligible to hold seats in parliament.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* considered this amendment of the hon. gent. as founded upon a most aristocratic principle; it would throw the offices of the crown into the hands of those alone who could, from their property, very well dispense with their salaries. He opposed to the theory of the hon. gent. the constant practice of that house, and contended that at all periods it proved the best bulwark of the liberties of the people, which plainly proved the fallacy of the argument that went to deny that it could be unduly influenced while officers of the crown had seats in parliament; for officers of the crown had always sat in it. The exclusion of magistrates of all descriptions, in his opinion, might be as well demanded as that of the Welsh Judges; for they never exercised their judicial functions except on circuit. He declared it his intention to give his utmost opposition to the amendment.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not think the true interests of the country were consulted in pensioning off every subordinate officer of government after serving the public two or three years.

Mr. *Ponsonby* was of opinion that the Resolution of his hon. friend was most important in itself, and of the greatest moment to the constitution of the country. For his own part, he was inclined to the Amendment of his hon. friend, and if it was to be pushed to a division, should vote for it. But he wished to submit it to his hon. friend, whether it would not be desirable for him to adopt the same course respecting his Amendment which had been pursued with respect to the former Resolutions, namely, to suffer it to lie on the table for a few days, in order to allow gentlemen an opportunity of considering its contents. The question was one of great moment and delicacy, and required to be looked at gravely, with a due regard to the constitution of this empire. Nothing could be so hostile to the existence of union and tranquillity, as the division of the legislature into three estates, unless they were duly balanced: but the great perfection of the constitution of this country was, that no class of the community was excluded from its just share in the deliberations of the state.—Many bills had been passed with a view to prevent abuses; but the present question, if any, deserved the peculiar attention of that house. If he were to be called on to give a vote on the present question, he would support the Amendment of his hon. friend, though he should be much better pleased, if his hon. friend would consent to put off the discussion of it for a few days, as had been done when the Resolutions were at first proposed, in order to give the house an opportunity of comparing the Amendment with those Resolutions.

Mr. *Lyttleton* concurred in the sug
tion of his right hon. friend, and rec
mended to the committee to defer
further consideration of the subject
both the Amendment and the orig
Resolution should be in the hands of
tlemen.

Mr. *H. Thornton* contended, that as
navy, the army, the ordnance, the pu
debt, and every thing connected
the management of public affairs
considerably increased, so also must
influence of the crown have been
portionably extended. That influ
could not but be communicated to a g
number of members of parliament.
must have continued to work in secret
in silence, and it was the duty of
house to watch and counteract it. Ha
observed the progress of that influe
he was ready to agree in the princip
the motion before the house, or in
other measure that was likely to lead
gradual and temperate reform of abus

Lord *Folkestone* was ready to enter
the discussion of the question at
moment, and would vote for the Am
ment, though he had no hesitation to
cede to the suggestion of putting off
discussion to another occasion. He c
not, however, avoid saying, that the
ject of all former times had been to cu
the influence of the crown, and to pre
placemen from having seats in that ho

Mr. *Whitbread,* though he wished f
decision upon the subject of his Am
ment, had yet no objection to put off
final discussion to a future day. He
no reason why chief justices should
made Peers, nor why Welsh Ju
should be allowed to become member
that house. Neither could he admit
because a person abandoned his pr
sion, he should have a provision for
made for him for having abandone
He was ever ready to admit that a per
worn out in the service of his coun
ought to be adequately provided for
contended that no such extravagant c
pensation, as had been given to
M'Donald for quitting his professio
become a Commissioner of American
perty, ought, under any such circums
ces, to be granted. Such grants w
contrary to the plans of Mr. Bu
Mr. Pitt, and lord Shelburne. The
crease of the influence of the crown w
be obvious, when it was considered
much the army, the navy, and e
other branch of the public expendi

een augmented. He had no objec-
o suffer his Amendment to lie on the
for a few days, or to withdraw it
ether, with a view to bring it for-
as a separate motion on Thursday

rd *H. Petty* entered into a justifica-
f the appointment and remuneration
r. M'Donald, and concurred in the
iety of adjourning the discussion of
mendment to a future day.

. *Wellesley Pole* rose to explain a
ment in the Supplement to the Third
rt, which concerned him. When
Wellesley went to India, it was thought
able to insert the hon. member's
in the patent of the office of Re-
rancer of the Exchequer, in case the
should become vacant while lord
esley was absent; but the hon. mem-
eaped no emolument whatever from
arrangement, and was very much
sed to find his name mentioned in
upplement to the Third Report in
r an ambiguous manner. This mis-
id not originate with the Chancel-
the Exchequer; and the hon. gent.
ndeed made a statement to the com-
e, disclaiming the receipt of any
ument in consequence of the arrange-
the hon. member had explained.

. *H. Thornton* replied, that the hon.
ber's name was introduced into the
rt, in a manner that was perfectly
biguous; for in one passage, after
g the hon. member's name, it ex-
y stated, that the profits were un-
ood to belong only to lord Wellesley;
another, after giving the hon. mem-
name conjointly with that of lord
esley, it was added, that the profits
supposed to belong to lord Wel-

e first Resolution was then read, and
ed without a division.

. *Whitbread* proposed to make a se-
e motion to the house of his amend-
on Thursday next.

. D. Giddy then left the chair, and
ted progress to the house. The
rt was ordered to be taken into
er consideration on Thursday next.

APERS RELATING TO AMERICA.] Mr.
tary Canning presented the follow-

PAPERS
RELATING TO AMERICA.

—DISPATCH *from Mr. Secretary Can-*
ng to the hon. D. M. Erskine; dated
reign Office, 23rd Jan. 1809.

Sir; If there really exist in those individuals who are to have a leading share in the new administration of the United States, that disposition to come to a complete and cordial understanding with Great Britain, of which you have received from them such positive assurances; in meeting that disposition, it would be useless and unprofitable to recur to a recapitulation of the causes from which the differences between the two governments have arisen, or of the arguments already so often repeated in support of that system of retaliation to which his majesty has unwillingly had recourse.—That system his majesty must unquestionably continue to maintain, unless the object of it can be otherwise accomplished.—But after the profession on the part of so many of the leading members of the government of the United States, of a sincere desire to contribute to that object in a manner which should render the continuance of the system adopted by the British government unnecessary, it is thought right that a fair opportunity should be afforded to the American government to explain its meaning, and to give proof of its sincerity.—The extension of the interdiction of the American harbours to the ships of war of France as well as of Great Britain, is, as stated in my former dispatch, an acceptable symptom of a system of impartiality towards both Belligerents; the first that has been publicly manifested by the American government.—The like extension of the Non-importation act to other Belligerents is equally proper in this view. These measures remove those preliminary objections which must otherwise have precluded any useful or amicable discussion.—In this state of things, it is possible for Great Britain to entertain propositions, which, while such manifest partiality was shewn to her enemies, were not consistent either with her dignity or her interest.—From the report of your conversations with Mr. Madison, Mr. Gallatin, and Mr. Smith, it appears; 1st. That the American government is prepared, in the event of his majesty's consenting to withdraw the Orders in Council of January and November 1807, to withdraw contemporaneously on its part the interdiction of its harbours to ships of war, and all Non-intercourse and Non-importation acts, so far as respects Great Britain; leaving them in force with respect to France, and the powers which adopt or act under her Decrees; 2dly. (What is of the utmost importance, as precluding a new source of misunderstanding, which might arise after the adjustment of the other questions). That America is willing to renounce, during the present war, the pretension of carrying on in time of war all trade with the enemy's Colonies, from which she was excluded during peace; 3dly, Great Britain, for the purpose of securing the operation of the Embargo, and of the *bonâ fide* intention of America to prevent her citizens from trading with France, and the powers adopting and acting under the French Decrees, is to be considered as being at liberty to capture all such American vessels as may be found attempting to trade with the ports of any of these powers; without which security for the observance of the Embargo, the raising it nominally with respect to Great Britain alone, would, in fact, raise it with respect to all the world.—On these conditions his majesty would consent to withdraw the Orders in Council of January and November 1807, so far as respects America.—As the first and second of these conditions are the suggestions of the persons in authority in America to you, and as Mr. Pinkney has recently (but for the first time) expressed to me his opinion, that there will be no indisposition on the part of his government to the enforcement by the naval power of Great Britain of the regulations of America with respect to France, and the countries to which these regulations continue to apply, but that his government was itself aware, that without such enforcement those regulations must be altogether nugatory; I flatter myself that there will be no difficulty in obtaining a distinct and official recognition of these conditions from the American government.—For this purpose you are at liberty to communicate this Dispatch *in extenso* to the American Secretary of State.—Upon receiving through you, on the part of the American government, a distinct and official recognition of the three abovementioned conditions, his majesty will lose no time in sending to America a minister fully empowered to consign them to a formal and regular Treaty.—As, however, it is possible that the delay which must intervene before the actual conclusion of a Treaty may appear to the American government to deprive this arrangement of part of its benefits, I am to authorize you, if the American government should be desirous of acting upon the agreement before it is reduced into a regular form,

either by the immediate repeal of
Embargo, and the other acts in ques
or by engaging to repeal them
a particular day) to assure the Ame
government of his majesty's readin
meet such a diposition in the manne
calculated to give it immediate effe
Upon the receipt here of an official I
containing an engagement for the a
tion by the American government o
three conditions above specified, his
jesty will be prepared, on the fait
such engagement, either immediate
the repeal shall have been immedia
America) or on any day specified b
American government for that repea
ciprocally to recal the Orders in Co
without waiting for the conclusion o
Treaty; and you are authorized, in
circumstances herein described, to
such reciprocal engagement on his
jesty's behalf. I am, &c.

George Cann

No. II.—Note *from Mr. Erskine t* *Secretary of State of the United S* *dated Washington, April 17th* 1809.

Sir; I have the honour to inform
that I have received his majesty's
mands to represent to the government
United States, that his majesty is anim
by the most sincere desire for an a
ment of the differences which have
happily so long prevailed between
two countries, the recapitulation of w
might have a tendency to impede, i
to prevent, an amicable understandin
It having been represented to his
jesty's government, that the congre
the United States, in their proceedin
the opening of the last session, had ev
an intention of passing certain laws w
would place the relations of Great B
with the United States upon an
footing, in all respects, with the
Belligerent powers, I have accord
received his majesty's commands, i
event of such laws taking place, to
on the part of his majesty, an honou
reparation for the aggression comm
by a British naval officer in the atta
the United States frigate, Chesapea
Considering the act passed by the
gress of the United States, on the fi
March (usually termed the Non-
course act) as having produced a st
equality in the relations of the tw
ligerent powers, with respect to the U
States, I have to submit, conformab
my instructions, for the considerati

merican government, such terms of ction and reparation as his majesty uced to believe will be accepted in me spirit of conciliation with which are proposed.—In addition to the t disavowal made by his majesty, ing apprised of the unauthorized mmitted by his naval officer, whose as a mark of the king's displeasure, n highly important and honourable and, immediately ensued, his ma- s willing to restore the men forcibly out of the Chesapeake, and, if ac- ple to the American government, to a suitable provision for the unfortu- sufferers on that occasion. I have nour to be, &c. D. M. Erskine.

III.—Letter *from the Secretary of ate of the United States to the hon. M. Erskine; dated Department of ate, April 17th* 1809.

; I have laid before the President Note, in which you have, in the and by the order of his Britannic ty, declared that his Britannic ma- is desirous of making an honourable ation for the aggression committed British naval officer in the attack on nited States frigate, the Chesapeake; n addition to this prompt disavowal act, his majesty, as a mark of his asure, did immediately recal the ling officer from an highly important honourable command; and that he lling to restore the men forcibly out of the Chesapeake, and, if ac- ble to the American government, to a suitable provision for the unfor- sufferers on that occasion.—The nment of the United States having, times, entertained a sincere desire n adjustment of the differences which so long and so unhappily subsisted be- n the two countries, the President ot but receive with pleasure, as- ces that his Britannic majesty is ted by the same disposition, and that ready, in conformity to this dispo- , to make atonement for the insult aggression committed by one of his officers, in the attack on the United s frigate the Chesapeake.—As it ap- at the same time, that in making this his Britannic majesty derives a mo- from the equality now existing in the ions of the United States with the two gerent powers, the President owes it e occasion, and to himself, to let it be rstood, that this equality is a result incident to a state of things growing out of distinct considerations.—With this explanation, as requisite as it is frank, I am authorized to inform you, that the President accepts the note delivered in the name and by the order of his Britannic majesty; and will consider the same with the engagement therein, when fulfilled, as a satisfaction for the insult and injury of which he has complained.—But I have it in express charge from the President to state, that, while he forbears to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example, nor the less persuaded that it would best comport with what is due from his Britannic majesty to his own honour. I have, &c. &c.

R. Smith.

No. IV.—Letter *from Mr. Erskine to Mr. Smith; dated Washington, April 18th* 1809.

Sir; I have the honour of informing you, that his majesty, having been persuaded that the honourable reparation which he had caused to be tendered for the unauthorized attack on the American frigate Chesapeake would be accepted by the government of the United States in the same spirit of conciliation with which it was proposed, has instructed me to express his satisfaction should such a happy termination of that affair take place, not only as having removed a painful cause of difference, but as affording a fair prospect of a complete and cordial understanding being established between the two countries. The favourable change in the relations of his majesty with the United States, which has been produced by the act (usually termed the Non-intercourse act) passed in the last session of congress, was also anticipated by his majesty, and has encouraged a further hope that a reconsideration of the existing differences might lead to their satisfactory adjustment. On these grounds and expectations I am instructed to communicate to the American government, his majesty's determination of sending to the United States an envoy invested with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries. In the mean time, with a view to contribute to the attainment of so desirable an object, his majesty would be willing to withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November 1807, so far as respects the United States, in the persuasion that the President would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain; and that whatever difference of opinion should arise in the interpretation of the terms of such an agreement, will be removed in the present negociation. I have the honour to be, &c.

D. M. Erskine.

No. V.—Letter *from Mr. Smith to the hon. D. M. Erskine; dated Department of State,* 18*th April* 1809.

Sir; The Note, which I had the honour of receiving from you this day, I lost no time in laying before the President, who, being sincerely desirous of a satisfactory adjustment of the differences unhappily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, has authorized me to assure you, that he will meet, with a disposition correspondent with that of his Britannic majesty, the determination of his majesty to send to the United States a special envoy, invested with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries. I am further authorized to assure you, that in case his Britannic majesty should, in the mean time, withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November 1807, so far as respects the United States, the President will not fail to issue a proclamation, by virtue of the authority and for the purposes specified in the eleventh section of the statute commonly called the Non-intercourse-act. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

R. Smith.

No. VI.—Letter *from Mr. Erskine to Mr. Smith; dated Washington, April* 19*th* 1809.

Sir; In consequence of the acceptance by the President, as stated in your letter dated the 18th instant, of the proposals made by me on the part of his majesty, in my letter of the same day, for the renewal of the intercourse between the respective countries, I am authorized to declare that his majesty's Orders in Council of January and November 1807, will have been withdrawn, so far as respects the United States, on the 10th day of June next. I have the honour to be, &c.

D. M. Erskine.

No. VII.—Letter *from the hon. Robert Smith to the hon. D. M. Erskine; dated Department of State, April* 19*th* 1809.

Sir; Having laid before the President
your note of this day, containing an a
rance that his Britannic majesty will
the 10th of June next, have withdr
his Orders in Council of January and
vember 1807, so far as respects the Un
States, I have the honour of inform
you, that the President will accordin
and in pursuance of the eleventh sec
of the statute commonly called the N
intercourse act, issue a proclamation,
that the trade of the United States
Great Britain may on the same day
renewed, in the manner provided in
said section. I have the honour to be,

R. Smit

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 6.

[Feversham Small Debts Bill.]
the question for the second reading of
Bill for extending the Feversham juris
tion for the recovery of small debts to
hundred, and constituting the Fevers
jurats judges, in common with the
dred,

Lord *Ellenborough* stated various forc
objections to the measure. His lord
said, that his time had been particul
broken in upon by applications from
ties respecting such bills as these, w
were generally the offspring of self
terest, and originated with some attorn
in particular neighbourhoods. Under
pretence of cheap justice, they were
their effects nothing but cheap injus
to the country. After stating many o
sufficient grounds for rejecting the
his lordship said, that he had come d
to oppose this bill, to mark his di
probation of such partial, ineffective,
too often injurious measures. The anc
county courts yet remained open
suitors; and he was happy to say, th
noble and learned lord had an inten
of bringing forward a measure which
tained no partial application, but was
rected to this subject in such a way a
embrace the country at large.

The *Lord Chancellor* was glad in hav
the present opportunity of expressing
approbation of the sentiments deliv
by his noble and learned friend.
was aware his noble and learned fri
had bestowed particular and serious
tention on the subject, before his pre
line of conduct. With him, he agr
considerable mischief had been felt by
ciety, in the multiplication of these
of parliament; they had been car

xecution by very improper persons, ad a pernicious effect upon those s themselves; for they thereby im- wrong notions of justice, and when became jurymen, they were apt, such wrong bias of mind, to give ts in opposition to the opinion of d judges, and in opposition to the ished law of the country; they also destructive to the very first prin- of all law amongst us, for they uced a mode of decision, without g down, by precedent, any known f conduct.

Earl of *Darnley* said a few words, ssive of his opinion, that the opposi- might be considered hard, as in a ular manner affecting the present

Earl of *Moira* had long witnessed, regret, the increase of bills of this ption. The necessity of some ge- legislative measure was, in his opi- evident; and would be found so a perusal of the report of the com- appointed to examine into the laws tor and creditor.

rd *Redesdale*, after supporting the ar- nts of the other noble lords on the t question, stated, that he had it in tion to bring before their lordships, next session, a bill for carrying y courts into full effect throughout nd. He wished also to state, that ad two other bills in view to bring their lordships next session. The was to raise the sum on which writs ests took place, to an amount higher it was at present, which was ten ds. The object of the other was to vour to apply, as far as it was prac- e, that principle which had been upon in the laws of Scotland, and e commercial country of Holland, e insolvency laws of this land. He t the principle of *Cessio Bonorum*. ould not state exactly the mode he pursue; but, perhaps, it might be, sort of perpetual insolvency bill, as he could make it practicable.

e question was then put, that this e read this day three months, which greed to unanimously. The bill was quently lost.

COTCH JUDICATURE BILL.]—The Chancellor moved the third reading e bill to afford further time, for the nissioners to report upon the Judica- of Scotland.

rl *Stanhope* spoke at length upon the subject, and entered into the principles and details of the proposed measure. He complimented his noble and learned relative (lord Grenville,)—learned, he called him, because he had studied the laws of the country, and because he was once in the learned profession—for his manly and just attempts to give the Scotch the benefit of Trial by Jury. He thought it was very difficult to shew that the Scotch people should not have that benefit; they were, in fact, better educated than the people of this country, with the exception of certain districts, and more likely to be fit, good, and true jurymen. If it was argued, that they were not so fit to receive that blessing as the people of England, that would not do, for the argument must be pushed farther, and it must be maintained that they were more unfit than the people of England were hundreds of years ago: and what was the state of the people of England 300 years ago? Why, their lordships might forget that about that time, in the reign of our Edwards, there was a particular application of an old privilege of ours, he meant the benefit of clergy, rather of a curious sort. The benefit of clergy was at first, intended only for those who could read: afterwards, it was farther extended to other persons of rank and situation; and it was then enacted, that it should extend to all their lordships, to all peers of parliament, temporal and spiritual too; that is to say, to my lords the bishops, as well as to lay lords. Now, it was enacted by that statute, (of which he read a quotation) that any temporal lord, or any bishop, guilty of highway robbery, or housebreaking, or horse-stealing, might plead the benefit of clergy. (A laugh.) Such was the state of our forefathers. And yet, at that time of ignorance, it was not thought improper to entrust common people with the rights, duties, and privileges of jurymen. And if we, in the dark days of ignorance, were fit to be so entrusted, could it be argued that the shrewd and knowing people of Scotland were unfit to be entrusted, in this enlightend century, with a similar right? It was impossible to maintain that argument.—His lordship then entered into a variety of modes by which the desired object might be gradually accomplished, and pointed out the means afforded by the difference of special and general verdicts, and by the facilities that might be given to the court in the first instance of making the verdict special or general. He likewise dwelt for some time, with much ingenuity, on the alteration in the forms upon which issues depended in cases of trial. He also made many observations as to the mode of deciding by precedents. If for instance there were 21 precedents; a judge must decide by considering the first, second, and third precedent, and so on to the end of the chapter, and then find out which were the best precedents, or the most numerous ones, in order to make up his principle of decision. In some cases, as in the law about "powers," he had counted about 1600 precedents. Well; if a judge had to decide in such a case, what could he do? Why, perhaps he might be some great legal chymist who could speedily decompound and analyze all these different precedents, and ascertain all their various qualities, and extract all their particular juices, and out of them all compound a fine pulp, of which he would make a most excellent principle to guide him in his decision. But this was not sure work. He declared himself friendly to the introduction of trial by Jury in Scotland; but unless his noble relation had any thing to move immediately on this subject, he should be obliged to give the commissioners a little more time, though he thought there was no reason for unnecessary delay.

Lord *Grenville* reviewed the great delays that had occurred in this business, which had been originally proposed by him in June, 1806, and which had been put aside on the change of administration, when parliament was dissolved without being suffered to do any more than to undo what was proposed on behalf of the people of Scotland. That system of procrastination was sedulously pursued, till at last a commission was appointed, nominated by the crown, near the close of last session, and now, instead of their labours, we had one report, and a motion to give them another twelvemonth to consider what they would do. A bill was brought in, without notice, (and he did not know of it till within 24 hours of one of its most important stages,) to extend their time. This he had and would reprobate. A noble and learned lord (Erskine), knew nothing of it, though one of the commission, till he, meeting him, told him of the circumstance. He dwelt upon the propriety of parliament acting for itself, and not acting on the opinion of the Scotch judges, who could not be supposed to be favourable to the
introduction of a jury, which was a spe
of popular controul on their author
Still he did not mean to speak with
respect of those judges; but he had fo
that no man would deny that the alt
tions wished for were most desirable.
application of the principle, he had ne
denied, involved many difficulties;
the question of form must be sacrificed
the essential merits of the measure.
then, while he admitted every thing
favour of the commissioners, individua
condemned them for their conduct in sc
particulars. There was one circumsta
most important, to which he begged t
lordships attention. The report itself
mitted the evil; but by an assumptio
the strangest kind, assumed a power wh
the act of parliament never gave th
The warrant in the sign manual he
never seen, but must suppose it was wo
ed according to the act. He must rem
that though the act passed on the 2
July, yet the sign manual only bore
date of the 2d of November, and the ins
ment was not received in Scotland till
20th of November; that made him inc
now to afford the commissioners far
time. But he must ask the noble
learned lord, whose official situation m
him particularly looked at in this ma
why that delay occurred? The re
noticed that gross and scandalous anon
in judicial proceedings by which pers
who had obtained the sentence of the c
of session were yet, before they could
tain the consequent advantages, compe
to get a copy of the sentence, or, as it
in Scotland legally expressed, "an ext
of the decreet." He had much infor
tion on that point. In one case, that c
cost an individual 1,200*l*. and in ano
case, where the whole property in ques
was from 500*l*. to 600*l*. the charge for s
copy was above 300*l*. Was it fit
such monstrous abuses of courts of jus
should exist a moment longer? Was it
a standing disgrace to the country, if
permitted their existence a moment lon
after the developement of the facts t
report of the commissioners? And
these commissioners elected themse
into a committee of supply, and did
than which nothing could be more un
stitutional and dangerous. They said,
while they stated the evil, they waite
a compensation was arranged for the cle
and other persons who received fees
of these monstrous and horrible char
Would any noble lord say, that the c

oners had any thing to do with this of the subject? Were they appointed er into the consideration, far less to the arrangements of the burthens were to be borne by the public? No! s that house, and the other house of ment especially, that were to con- of the demand of compensation by y to any person who might be injured y regulation beneficial to the com- y. He was sure that no one would se or support any thing that could destroy the means of individual sub- ce, and to take from him that to n he had been legally accustomed to for his support or his comforts; but y their lordships could not refuse to even at this late period of the sessions, to remove this flagrant and crying

He had drawn up a bill on the sub- which he meant to offer to their lord- . Suppose any person placed in a tion similar to those he had described, een the present time and that to which xistence of the commissioners was to rotracted, would he not have reason ndemn their lordships for the hard- and injustice he suffered, through their hips supineness, after the acknow- ement contained in the report they received? His lordship concluded, many observations on the administra- of justice, and the abuses that had, ngth of time, crept into it, by press- he importance of the present subject.

e *Lord Chancellor* denied that he had intention of taking the house by sur- in his bill to extend the duration of ommissioners, and appealed to a noble learned lord (lord Erskine) who had ome in, for his opinion on that subject respect to his motives. He felt that were many difficulties in the present ion. As to delay, there was some required in Scotland to arrange the s in consequence of the last bill, en- g a new division of them; besides, was a circuit in Scotland as well as

He had selected the commissioners the judges both here and there, from cates, special pleaders, writers of the et, and others, the best qualified to advice and information. He main- ed there was no particular delay, and ted his original opinion that the first (lord Grenville's) was not founded or mmended upon sufficient information ecting the laws and practice of the ts of Scotland.

ord *Erskine* spoke in defence of the original bill of lord Grenville. He admitted that he had not attended the commission, and he said that he did not see what great good he could do in that commission. He considered the forms of trial in Scotland as not easily to be adapted to jury trial, and he thought that in such a case, we should sacrifice these forms, notwithstanding their antiquity, to the great advantages to be derived from trial by jury, which he thought to be the only way in which his native country could experience the best blessings of justice. He adverted to the numerous appeals from Scotland, on which it was almost impossible to do justice in that house. Indeed, it was almost a standing disgrace to the laws and to the house. He cast no personal reflections. The marvel was, how the business was got through. When he had the honour for a short time to preside in the court of chancery, and in that house, he had stated that to be his opinion. But he did not think the opinion of the Scots judges, on whom he passed a high eulogium and tribute of praise, to be the best ground-work on which their lordships could form their judgments. The jury were a popular controul on the judge; and the introduction of it might not be palatable. If a man went into the new forest, and called the animals there together, and asked them how they liked saddles and bridles, it was pretty likely that, if they had the power of speech, they would give their opinion against any such innovation.

Lord *Redesdale* objected to the extent of the proposed introduction of jury trial into Scotland. In some respects he thought jury trial objectionable, as in the case of an action in a bond, in which and in other cases, he thought the law of Scotland wiser than our own. His lordship defended the conduct of the commissioners, and stated his opinion, that the original bill was introduced without sufficient knowledge or information respecting the Scots laws.

The bill was then read a third time.

Lord Mulgrave rose, and intimated his wish to make a particular communication, when strangers were ordered to withdraw. Upon our return to the bar,

Lord *Grenville* was addressing the house on the importance and necessity of the bill which he was about to propose, for the relief of suitors in the Court of Session in Scotland. He should conduct his perseverance in the measure, agreeably to the sense of the house, manifested on the present occasion. He concluded by moving, that the bill be read a first time.

The *Lord Chancellor* declared his consent to the first reading of the bill. Alluding to an observation of the noble baron, he never could admit that lawyers should have, in judicial affairs, a greater share in legislation than other peers. But he could not help observing, there never was a lawyer who did not fancy himself a statesman, and there never was a statesman who did not fancy himself a lawyer. He held an opinion that the introduction of trial by jury, in civil cases, would not answer the expectations of those who most contended for the measure. It reminded him of a discourse on the subject, by two very learned persons in the North. The one entertained an opinion hostile to the measure, and asked, with what machinery he would introduce it? "Why," answered his friend, "there is nothing more easy; make an act of parliament for its introduction." The first replied in his Northern dialect: "My friend, if an act of parliament were passed to make us speak English, I believe we should speak Scotch notwithstanding."

Lord *Redesdale* had no objection to the first reading of the bill, but urged the difficulty of framing a measure to give effectual remedy.

The bill was then read the first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 6.

[SPIRITS IMPORTATION SUSPENSION BILL.] Mr. Foster moved the order of the day for the third reading of this bill, when counsel were ordered to be called in to be heard at the bar against its passing into a law; after the bill was read a third time, the counsel having then withdrawn,

Sir *John Newport* rose and said, for any thing he knew, if this bill were allowed to pass, the suspension might be continued from year to year. It had been said originally, that the Irish distillers were in favour of the measure; it could not be said so now, when their counsel appeared against it. He was convinced that Ireland had not been fairly dealt with; but as to impress such a conviction might be productive of the worst consequences, he would not go into it, although he was certain that she had lost more than she had gained by the Act of Union. Those who desired the present bill to pass, wished for a monopoly, and would the house accede to it? As far as one individual voice would go, he would protest against it, as a direct violation of the Act of Union.

Mr. *Foster* said, that what he would
tend for was this, that the enactmen
the Act of Union were clear, but tha
schedule was confused and contradict
The only way to prevent a misconstru
against Ireland, was to adopt this bill,
was utterly impossible to take the sub
into ample consideration this session.

Mr. *Grattan* allowed, that some ad
ment was necessary; but the fairest
till the law could be settled, was to a
it to remain as it was. By the suspen
a violation of the Act of Union immed
ly took place, and therefore suspen
should not be allowed, till the real s
could be ascertained. If the advan
was now in favour of Ireland, they
entitled to it; but as Scotland was
cerned, Ireland must give way. He
cluded by saying, that he would
against the suspension.

Mr. *Hutchinson* said, that in two
where questions upon the Act of Union
been brought before the house, they
been carried against Ireland, as it
by acclamation, and he hoped the
would not share the same fate. By the
of Union, the Irish distiller had a
to come to market, by paying the c
tervailing duty, and if this measure
carried, it would be putting the que
at rest for a twelvemonth, with a
geance. Why they should be depr
of this right he knew not; unless bec
it had been determined to be agains
English market. As he had argued
subject, he would not detain the hous
further observations, but wished to
from a right hon. gent. opposite, wh
could not apply a remedy to the Sc
trade, without adopting this measure

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* regr
the difficulties arising out of the mea
but said it was impossible it could be
strued as a violation of the Act of U
The English and Irish revenue were
concerned in the decision of the ques
and as he could throw no new light
the subject, it having been already so
discussed, he would content himsel
declaring in favour of the bill.

The house then divided, when the n
bers were

Ayes, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Noes, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Majority - - - - - - - - - - -

The bill was then read a third time
passed.

[EAST INDIA PRIVATE TRADE.]
Prendergast called the attention of

to the state of the East India Pri-
Trade, and contended that private
nants were very hardly treated by
rectors of the company, who made
individuals keep pace with the pro-
ty with which the trade of the com-
was carried on. He further con-
d, that the directors had not fulfilled
n engagements which they had come
, to give facility to the private
To prove this, he moved for se-
papers of various dates, from 1797,
present time, consisting of Calcutta
tes; memorials to the directors;
s of marquis Wellesley; lord Mel-
&c. &c.

. *C. Grant* affirmed, that every at-
n had been paid by the directors to
nterest of the private merchant that
onsistent with the privileges of the
any. But the truth was, that nothing
satisfy these gentlemen short of
g the trade thrown completely open.
ad no objection to the production of
apers.

. *Creevey* observed, that the mercan-
ransactions of the company would
to be considered when the East In-
ommittee, to which these papers had
referred, presented its Report. But
ought the hon. gent. who introduced
bject might have said something as
political evils connected with In-
uch as the seizing of kingdoms, &c.
s opinion it was preposterous, after
onduct of marquis Wellesley had
so pointedly condemned by the di-
rs, that no measures had been taken
event future governments from fol-
g a similar course.

. *Dundas* said that the house had de-
on the conduct of lord Wellesley.

. *Wallace* thought the papers ought
be granted.

ter some observations from Mr. P.
e, the Speaker stated an objection to
notion in point of form. It was
fore withdrawn for the present.

[ARTINIQUE.] Mr. *Stephen* moved for
rn of the troops employed in the
xpedition to Martinique, distinguish-
he black troops from the Europeans.
bject was to call the attention of the
to a Proclamation issued previous to
tack upon Martinique. In this pro-
ation a distinction was made between
eople of colour who should make re-
ce, and the negroes found with arms.
atter were, it appeared, to be called
e a military tribunal, and treated much more severely than the former. He objected to this, 1st, because a considerable portion of our own troops in that expedition were negroes; 2dly, because it might afford Buonaparté an excuse for the savage practices which he resorted to against those who, out of loyalty to their government, resisted him. He adverted to the gallant conduct of the black troops at the attack of Martinique; of the Saintes; and on various other occasions. He adverted also to their importance for the defence of our West India possessions, and contended that the distinction was unjust and impolitic.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that this part of the proclamation had attracted the attention of government. They had asked for explanation, and could do nothing farther till that arrived. The officers were persons of known humanity, and in all probability could give an explanation that would be satisfactory. He hoped, therefore, the hon. gent. would think the motion unnecessary at present.

Colonel *Dillon* observed, that he could not but wish that the hon. gent. would withdraw the motion, as it must be considered as a slur upon our commander, who had lately made so important an atchievement; that to circumscribe the power of a general in issuing a proclamation, was a novel and a bad precedent; and that the commanders, in his opinion, were perfectly justified in the proclamation they had issued, from the dreadful example of the negroes interfering in the warfare in St. Domingo. The horrors they had committed there justified the commanders in taking every precautionary step of intimidation; and the event proved they were right, for the white population received them with open arms, and the negroes were neutral. As to the black corps, the hon. gent. rated them too highly, when he compared them to British troops.

Mr. *Barham* recommended caution in the employment of black troops. If they revolted in the large islands and joined the disaffected, in Jamaica for instance, we might find it difficult to conquer them. Buonaparté had conquered Europe, but could not conquer St. Domingo.

Mr. *C. H. Hutchinson* approved of the principle on which the present motion was founded, but was very much afraid, that when we acted as conquerors, we did, like others, all we could do to maintain and to secure our conquests. He condemned the too general practise of abusing indecently foreign powers, while our enemies, for resorting to those means of conquest to which we ourselves were in some instances necessarily and avowedly indebted. He was glad that the noble viscount (Castlereagh) had not, in the name of the government, approved of the proclamation alluded to by the honourable mover.

Mr. Stephen then consented to withdraw his motion for the present.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.]—The house resolved itself into a committee on the Seats in Parliament Sale Bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to move an amendment in the clause respecting the giving of money or offices for the procuring of seats in parliament. As to the first part, which related to money being given for seats, he had no objection to the wording of the clause which mentioned "any contract or agreement, express or implied, to pay money." He did not object to that, because it was a thing which was not difficult to be ascertained. He objected, however, to the words "express or implied," as relating to the grant of offices; and the reason he objected to it was, the great difficulty of ascertaining what should be considered an implied agreement. As to the offices, they must necessarily be granted to somebody or other, or the business of the state could not go on. If, then, any of those offices were given to a person who had been useful, or who might hereafter be useful at an election, a jury would be puzzled when to pronounce that it was an implied agreement, or that it was not. It appeared to him that it was a very strong ground of difference, that offices must be given to somebody, and therefore might honestly and properly be given to persons who were electors, whereas money given, or promised to be given, from the pocket of the candidate, could hardly be conceived to be given with any other idea than that of obtaining a corrupt influence. He had objected, at first, to that part which not only vacated the seat of a member, but exposed him to a trial for a misdemeanor; as he conceived, that if the misdemeanor was proved before a court or a jury, the verdict would, in fact, determine the seat. He had waved, however, his objections on this head; but when it was considered what very severe punishments attached by this bill to every person convicted of giving or receiving those improper considerations, (the member elected was immediately vacate his seat, and be subject to a penalt he thought in a law so penal, the offenc at least, should be perfectly defined. I thought that as to giving money, th could be so easily brought to proof, th he had no objection to the clause as originally stood; but as far as respect offices, for the reasons he had already give he could not agree to it. He conclud by moving an amendment, which w in substance, that the words "or implie should be left out in that part whi related to giving offices.

Mr. *Tierney* could not perceive the cessity of the distinction between t giving money and the giving an off for the same object. If the clause we to be amended in the manner propos by the right hon. gent. the public wo suppose that the house was much m anxious to protect the power of givi offices for seats in parliament, than giving money. At present the ho were only sitting in committee to ma the bill as unobjectionable as possib and it was well understood that after had gone through the committee, th would be a serious opposition to it up the report. Now he, for his part, though very anxious that the bill sho pass, would really not know how to fend it when it came under discussion this most important clause were alte in the manner proposed by the ri hon. gent. It would seem as if the fluence of the Treasury were to be p tected at all events. He thought t the words used in another act of par ment, "for his own profit, benefit, p motion, or preferment," would do w enough in the present instance. He not think the words "expressed or plied" were so necessary as they peared to some gentlemen He sho rather have them left out in both ca than applied to one, and not to the othe

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* sa that he, on the contrary, would rat that they should be applied to both ca and that the original clause should sta than that those words should be entir left out. He again called the attention the committee to the very heavy puni ments which this bill inflicted on givers and receivers of money or office and for the reasons he had before giv had no objection to the penalties attach where it could be proved that there any specific agreement to give an off he purpose of obtaining a seat; but ought it too much that a very severe ty should attach on merely an im- contract. It was hard to say what circumstances might induce a jury lieve that a contract was implied, ever an office was given to any person was an elector. The giving money elector was, however, a very diffe- thing; and the motive could not easily misunderstood.

. *Tierney* expressed his astonishment the right hon. gent. could suppose jury could imply any corrupt mo- where none existed, when it was so known to be the duty of a jury to tain, by evidence, what was right what was wrong. He was still sa- there was no necessity for sepa- the provisions as to money from as to offices.

e *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that nly person to be turned out of parlia- was the person who had purchased eat; he who had given it was liable enalty of 500*l.*

. *Ponsonby* objected to the right hon. 's proposition upon another principle; bjected to the distinction which it to draw between an express and an ed contract, the effect of which d be to render the provisions of the a mere delusion. The right hon. 's proposition denied any jurisdiction committee or a court of law, unless ctual express corrupt agreement could roved; so that let the inference of corruption be ever so strongly estab- d, and the minds of the judge and ever so completely satisfied of the ce, it could not be punished. This hought highly objectionable. With ect to the penalty of 4 or 500*l.* he not think that the house would do uty if it did not make the offence a emeanour.

he *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the observation just made shewed the necessity of the clause. It had stated, that in consequence of his osition, a jury would be obliged to ac- unless evidence of an express con- or agreement could be adduced. , he was of opinion, ought to be the It was actually necessary to make a provision, unless they wished to ent the giving of offices to relations or ds. Somebody should be appointed ffice it is true, but then it would be ired why was A. preferred to B.? and it would be difficult to explain that, unless by following up the qualification that led to the preference. It was to guard against charges of this nature that he had suggested his amendment.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that if they determined that an express agreement should be proved, no Treasury would be absurd enough to come to an express agreement; so that the evil would not be remedied. It was calculated to screen the Treasury. The right. hon. gentleman was willing to adopt the words, as applied to money; but he (Mr. T.) was desirous to extend them to offices also, as he did not see any reason for the exception.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that if one course was to be forbidden, and another permitted, they might depend upon it the course permitted would be the one adopted. Every one of the corrupt transactions that had been performed were without any express agreement, and they would still continue to be transacted in the same way. If a jury was not competent to decide upon a question of implication, what would become of the administration of law in the country? An implied agreement, he contended, was as capable of proof as an express one.

Mr. *C. Wynn* said, it was well known that many voters, though they received nothing for their actual votes, obtained five guineas for shaving the member, or some such act. He objected that there was no provision made for the punishment of a person who purchased a seat for another, without any emolument to himself.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* did not disapprove of the honourable and legitimate application of money to procure seats; but corruption he disapproved of as much as any man. If that species of influence was excluded, another would be substituted in its place, perhaps not more advantageous to the country. They who promised to take off taxes; they who resorted to large professions, and the arts of popular eloquence, would succeed, if the influence of property were destroyed. He had no hesitation in stating, in his place, that if the government was what many gentlemen contended for, in theory, it would be the most impracticable form that ever was attempted. If mankind were so formed as to be adapted to it, they would require no government at all. Without a system of influence, no government could exist. There was a distinction between public and private questions, which rendered a jury far more competent to decide in the latter than in the former case. Their passions and prejudices were not called into action to the same degree. He concluded with inculcating the necessity of distinguishing between corruption and influence.

Sir *Thomas Turton* did not understand the meaning of an honourable and legitimate application of money to procure seats in parliament. With respect to the immediate question, he saw no inconvenience that could result from committing the question of implication to a jury. He thought there were too many words about the bill, and wished to see it include every description of undue influence.

Mr. *Adam* thought the bill in its original state better than at that moment. They ought to leave the operation of the law on the word "agreement," which was perfectly understood, whether tried by a Committee of that house or by a jury.

Mr. *Curwen* said, he would wish to leave out both the words "express" and "implied."

Sir *J. Anstruther* thought this clause was meeting an evil in the way in which it did not exist. If they added to the penalty by making it heavier, or by making it a forfeiture of the office, he thought it would do.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that leaving out the words "express," or "implied," might relieve the debate on that clause; but he must insist on the word "express" being in the other clause respecting offices.

Mr. *Curwen* moved as an amendment, That the member proved guilty of corruptly procuring his election, should not only be disqualified from sitting in parliament for the particular place where the act was committed, but that he should be excluded from the whole of that parliament.

After a discussion of considerable length, in which the amendment was supported by Messrs. Tierney, Wynne, Whitbread, Lord Porchester, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Adam, Mr. W. Smith, and Lord H. Petty, and opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hawkins Browne, the Solicitor General, and Mr. Abbot, a division took place. For the amendment 60; Against it 81; Majority 21.

On the clause respecting the Oath,

Mr. *Tierney* expressed his opinion that some oath was necessary, but objected to the original oath in the bill as being too abstract, and not going into detail. He th proposed an amendment, an oath, speci ing more particularly the abjurations.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* conten ed that all the objections to which former oath was liable, weighed equa against the one now proposed.

Mr. *Tierney* denied that this oath wo be conscientiously taken by any one w had contracted for his seat.

Mr. *Ponsonby* defended the amen oath, and remarked that the Chancello the Exchequer, though he blamed other oaths, proposed none of his own.

Mr. *Curwen* argued in favour of so oath, but still thought, even if the o was left out, that by this measure a s was sown, whose beneficial fruits would extensive.

Mr. *Wilberforce* contended for the ne sity of an oath, but did not wish one to included in the bill, unless the penalties perjury were attached to it.

Mr. *Tierney* had no objection that penalties of perjury should be attache the oath. The only reason why he not introduce them was, that, in examin the statute book, he could not obse them included in any oath which w into detail.

Lord *Milton* supported the necessity an oath, and the propriety of attach penalties to it. He thought the amen oath proposed much less applicable t the original one.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* contended for original oath; he denied that the amen oath could be taken by any member, cause it made a man swear that he had been returned by the expenditure of sum of money; this was impossible, cause legal expences might be inclu under it. He did not think the penal of perjury should now, for the first ti be introduced into an oath of detail.

Mr. *Rose* asked what situation a m ber would be in, who, after he had ta the oath, should be declared to have b guilty of bribery by a committee of house? Would not this go a great wa convict him of perjury?

Sir *T. Turton* said, that the people England would think the person w could not take this oath guilty of bribe and that the legal expenses between wh and bribery the right hon. gent. (Canning) could not distinguish, were s as a man might be arrested for if he not pay.

Mr. *Rose* said, that if the hon. bar

o open all the houses in the Borough,
ght be arrested for the reckonings.

T. Turton said he had never done so,
hould not, although the right hon.
had set him the example (Hear,
).

e *Speaker* said, he had stated, when he
ndulged with the hearing of the Com-
e on a former occasion, his wish for
per oath, and his coincidence in the
on of sir William Blackstone; but
the same time, stated, that the oath
not indispensable, and, if there was
diversity of opinion on the subject,
ld be better not to insist upon it. It
f so much importance to obtain the
nition of the house to a bill with the
ples of the present, that he should be
to lay this, or any other difficulty in
ay that might endanger its passage
gh the house.

H. Thornton thought, that if the
" contrary to the meaning of this
were inserted, and the penalties of
ry forborn, the objections to the oath
be removed.

T. Turton begged to state an amend-
he should propose when the present
isposed of, to the effect that the mem-
ad not, nor had any person for him
ased his seat.

d *Porchester* objected to any oath re-
tial to an act of parliament.

e house was then cleared for a divi-
but no division took place, and the
nittee reported progress, and asked
to sit again the next day.

journed at four o'clock on Wednesday
ing.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 7.

ar Taxes Extension Bill.] Upon
uestion for the third reading of the
or charging the Loan for the service
year, and the amount of Exchequer
funded in the present session of par-
nt, upon the Duties granted to his
ty during the War,

d Viscount *Sidmouth* rose to make
observations, which, from a regard
convenience of others, he had re-
ntly deferred till the present stage of
bill.—It had indeed, he said, been
ul to him to refrain so long from ex-
ng the feelings of astonishment and
with which he contemplated the
nous amount of our expenditure, and
elusive and improvident means by which it was to be defrayed. The amount, exceeding by about five millions that of the last year, and by more than nine millions that of the year 1807, far surpassed whatever the exaggerations of the timid, or the factious, had at any period foreboded; and the means of defraying it by taking one million from the war taxes for the purpose of supplying the interest of the loan, were directly at variance with the system of financial policy adopted by parliament at the renewal of the war, and most injurious in their tendency to the future prospects of the country.—The contest, in which we were engaged, was evidently one of indefinite duration. To this view of it, founded on the circumstances under which it took place, and on the boundless ambition, and known character of the ruler of France, he had endeavoured in the years 1803 and 1804, to adapt our expenditure, and the system by which it was to be provided for. The former, though complained of at the time, as being restricted within the limits of a too rigid œconomy, had nevertheless been found fully sufficient, not only for the purpose of complete domestic security, but for more extensive foreign conquests than had ever been made in the first year of any former war: and the latter, the objects of which were to prevent, by the operation of the sinking fund, combined with the imposition of war taxes to an unexampled amount, any considerable addition to the public debt, or permanent taxes, was carried into immediate effect by the firmness of parliament, seconded by the ardent zeal and fortitude of the people. The conviction had become universal, that the renewal of war was solely occasioned by the restless and insatiable ambition of the enemy, and accordingly the truth of what was said by Mr. Burke, that the pecuniary means of a country, which were accessible by taxation, consisted not merely of what it possessed, but of what it would consent to pay, was never more completely illustrated than at that memorable period. War taxes to the amount of upwards of twelve millions, were imposed by parliament with little, or no opposition in either house, and submitted to without complaint by the people; although an addition of near one hundred millions to the public debt, and of near five millions to the permanent taxes had been made in the year 1802, for the purposes of funding the sum, for which the income tax had been mortgaged, and of

winding up the arrears, of the war. That this system was eminently successful, was manifest from the fact, that, with a loan of ten millions only, the provision for the first year of the war proved not only adequate to its expenditure, but, as appeared from a resolution passed by the house of commons after he had quitted office, to be also sufficient, (supposing the war had then terminated,) to liquidate the whole of the funded and unfunded debt incurred during that year, and to leave a surplus of upwards of two millions to the disposal of parliament.——In the subsequent year (1804) the loan was for no more than ten millions: but as an increase of expence had taken place, he had proposed, and parliament had adopted, the measure, of adding one million to the war taxes; a measure directly opposite to that of the present year, by which, even under the pressure of increased expenditure, one million was to be withdrawn from that fund. The great object he had in view, was to arrive at the point where the sum borrowed, would be balanced by the sum to be redeemed in the same year; after which, if there was no additional expenditure, the public service would be carried on with a diminishing, instead of an encreasing debt. It was however at that time, and continued to be his decided opinion, that, if an addition to the expenditure became necessary, it ought to be provided for by an addition to the revenue, so that the great object of preventing a permanent accumulation of debt might be effectually accomplished. He acknowledged it to be also his opinion, that, when the sum borrowed could by the amount of war taxes, be brought within the limits of the sum redeemed ,it would be warrantable and wise to leave the interest of the sum annually paid off to the disposal of parliament. This would nearly fix the limits of taxation during war, as no more would be required from that source, than the comparatively small charge, under the provisions of the Act of 1792, of one per cent. on the loan for the service of the year. Thus would the people find an immediate reward for their privations and sacrifices, in the accomplishment of the important object, of having enabled their country to maintain the great contest in which it was engaged, with a diminishing debt, and with little or no addition to the public burthens.

The arrival however at this splendid and impregnable situation of financial security, which he was firmly convinced might
been attained, had, to say the least,
unfortunately retarded by the great
crease of expenditure, which took p
after the period, to which he had part
larly referred. The amount of the
for the year 1805 was twenty millions,
the addition made at that time to the
taxes, consisted of 1½ per cent. on
property tax, which addition was not ta
at more than 1,140,000*l*. This provi
was so inadequate to the increase of
expenditure, that the noble lords who
ceeded to the offices of First Lord of
Treasury, and Chancellor of the Ex
quer, in 1806, had the wisdom and
tude to propose an immediate additic
the war taxes of near six millions;
after having successfully laboured to
duce the public expenses, (and those
know the difference between preve
and retrenchment would not be surp
that the reduction was not greater,
found the amount still so large, and
pressure of taxes recently imposed so
thensome, as to afford them no hop
carrying into full effect the system, w
had been adopted at the commence
of the war. The plan however to w
they had recourse, appeared to be the
that circumstances would admit of, a
was marked by the decided approb
of parliament and the public. Accor
to this plan the expenditure of each
exclusive of subsidies, being estimat
thirty two millions, beyond the surpl
the consolidated fund, and the produ
the annual taxes, the war taxes, w
were computed at twenty one mil
were to supply not only the interes
a sinking fund, for the loan of each
the capital of which would, at any pr
ble price of stocks, be redeemed w
fourteen years. Without entering fu
into the particulars of this plan, he w
observe, that it contained principles o
utmost importance, of which the pr
of the present year was wholly desti
he meant those of redemption, renov
and permanency: that it was fou
upon a correct view of the nature o
contest in which we were engaged,
derived from the concurrent aid o
sinking fund, and the war taxes, the m
of carrying it on for an indefinite p
upon the scale of expense that had
stated, without any permanent incre
debt, or any immediate addition t
permanent taxes, and with a compara
small addition to them at a future pe

at the conduct of those by whom it een brought forward afforded a g and creditable contrast to that of jesty's present ministers, inasmuch former had considerably diminished olic expenditure, and increased the e, and the latter had diminished the e, and enormously increased the exure. He must also observe, that by nsfer of war taxes from their destined e to that of defraying the interest loan, the people were deluded into gard of a profuse expenditure by the ance of being spared the pressure tional burthens; whereas the effect transfer was to render those per- which would otherwise have ceased ne war, and to create the necessity rowing an additional million, the in- of which must be provided for by axes. To parliament the measure not be deemed respectful, inasmuch hout an alledged necessity, it was arture from a system which the ture had deliberately sanctioned, and red; to the country it was degrading, either called in question its means sources, or the good sense, the spirit, mness of the people; but above all, most mischievous in its tendency, as d not fail to animate the hopes, and rage the perseverance of the enemy, m it would be obvious that such a hrift policy must necessarily tend to the duration of our exertions; and lthough our fleets and armies should ery where triumphant, all their es might be ultimately unavailing, mpromise and submission rendered dable, by the prodigality and im- ence of our government. This, he , would never be our condition; avert such a state of calamity, and e, it was necessary that the vigi- of parliament should be roused, and hority exerted. Some of their lord- might not perhaps have fully ascer- the advantageous effects of that , which was now for the first time d: they might not be aware, that ar taxes had not only occasioned the es in all money transactions, which te of public credit (as far as it was be- by the comparatively small amount loans) could not fail to produce, but nce the renewal of the war, they had, the lowest computation, prevented dition of more than two hundred ns of debt, and of near ten millions manent taxes.—This was the system in which a breach had been improvidently made; he trusted it would be repaired; or at least that the attention of parliament and the public being awakened, this delusive, weak, and ruinous expedient would not be repeated. He wished not to check or discourage exertion: but he was anxious to see œconomy go hand in hand with vigour, and our income and expenditure brought as nearly as possible to a level with each other.—His lordship concluded by saying that in thus delivering his sentiments, he had discharged an indispensable duty not only to his country, but to himself; as his silence might have been misconstrued into an acquiescence in a measure, utterly inconsistent with a just view of our actual situation, and of the nature of the present contest, and directly adverse to opinions, which he had always entertained, and upon which he had constantly acted. If persisted in, it had an obvious tendency to lay us at the feet of the enemy; although, humanly speaking, the means and resources we possessed, were, if wisely applied, fully sufficient to frustrate all his projects for our destruction, and to conduct us through the struggle, not only with security to our independence, but with increased glory, and augmented power. To a measure of such a description he could not but express his decided, and unqualified dissent.

The Earl of *Liverpool* contended that the noble viscount was in error, in supposing that the annual expenditure during the probable continuance of the war could be limited to any definite sum. This, from the unavoidable fluctuation of circumstances and the varying price of all articles necessary to our numerous and diversified equipments, was actually impossible. He regretted as much as the noble viscount, the great increase of our expenditure, but it should be recollected that the shutting of the ports in the Baltic and the embargo in the American ports, must have necessarily increased the price of naval stores, and of all the various articles which were requisite for supplying our maritime forces. With respect to the mode of carrying on the war, by assisting those powers on the continent who were struggling against the common enemy, this was not the time for discussing that question. Circumstances had arisen which had necessarily increased the expenditure under that head; he alluded to the rising of the Spanish people; but in every point of view in which that object could be con-

sidered, whether with reference to the additional means afforded of combating the ruler of France, or to the considerations of public interest, national honour or liberal policy, he would say, that we were called upon by all those considerations, as well as by every principle of sound policy, to render assistance to that nation in their struggle against the oppression of France, and it would be a cheering consolation to the country that such assistance had been promptly and generously rendered, even though it should ultimately fail in its object. With respect to the actual amount of expenditure, it might be a question of policy as to whether we should carry on the war upon a certain definite scale, with a view to its long continuance, or whether we should carry it on for a short time upon a more enlarged scale, with a view to more immediate advantages. He would not now, however, consider this question, but proceed to consider the question more immediately under consideration—the subject of finance. The objections he had to the financial arrangements and plan of the noble lord opposite (lord Grenville), were, first, that they proceeded upon the assumption of a certain definite annual expenditure during the war, which was absolutely impossible; and secondly, that they amounted to a breach of faith towards the existing public creditor in the new sinking fund, which would be created, and by which a bonus would be given at a time when it was not wanted, whilst when it would be useful, it could not be forthcoming. The present ministers had acted upon the plan of the noble lord in the first year of their coming into office, he having previously pledged a certain portion of the war taxes for the interest of the then loan, and the extraordinary increase of the provision for the sinking fund. It was known to be a part of that plan, that in consequence of raising the war taxes to the amount to which they were then brought, no new taxes should be imposed for three years. In the last year there was no necessity for resorting to new taxes, with some trifling exceptions, the falling in of the annuities and other sources of augmented revenue having furnished nearly sufficient means for defraying the interest of the loan and the one per cent for a sinking fund upon the stock created. In the present year ministers had resorted to the mode now proposed of pledging 1,000,000*l.* of the war taxes to defray the interest of the loan; but he wished it to be distinctly
understood that this was not part of a
tem to be permanently acted upon,
that the subject remained completely o
for future consideration. If the pla
the noble lord (Grenville) had been a
upon during the three years, there w
now have been 3,600,000*l.* of the
taxes pledged for the interest and sin
funds of the loans of those three years.
the system under which the present mi
ters had acted there would be pledge
the present bill should be passed, a su
2,200,000*l.* of the war taxes. There
therefore, this difference between
system and the plan of the noble lord,
by the latter one million four hun
thousand pounds more of the war t
would be appropriated to the paymen
interest and sinking funds upon the
three years Loans than by the for
There was not, it was true, any sin
fund created in the present instance;
that might be done hereafter, if it sh
be thought necessary; and, at all ev
the whole subject was open for the
sideration and decision of parliament.

Lord *Grenville* said, he felt it an irk
task, upon the present occasion, to call
lordships' attention to this subjec
finance at this very late period of
session, when the attendance was so
and when he had to address nearly em
benches. Ministers seemed determ
that their lordships should scarcely
an opportunity of discussing this bil
taking care to bring it up to that hou
a period when a full attendance c
scarcely be expected; they did not
condescend to state its object, and t
was, that a bill for imposing taxes in
petuity upon the country, to the amou
a million a year, had hitherto p
through the greater part of its stage
noticed, and almost unknown, and he
doubted whether many who heard
were at all aware, or had even a suspi
that the object of the bill was to im
taxes to the amount of a million a ye
perpetuity upon the country. The
earl (Liverpool), in contending tha
annual expense of the war could n
definitely fixed at any limited sum
contended for that, which nobody
doubt. Every one must be aware th
sum could not be precisely limited w
the bounds of any previous calcula
but here was an increase of expenditu
the course of two years, to the amo
9,000,000*l.*; and yet, notwithstandin
enormous increase, a general apathy

prevail in the public mind upon the
ct. The people, wholly indifferent
s most important consideration, were
ied in discussing minute points, with
ct to which it was impossible that
any practicable modification any ma-
alleviation of their burthens could
and those were only deluding them
endeavoured to persuade them that
would be the result. The enormous
ase of 9,000,000*l.* in the public ex-
ture, and that in the short space of
ears, was surely a subject of no ordi-
importance, and demanded the most
s investigation. The noble earl had
ed going into the discussion of those
cal measures from whence this enor-
increase of expense had arisen; but
it was not enough to say, that this
entation of expenditure had taken
in consequence of these measures,
at therefore it was unnecessary to in-
into it; that the expense had been
red, and therefore it was needless to
to the discussion of the political mea-
which occasioned it. Some substan-
eason ought to be given to their lord-
and the public for so enormous an
ase of expense. Looking to the situa-
and the resources of the county, it
be at once evident that the greatest
where all was error, was this enor-
increase of the expenditure of the
ry, and this at a time when it was
than ever necessary that we should
nd and economize our resources.
noble earl had objected to the finan-
lan of the late administration, that it
red a definite annual expenditure,
h it was impossible to keep within;
surely must be evident to every one,
some definite sum must be taken, in
to found upon it any precise detailed
lation. It might not have been prac-
e to keep down the annual expendi-
to 32 or 33,000,000*l.*, stated in that
though he thought much might have
done towards the attainment of that
t; but the great advantage of that
m would have been, that the excess
penditure above that sum being to be
ded for by immediate taxes, parlia-
and the country would have been
aware of the increase of the expendi-
by the proposed increase of taxes, and
utary inquiry into the cause of that
ase would have been the necessary
. On the contrary, under the plan
e present ministers, the people were
e deluded with the shew of imposing no taxes, whilst the enormous increase of expenditure was kept out of sight, and a permanent burden was imposed, which tended to the ruin and destruction of our resources. The noble earl had stated, that under the plan of the late administration 3,600,000*l.* would now have been mortgaged, and that under the present plan 2,200,000*l.* only were mortgaged; but mark the difference, by the former there would only have been an annuity for fourteen years with the improved operation of the sinking fund created, whilst by the present plan a burden of 1,000,000*l.* a year was imposed for ever upon the country. The present ministers had no sooner come into office, than they set about deranging this plan of their predecessors. It was true that it was partly adhered to in the first year; but with this marked difference, that the property tax was included in the pledge, which it was the object of the late ministers to exclude. By the plan of the late administration, the war, as stated by his noble friend (lord Sidmouth,) might have been carried on indefinitely. The enemy aiming at nothing short of our destruction, had adopted two modes of attempting that object, which he sometimes pursued united, sometimes separately; the one was direct attempts upon the country, the other endeavouring to wear us out by protracted hostility and thereby exhaust our resources. To repel the former, we must rely upon the valour and discipline of our navy and army, to the spirit and bravery of the people. To meet the latter, it became necessary to adopt some permanent plan which should place our resources beyond the peril of being thus exhausted by the artifices or obstinacy of the enemy. It was with this view that the plan of the late administration was formed, under which each portion of the war taxes, after paying off in fourteen years the sums charged upon it, would have been released from all incumbrance, and again applicable to the public service for a similar purpose; and thus we might have been enabled to maintain the dreadful contest in which we were engaged indefinitely, and convince the enemy, that he could have no hope in continuing the war of being enabled either to exhaust our means, or to render us more accessible to his power by any perseverance in his designs against our finances. But what must be the consequence if the plan of the present ministers were persevered in? by pledging one

million a year in perpetuity, it must be evident to every one, it must immediately be evident to the enemy, that at the end of a certain definite period our resources must be utterly exhausted ; for when the war-taxes should be in this way all mortgaged in perpetuity, to what resource could the noble earl then resort to carry on the war, or to support the credit of the country ? He was, however, glad to hear from the noble earl, that this arrangement of the present year was not intended as part of a system that was to be permanently acted upon ; and he was anxious to hear what was the system which ministers had in their contemplation ; but, in truth, there appeared to him to be no system at all contemplated by them either in their financial or their political measures. The maxim of the noble earl seemed to be "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" and all that was looked for was to provide for the pressing occasion and to satisfy the exigency of the moment. The noble earl, when he had proposed this measure, was evidently at the end of his finance, and looked no further than next year, when a new supply must be raised and a different experiment resorted to. He was surprized to hear from the noble earl, at a distance of two years, that the plan of the late administration would have operated as a breach of faith towards any description of persons, still less to the public creditors. No persons were more alive to their interest, and justly so, than the public creditors, and yet from those gentlemen no complaint of this nature was heard when the arrangements of the late administration were brought forward. So far from it, that at the time of negociating the loan, after this plan was brought forward, when he (lord Grenville) was in office, one of the gentlemen who had contracted for it told him that the advantageous terms then obtained for the public were to be solely ascribed to the salutary operation of that plan. Upon what terms could the present ministers expect to borrow, if the war taxes were to be mortgaged in perpetuity ?—a measure so pregnant with danger and injury to public credit. He could not quit this subject without again deprecating and condemning those measures which had been the principal cause of the late enormous increase of our expenditure.—He was thoroughly convinced that no possible advantage could be derived from continuing to keep up a British force in Spain. A

system of utter delusion had been pr
tised with respect to the state of aff
in that country, where there appeared
hope of maintaining an advantage
contest, or prosecuting the war with
prospect of a successful issue. To ca
on a land war on the continent was
greatest impolicy of which we could
guilty, and in direct opposition to the o
system of policy to which we ought
resort—to that of husbanding our pres
resources in order to secure the me
of our ultimate defence. His lords
proceeded to ask what we had gained
this increased expenditure, and by
addition thus made to our debt ? We
gained the convention of Cintra, the
treat of Salamanca, the loss of our b
officers, and the dispersion of our ar
as an army.—What, on the other ha
had we lost ? We had considerably
in having an increase to our debt
9,000,000*l.* and an annual burden
1,000,000*l.* additional imposed on
people of this country. The burth
altogether to which not the higher
the lower, but the middling class of
community of this country had of
years submitted to, were inconceiva
He was one of those who, far from co
tenancing or supporting, highly re
bated and disapproved of the pract
resorted to in order to excite clamour
disaffection ; but at the same time
must caution ministers not to refuse t
attention to the voice of the well-affec
and the unaffected expression of the
timents of the nation. He could not
bear from expressing his surprise th
most unqualified attack should have b
made upon the proposition made by
(lord Grenville) while in office, by
noble secretary, who now himself
posed to carry through a measure wh
went so far, he must add, extremely
yond what he (lord Grenville) had
had in contemplation. He requested
the house to bear in mind the opposi
which the noble lord opposite, and t
who acted with him, had shewn to
proposition which he had formerly
mitted, and to compare that proposi
with the present measure. The pres
he contended, was a measure which
uniformly been discountenanced by
Pitt, by his noble friend (lord Sidmou
and by the administration of which hi
self formed a part. The plan which
had in view would have affected pa
the war taxes, at the very most only

en years, though, in his mind, for a
orter period ; the present measure
o affect them permanently. It had
abroad in the country, that he ap-
l of the present measure, and this
hed most explicitly to deny. He
ned the present the most destructive
ial measure which could be adopted.
an, he begged to remind their lord-
also went to provide an imme-
and permanent peace establishment,
as in the present plan no such thing
ought of.

d *Harrowby* supported the bill. He
ained that it must be attended both
mmediate and future advantage. It
tended with good at the moment,
much as it prepared the people to
he taxes with which they were at
t burthened. It must be attended
advantages in future, by affording
ers an opportunity of judging of
est means of making the existing
most effectual.

d *Grenville* explained. He declared
pinion that the system which in
resent state of affairs we should
, was one of husbanding our means
roviding for eventual defence. We
othing to do with sending an army
continent. That he might not be
derstood, he expressly stated that
overnment ought not to have sent
my to Spain. Such had always been
inion. The noble lord asked, why
not tell this sooner? He did on
rst day of the present session ex-
these to be his sentiments, and
ain that ministers by not consulting
ment on the subject during the last
n, had not afforded him an earlier
tunity of stating what his opinion
If the inhabitants of Spain could
efend themselves, in his judgment
rmy we could send into the penin-
would be of no avail. All that we
right to do was to provide them, as
was in our power, with arms, clothes,
ammunition. He begged also to
as a proof of the increase of our
diture, that the single article of
orts had increased from one million
half to three millions.

e earl of Liverpool, lord Sidmouth,
lord Grenville again explained ;
which, the bill was read a third time
assed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 7.

[VOTE OF CREDIT BILL.]—On the order for the third reading of the Vote of Credit Bill,

Sir *T. Turton* took the opportunity of taking a view of our relations with the powers on the continent, and doubted the propriety of assisting Austria with money ; he objected, at all events, to our binding ourselves to discharge the bills already drawn by that power upon us, without any authority. With respect to Spain he thought ministers should take care we had good security for any loan we might advance her ; and adopt the most effectual steps for guarding her fleets at Cadiz, and elsewhere, from falling into the hands of Buonaparté. He hoped at all events, that ministers would be able to give an account to the country of so large a vote of credit, as was now about to be trusted to their disposal.

General *Tarleton* said, his duty impelled him to come forward on the present occasion to offer that advice to ministers, in public, which he had suggested to them in private, but which had not been attended to. He had intended to advert more particularly to the affairs of Austria, but the recent news from that quarter had struck him with so unexpected a degree of satisfaction, that he should in some measure abstain from his intention. Certainly that power either knew, or ought to have known, the strength and situation of Buonaparté, previous to her entering into the present contest; and yet we saw him collecting an army on the Rhine, with as much facility as if he were not engaged, either personally, or with his force, in Spain; but when he found the French penetrate to Vienna, almost without resistance, he began to despair, and felt inclined to be parsimonious in the pecuniary assistance to be afforded to the Austrians. Since, however, his coming into the house, he had seen the French bulletin, and he found reason to hope a reverse had taken place in the hitherto unchecked career of victory. Whether the bridges on the Danube had been broken down by design or accident, signified nothing; for when the French were compelled to retreat, his hopes began to revive. Under these circumstances, he did think that some money, though that sum should not be very large, should be risked in the support of the Austrian cause. The hon. general next adverted to the state of Spain and Portugal, and pointed out the unfortunate consequences of the Convention. He also dwelt upon the conduct of Mr. Frere, whose advice had brought about the unfortunate retreat to Corunna, instead of a retreat to Lisbon, which was so much preferable, and which had been intended by the lamented sir John Moore. But ministers had sent another army to the Peninsula, and what was the prospect? The enthusiasm of the Spaniards was not so great as at first, and since they were unable before to drive the enemy, consisting of 80,000 men, from behind the Ebro, what hope was there that they would now be able to expel from their territories an army of nearly 100,000 men? It seemed the most hopeless plan that could be imagined, to send men to the Peninsula at present. He severely condemned the great noise made about the three skirmishes of sir Arthur Wellesley, which would give occasion to the people of the continent to say, that we were the animal in the lion's skin—and that the noble lord was the daw in borrowed feathers—(Lord Castlereagh was in the full uniform of his militia regiment.) He blamed the mode of operations adopted at present in the Peninsula, and contended that the only chance of our doing any thing effectual was, to adopt a defensive plan till circumstances should arise to enable us to act offensively with a better prospect of success. He blamed the appointment of marquis Wellesley to Spain, and said that it would have been better to send lord W. Bentinck to the Junta, and send the marquis to Prince Charles, where he could do no harm. He concluded by recommending the greatest economy in the expenditure of the public money.

Mr. *Curwen* observed, that if the news of the check received by the French armies in Austria were well-founded, ministers ought not to be niggardly in their assistance in money to Austria; and if the case should require it he would recommend it to ministers, instead of three millions to take six millions. This was the first reverse that Buonaparté had met with; and if it was of the extent reported, it would be incumbent on ministers to adopt a bolder policy, and make common cause with Austria, where the battle for Spain and Portugal must in fact be fought.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that it was the duty of ministers neither to be elevated by temporary success, nor depressed by the casual disasters to which war was subject, but to administer the resources co
mitted to their charge in the best man
for the country and the world. The h
general had taken an unfair view of
transactions in Portugal, which he affirm
under all the circumstances, to have b
very brilliant, though he had never
scribed them as general battles. Si
the army was under the command o
A. Wellesley, he thought the advice of
hon. general might have been spared
every thing that zeal and knowledge c
effect would be done. As to the suc
mentioned in the news of the day, he
always unwilling to raise too sanguine
pectations in the country, as well a
prevent its being depressed in adversit

Mr. *Herbert* (of Kerry) approved of
declaration of government, that they wo
not abandon Spain as long as it would
true to itself.

The bill was then passed.

[Poor Clergy.] The house reso
itself into a committee of the wh
house, to consider further of a Suppl
be granted to his majesty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ca
the attention of the committee to the s
ject of the Smaller Livings in Engla
the increase of which was the object
queen Anne's Bounty. He had him
given the matter much consideration;
from the pains taken, he was in hope
should have been enabled to have brou
the matter fully under their considera
in the course of this present session;
though the returns were as yet but imp
fect, those from four dioceses not hav
been made, yet he thought no time sho
be lost, as they approached to the en
a session, of doing something, by way
pledge that the business would be u
mately reduced to a system. By the
turns already made, imperfect as t
were, it appeared, that by the regular
plication of queen Anne's Bounty,
would take forty years to come, to m
the smaller livings up to 50*l.* a-year;
it would take three times that period,
120 years, to make them up 100*l.* a-y
and so on in a greater proportion.
considered it wise, therefore, to take a s
towards accomplishing the first deg
by proposing to the house, to vote
sum of 100,000*l.* to be paid to the go
nors of queen Anne's Bounty, to be
out in the same manner as that fu
Supposing the house to pursue that syst
yearly, without any increase, they wo
attain the first object, namely, the incre

ll livings of 50*l.* a-year, in the short of four years. He declared his in- n of not confining the measure to nd, but intended, on a future day, re an address to his majesty for a ent of the Poor Livings in Scotland eland, for the purpose of extending relief. He concluded with moving a sum not exceeding 100,000*l.* be d to his majesty, to enable his ma- o pay the same to the Governors Bounty of queen Anne, for the ntation of the maintenance of the Clergy, to be by them applied in crease of the maintenance of the Clergy, according to the rules egulations by which the Funds of orporation are governed; and that d sum be issued and paid without e or other deduction whatsoever."

d *Milton* did not object to this reso- , but observed, that a part of queen s Bounty had been applied to other purposes strictly clerical. He also ked that a great many of the small s were in the possession of rich plu- , who could have no need of the entation.

Wilberforce expressed in strong his approbation of the measure, and red, that it was highly honourable right hon. friend to have attended s subject, amidst such a variety of tions. Many of the inferior clergy ed the most extreme hardships, and ote was equally gratifying to the gs and to the judgment. He then ced to the scandalous fact that in places, particularly in the large , the poorer classes had not the s of attending public worship. Some ly ought to be applied, and for this se, he thought the building of hes ought to be facilitated. The se and other circumstances formed sent very powerful obstacles.

d *H. Petty* concurred in the object of ng the parochial clergy, and looked atisfaction to what had been done by which he himself had some time ago ht in for relieving the small livings the land tax. He wished that a ould be devised to confine the relief h small livings as were not possessed ch pluralists. He also suggested the iety of making queen Anne's Bounty ve in Ireland.

. *Curwen* approved of the measure, oncurred in what had fallen from the gent. near him respecting the want of accommodation in churches for the poorer classes. He thought some attention ought to be paid to the condition of schoolmasters, and referred to the northern parts of the island, as an instance of the advantages of educating the poor.

After some observations from sir J. Newport, Mr. D. Browne, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Babington, and Mr. Carew,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, and expressed his satisfaction at the reception which the proposition met with: It was not at present proposed to form a system. The suggestions for improvement would be afterwards considered. He stated that the present grant, if continued, would in four years raise the value of the lowest livings to 50*l.* a-year.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

[Dr. Cartwright.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then stated to the committee, that the next grant he had to propose, was, a remuneration to the reverend Dr. Cartwright, for his valuable invention of machinery for weaving of cotton and combing of wool. This he did, in consequence of a memorial that had been presented to him, signed by about 30 manufacturers, who had witnessed the benefit of the machine. This memorial stated, that that reverend gentleman had expended a large fortune in carrying the invention into practice; that in the year 1788, he had obtained a patent, but that in 1792, popular prejudice was so greatly against it, that his machinery was destroyed by the mob, and before he could get another mill erected, his patent expired, by which he lost the whole benefit arising from his labours, after having expended between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* It was an invention which had been found most useful in the manufacture of sail-cloth for the service of the navy, and extremely beneficial in the weaving of cotton; and for which not only the manufacturers, but the country in general, must feel themselves ever indebted to Dr. Cartwright. As the ingenious inventor had evidently derived no advantage from the discovery, which, on the contrary, had tended to his ruin, he should propose to the Committee, That a sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be paid to Edmund Cartwright, clerk, doctor in divinity, in compensation for the great expence he has incurred in the discovery and application of various mechanical inventions to the process of Weaving, by which he has rendered essential services to the manufactures of this country; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever."

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he thought such a grant should not pass without some observations of approval. He thought every case should stand upon its own footing and foundation. Although he had no personal acquaintance with Dr. Cartwright, he believed, from what he had heard of him, that, as far as ingenuity and integrity went, there was no individual more entitled to the bounty of the kingdom. He had witnessed, for many years, his perseverance for the good of the public, and lamented the undeserved return he had met with from that popular prejudice which had prevented him deriving any benefit from his invention. He was, therefore, glad to find that public favour was now about to be so rightly and justly bestowed in counteracting the effects of ignorance and prejudice. The vote proposed had his perfect concurrence.

This vote was then put and agreed to.

[Seamen's Wages Bill.] On the motion for the third reading of this bill,

Sir *C. Pole* rose and said:—Sir, the house having decided that the clauses, which relate to the allotting of petty officers and seamen's pay, should stand as part of this bill, it is my duty to bow to their decision; but it is not less my duty to endeavour by every means in my power, to render this allotment as little prejudicial to the service, and as little unjust and onerous to the petty officer and seaman as possible. It is with that hope that I present a clause, by way of rider to this bill.—Sir, as the bill now stands, no person allotting his pay under it, can, if he should marry, make any allowance or provision whatever for his wife. This is cruel and unjust, and will tend to encourage desertion; as a man must either desert or be discharged, sick, to the hospital to get rid of his present allotment. The clause I have to offer is to enable him to revoke his allotment, when he should see occasion; this will render the evil less, but it doth not do away the objection of increasing the labour and responsibility of the captain or commander of his majesty's ships. This bill, unlike most others which relate to the navy, imposes severe fines and penalties independant of the articles of war or naval instructions, it augments the already too much loaded accounts of the captain, it increases his risk and resp
sibility, and in my humble opinion it
courages and strengthens every cl
which that class of officers may offe
increased pay or other remunerations,

The Bill was then passed.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.]
house having gone into a committee
this bill, and several clauses having
negatived without any observation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* prop
a clause, providing that nothing in the
should extend to any legal and *bona*
sale of lands, tenements, or hereditam
The clause being brought up, and re
first time,

Mr. *W. Smith* objected to it, and
tended, that to any stranger it would
pear to have no connection with the ob
of the bill; and that such a person w
be apt to imagine either that he had
taken the title of the bill, or that it
crept accidentally into the bill; the ob
however, of the clause, though appare
irrelevant, was sufficiently obvious.
concluded by moving as an amendm
which he would beg leave to propos
the form of a separate clause, That wh
as by the 40th of the king, in the
parliament, commissioners had been
pointed for the purpose of recompen
the claims of the proprietors of pl
ceasing to return persons to serve in
liament; and that it was probable
similar claims may be hereafter ma
the imperial parliament in case of
abolition of boroughs; be it therefore
acted, That no such claims shall be
mitted, unless the person or persons cl
ing shall swear they have not, direct
indirectly, been guilty of bribery or
ruption.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ob
to the clause, and thought it more in
plicable with regard to the object of
bill than the former clause to which
hon. gent. had so strongly objected
clause had a more general application
the one proposed by the hon. gent., w
applied chiefly, if not solely, to burg
tenures. He thought it would be
visable to defer any discussion o prop
tion with respect to those burgage ten
until the question affecting the princ
of those burgage tenures was fairly be
the house.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that the right h
gent. seemed to be of opinion that he
a right to challenge those who objecte
the wording or nature of the clause to

in its place something better. Now,
er it might be thought reasonable
ose who objected should also amend,
was of opinion with many honest
gentlemen who looked with laud-
alousy to the proceedings within
use, that it was in such cases the
himself and others, to object, while
it to those who pressed what was
t objectionable, to prove to the com-
that it was not so. He said this
to shew, that the objecting to any
ition in that house did not necessarily
on the person objecting to remedy
l of which he complained, because
an honest sound judging man might
oss errors in any measure proposed,
t being able at the moment to apply
edy.

r some further observations from the
ey-General, sir John Anstruther,
Porchester and Milton, the clause
lly proposed by the Chancellor of
chequer was agreed to without a
n.

Chancellor of the Exchequer brought
clause for levying certain penalties
person procuring his return by any
s covenant to give offices.

H. Petty stated his objection to
use as now read. He contended,
place of remedying corruption it
o concentrate it. It would give the
management of that species of in-
to the Treasury. Now, next to
a stop to the principle and prac-
corruption, the next wise thing was
it as diffuse and general as possi-
Upon the construction of this clause
depend whether he should support
ose the bill, convinced that at all
t was better not to legislate than to
rovisions which it was intended not
e efficient. He concluded with
g, as an amendment, that the word
ess" be left out.

Chancellor of the Exchequer did not
e that, after the discussion of last
any new light could be thrown
t. It did not however appear, that
ould be left open to imply an agree-
juries would always presume that
ant of the office was in consequence
vote given.

ohn Anstruther considered the attack
Chancellor of the Exchequer upon
ies of this country the greatest libel
ever heard uttered, when he said
uries were not to be entrusted with
aracter of men in public situations. Where was the express agreement in the measure which gave origin to this bill? There was certainly a transfer of patronage in that case intended, although no express engagement appeared on the face of any instrument. Was it intended to realize every artifice which led to the same effect, and only inflict penalties upon the bungler?

Mr. *Lyttleton* stated, that if the word 'express' was continued, the very principle of the bill was altered. If it should be continued, he felt it was his duty to vote against the bill itself.

The *Speaker* stated his wish on the first view to extend the provisions of this bill to the purchase of seats in parliament, as well by office as by money. The great rule was to strike at the prominent and most flagrant points of offence. Amongst those, most certainly, was the proof of an express contract. These he would state, always impressed him with the conviction, that this species of traffic, whether carried on by implied or express covenants, was an offence against the law of parliament, and in his opinion punishable as a misdemeanor at common law. It was fully within the power of the house to provide any future enactments against any future offences, which in the course of the operation of this measure might subsequently arise.

Mr. *Ponsonby*, with considerable diffidence in his own opinion, when opposed to the very high authority of the Speaker, still contended that the insertion of the term 'express' in a declaratory act of parliament conveyed the interpretation, that the penalty attached to express agreements, and that all of an indirect or implied nature, came not within its operation.

The *Speaker* considered that the Resolutions of that house in 1779 bore fully upon a traffic carried on by an implied contract, and therefore he saw no reason to oppose the proposed clause as now worded.

Mr. *Ponsonby* considered the Resolutions of 1779 not efficacious to redress an evil which all admitted to exist, at which the house itself connived and of which, with the circumstances known to all members, they would have been even greater hypocrites than Mr. John Bowles, when he wrote his books, to affect an ignorance.

Mr. *Tierney* declared, that since he had first the honour of a seat in that house, he never heard a speech with greater pleasure than that of the right hon. the Speaker, whose authority stood so deservedly high in that house. He did think that the house after that speech would have felt it its duty to take up the present measure with sincerity and zeal. That zeal and sincerity the ministers had evinced, by setting themselves in opposition to every wholesome provision of the bill. Upon a question which ought to be considered without any reference to party feelings; the government of the country had exerted a most successful hostility. Upon them rested the responsibility of that disappointment which the country must feel.—By their conduct, they would in the ensuing summer, bring the character of that house before the tribunal of public meetings, in a manner which all disposed to venerate the character and support the dignity of parliament must regret. He declared, that if the clause now proposed remained so worded, he should be obliged to vote entirely against the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* appealed to the honourable proposer of the bill (Mr. Curwen) whether he felt that ministers had endeavoured to defeat the object of the measure?

Mr. *Curwen*, without imputing any such intentions to government, still regretted that the most material points were negatived, and that the disposition of the house was not friendly to the principle of the measure. He conjured the government, in place of anticipating guards for themselves, to yield to the opinion of the country; and not suffer it to think, that where its influence was to be affected there was nothing done.

Mr. Bankes and sir S. Romilly both argued, that the insertion of the term wholly vitiated and defeated the object of the proposed remedy. It was stated by the latter, that in no other legislative enactment such a term as "express" could be found.

The *Attorney General* vindicated the conduct of his right hon. friend, during the progress of this bill, and gave his support to the clause as it then stood.

Mr. *Adam* spoke in favour of the amendment, which he thought necessary, to guard against impunity to those who gave or accepted bribes after election. He had several clauses to propose, which he should postpone bringing forward until the third reading. As to the grant of offices, the fact was, that the generality of the close boroughs were corrupted by such grants, and therefore it was the more necessary to make a provision upon this subject.

Mr. *Wortley Stuart* thought any member would be liable to vacate his seat
should happen to procure a place for
man who voted in his favour, if the
"express" were omitted, and there
he would oppose the amendment.

A division took place, and the num
were:

For the Amendment - - - - -
Against it - - - - - - - - - - - -
Majority - - - - - - - -

The remaining clauses of the bill
gone through and agreed to, and th
port was ordered to be received on Fr

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 8.

[Petition of the Rev. Thomas
phries.] Mr. *Whitbread* presented a
tition from the Rev. Thomas Humph
clerk, perpetual curate of the church
All Saints in Sawley, otherwise Sallow
St. Lawrence in Long Eaton, and o
Chad in Wilne, in the parishes of Sa
and Wilne, in the county of Derby, se
forth, "That the advowson and impr
ation of Sawley, otherwise Sallow,
Eaton, and Wilne, is part of the ver
luable endowment of the prebend of
ley, founded in the cathedral chur
Litchfield, the benefit of which pre
is extended also into the adjoining p
of Risley, but neither the cure of the
pel of Risley nor of the chapel of Bre
now annexed to Risley, though part o
parish of Sawley, is any burthen t
prebendary; and stating the great inc
in value of the said prebend whic
taken place of late years, particular
consequence of an inclosure of the co
fields in the manor of Draycot, in th
rish of Wilne, and which amounts
estate in lands and tithes of the clea
nual value of 2,400*l.* at least; and
the cure of the petitioner is four mi
length, and about sixteen miles in ci
ference, and the three churches are
two miles distant from each other
required service of the churches on
days is once every Sunday morni
Sawley (where the petitioner res
once every fourth Sunday in the mo
Long Eaton, and once every Sunda
ning (except the fourth Sunday i
month) at Wilne, besides the other
duties; and that the petitioner w
1785 appointed to the said perpetu
racy, with the stipend of 40*l.*, to
may be added a yearly sum, never ex
ing 10*l.* for Easter offerings and su

d a yearly sum of 5*l.* from Breason, ncient acknowledgment to the mo- urch of Sawley, making an income a-year, which has of late years duced by the lessee deducting 4*l.* for property tax; and that the pe- found the curate's house in a very ated state, therefore repaired three rooms, and has since made occa- amendments, to the extent and be- hat his stipend would allow, though use is now positively in ruins and ous to inhabit, but his means did end to upholding the barn and sta- nd that the petitioner entertained that after 24 years service his situ- could be ameliorated in proportion wealth which the reverend pre- y had himself attained, but the pro- augmentation of his stipend to 70*l.* is not a compensation for the labour petitioner, and bears no just propor- ther to the profits of the ecclesias- atron, or to the duties of the cure, ess will it enable the petitioner in nner to perform or even to provide e common duties of his cure when rmities of old age shall come upon and therefore praying, that the will grant him such relief in the es as to them shall seem meet."

petition was read and ordered to lie he table.

ESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROUL.] *reevey* rose to bring forward his pro- resolution respecting the appropria- a sum of 9,000*l.* for the purchase of cial residence for the President of the of Controul, in the vicinity of the of commons; a grant at which he uch astonishment, as he did not con- such residence at all necessary provided at the public expense for rson filling that department, more ally as an ample salary for the pre- , two commissioners, and a secre- was settled by act of parliament in ar 1793. He found that this grant ade in consequence of a letter writ- 1807, by the right hon. gent., who illed that situation, to the duke of nd, as first lord of the Treasury, that it would be expedient to pro- uch a residence for him in Downing- In reading the answer written by r. Huskisson to this letter, he was rprized at the shyness at first mani- by the lords of the Treasury to y with the application. He could necessity whatever for putting the public to such a heavy expense for an officer who had so little to do in his official capacity with the house of commons, and so little business to transact at the west-end of the town. There was, indeed, a real necessity that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had so much to do with the house of commons and the Treasury, should have a contiguous and official residence; but the Secretaries of State had no such residence provided, and much less could it be necessary or allowable in this case, particularly at the west end of the town, while in fact, the whole of the official business of the president of the controul lay at the India-house, and if such a residence was deemed necessary, it should have been in Leadenhall-street, where the purchase would have been much cheaper. While the father (lord Melville) of the right hon. gent. filled the situation, there was an India budget once a year; but since the accession of the right hon. gent. to the office, not a single budget had been brought forward; and therefore he could not see even the shadow of an argument for such an appropriation, unless it was in the argument offered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the salary of 2,000*l.* a year was not adequate to the duties of the situation. He was ready to admit this fact; the act of parliament for appropriating the 5,000*l.* as before mentioned, empowered his majesty to make a greater allowance from that fund, which might be fairly done, inasmuch as nearly the whole duty devolved upon the president, and the two commissioners and the secretary had little or nothing to do, and 1,500*l.* each was too much for them. If, however, the allowance was to be increased, it should be done directly and fairly, by act of parliament, and not indirectly and illegally, by the purchase of an official residence. Besides, it was well known that the appointment was not considered in itself as a place of adequate emolument, but rather as a step to one of greater profit, and so it appeared in the case of the right hon. gentleman. This system originated in the family of the right hon. gent., and no such demand was ever made before the accession of lord Melville. The Company had indeed agreed, after some discussion, to comply with the desire of the noble lord, and purchase for him this very house in Downing-street, in 1800; but before the place could be fitted for his occupation, by Mr. Holland, the noble lord was removed from the office, but obtained a pension of 2,000*l.* a year for life, from the Company. This, with other accommodations was, given to the noble lord's family from the public, amounting to 10,500*l.* in sinecure places, might, one would think, have satisfied all their reasonable expectations. Neither lord Dartmouth nor lord Castlereagh, nor any successor of the noble lord, had ever claimed an official residence, until the right hon. gent. was appointed to the office, when he, notwithstanding the grant of a pension of 2,000*l.* a year to his father, revived the claim.—Mr. Creevey contended, that the grant made in consequence by the lords of the Treasury was contrary to the act of the 33d of the king, and illegal; and he concluded by moving two Resolutions, the one recapitulating the facts of the letter and consequent grant, and the other declaring that the lords of the Treasury had acted improvidently, no official residence being necessary for the President of the Board of Controul.

Mr. *R. Dundas* defended his claim and the consequent grant, upon the ground that an official residence was as fairly the claim of the President of the Board of Controul, as of sir Charles Morgan, when judge-advocate-general. The Treasurer of the Navy, the Paymaster of the Forces, the secretary to the Admiralty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, and many other public officers, enjoyed the same advantage. Besides, the hon. gent. had argued erroneously, in saying, that such a grant was illegal, for the same act of parliament, which limited the appropriation of 5,000*l.* per annum to the salaries of the president, commissioners, and secretary of the Board of Controul, appropriated also 11,000*l.* per annum for other contingent expenses, of which the purchase of the house might form a part. He concluded by moving the previous question.

Sir *J. Newport* entered into an explana- of the circumstances that gave rise to an official residence being given to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that it was not so necessary for the President of the Board of Controul to have an official residence, as it was for the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. He contended, that it was an abuse to have suffered sir Charles Morgan, after he had ceased to be judge-advocate, to continue in the house during the remainder of his life. Had the judge-advocate gone since without the ac modation of a house? If he had n appeared to him highly improper, the public should be burthened with charge of providing another house him. The right hon. gent. had stat reason why the President of the Boa Controul should have an official resid If an increase was to be made to h lary, it should be granted *eo nomine*; the house would, he trusted, by its vo this occasion, decide that the appro tion of a house to such a purpose highly improper.

Lord *H. Petty* felt it necessary, a death of sir C. Morgan had happ whilst he had a seat at the Tre board, to state to the house the reason the house had not then been given t judge-advocate. It had been found venient and necessary to occupy apartments over the Treasury, which been appropriated to the home de ment, for the accommodation of the g ing establishment of the Treasury. I then deemed expedient to remove office of the secretary for the home de ment to the house in question. A pensation of 500*l.* a year, was in c quence, he believed, given to the ju advocate.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obse that, if the house should be of opinion nothing improper had been done by Treasury, the usual and ordinary cou proceeding would be to pass to the orders of the day, or to resort to the vious question. The first question fo house to consider was, whether the a the Treasury was legal; the next if i blameable. The hon. gent. who brought forward the Resolutions ha gone so far as to say that the act was gal: he was therefore justified in assu that it was legal. As to the proprie the act, he had to observe, that whe present administration came into c the house had been separated from th fice of judge-advocate, and a compens of 500*l.* per annum given in lieu to th ficer. The notice served upon the pr sir Charles Morgan to quit the hous expired since the present administr came into office; and as the house wa large enough for the office of the hom partment, it was thought right to g for the present to the President o Board of Controul, but not to annex his office. No minute had been ma the transaction; not because the boa

ry wished to shrink from the respon-
, but because no board was sitting
time. If any sufficient salary was
d to the office of President of the
of Controul, then certainly the
of Treasury would have been to
; but as it was admitted on all
that the salary was inadequate, he
the house would not think that there
y thing improper in the transaction.

Tierney appealed to the hon. gent.,
Bankes) who was then chairman of
mmittee of finance, whether imme-
on his retiring from office, he had
ggested to him the propriety of re-
ending the increase of the salaries of
offices, and particularly of that of
esident of the Board of Controul.
ough the salary was too small, he
ot think the house should sanction
dition to it in the shape of a grant
ouse. For his own part, he thought
ransaction illegal, because the act
nly 5,000*l.* per annum to be applied
payment of the commissioners; and
it was afterwards, in 1792, thought
o grant them all salaries, it was pro-
that the East India company should
y more than 16,000*l.* But when it
ovided that the East India company
not pay more, it was not intended
he public should be made to pay any
f the salaries of the commissioners.
ought, therefore, that the board of
ury was blameable in letting the Pre-
of the Board of Controul have the
in the manner they had, and, as he
hey had acted improvidently, he
vote for the motion.

Bankes admitted that the right hon.
had made the communication he
ed to, at the time he stated, but as
ommittee had been appointed for the
se of inquiring what retrenchments
be made in offices and sinecures, he
ot think that it came within the pur-
for which it had been appointed, to
mend an increase of the salary of
ffice. He thought the mode of aug-
ing salaries by granting houses was
orst, the most absurd, and most pro-
manner, in which that could be done.
nerally cost the public double or tre-
he amount of the increase in contem-
on. He was of opinion that it was
ary to the intention and the meaning
act of parliament, that such an ap-
iation as that under consideration
d have been made.

ter a few words in explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the previous question was carried upon the first resolution, and the second was negatived without a division.

[Placemen and Pensioners in Parliament.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose for the purpose of submitting to the house the proposition of which he had given notice, and to which he could not anticipate the slightest rational objection. It was his intention to have pressed this proposition on a former night, if he had not been induced to withdraw it on that occasion, in consequence of the suggestions of several members, that they were not prepared to discuss the question then, as it had come upon them by surprise. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared himself ready to meet the question in that instance, and to give a direct negative to a Resolution, that it was desirable still further to limit the number of persons, holding places, or pensions, or sinecures, having seats in that house. That right hon. gent. could not have forgotten the foundation of the reference to the Committee of Finance on this subject, which reference had grown out of a proposition of a noble lord (lord Cochrane) now member for Westminster, submitted to that house on the 7th of July 1807. The ground upon which the noble lord had brought forward that proposition, was the impression upon his own mind, that the influence of the crown in that house was considerable, and a conviction, that, according to the opinion of the public, the influence of the crown in parliament was too great; that the corruptions which were known to exist, were the necessary consequence of that influence; and that a solemn investigation was necessary in order to ascertain by what constitutional means means it could be reduced. With a view to this investigation, the noble lord had moved for a return of all the places, pensions, sinecures, offices, or emoluments under government, enjoyed by persons having seats in that house, or by their immediate connections. The right hon. gent. however, generalized the proposition of the noble lord, in the reference he made to the Committee, directing it to report upon all sinecures, pensions, &c. distinguishing those held by members of parliament. It was said at the time, that the object of the right hon. gent. was to slur over the matter, and to mix it with other considerations, in such a manner, that it would be impossible to come to any distinct decision upon the real

question. He did not mean to say, that the right hon. gent. had any such intention; but certainly the effect of his interference on the occasion was, that the whole question became so confused, that the simple and distinct proposition of the noble lord was absolutely lost in the extraneous complicated matter blended with it. When the house had been lately in a Committee on the Bill of his hon. friend, and a reference was made to the original intention in forming the Committee of Finance, it was proposed to leave out the word "influence," as if the reference to that Committee extended only to economy and not to influence. The noble lord who had originated the proposition for the appointment of the Committee, was at the time in the house; and he had expected that the noble lord would have taken the occasion to recal the attention of the house to the real state of the original reference to the Committee. As the noble lord had left the house without saying any thing upon the subject, he then felt himself bound to move the Amendment he had submitted to the Committee, which the right hon. gent. had declared himself ready to meet, but which, on the suggestions of others, he had then been induced to withdraw. On putting the question at that time, he intimated his intention to bring it forward in a distinct shape, in the course of the present session. But owing to some mistake respecting the notice, and considering the advanced period of the season, as well as the very thin attendance which was likely to continue during the remainder of the session, of which the state of the house at that moment was a proof, he had changed his intention, and now proposed to move solely a Resolution, that at an early period of next session, that house would appoint a Committee to consider of the propriety of providing further limitations of the numbers of persons holding places, pensions, or sinecures, and seats in that house. To that Resolution he did not think that any opposition could be made, because, whatever might be the opinion of the right hon. gent. upon the ulterior question, as the influence of the crown in that house was now avowed, and said to be necessary, a doctrine which had never before been tolerated in that house—he thought that the right hon. gent., from deference to public opinion, would not object to this Resolution. It was strongly impressed upon the public mind, that the influence to which he alluded was the cause of all the corruptions in the s
and consequently led to the increase o
public burdens so grievously felt by
classes of the community. In defere
therefore, to the opinion of the pu
the right hon. gent. would not,
trusted, make any objection to his
position, especially as, in the next
sion, when the subject should be bro
fully before the house, he would hav
opportunity of shewing, if he could,
the influence of the crown was no
great as was supposed, or so promine
to require any reduction.—But her
was bound to state, that in his view o
subject, the influence of the crown hac
creased, and ought to be diminished by t
constitutional means which parliamen
been in the habit, frome time to tim
resorting to for its reduction. Unless t
means which by constitutional right
habitual exercise, belonged to that
the other house of parliament, shoul
employed to diminish the increasing
fluence of the crown, it would in the
overthrow the two other legislative bran
of the state. A right hon. gent. opp
(Mr. Rose) who had studied this sul
with diligence, had on a former nigh
tered into statements, and produced ta
to the house to shew, that the influenc
the crown had been diminished, ra
than increased, because there were fe
placemen in parliament at present tha
former periods. He did not mean to
here to inquire into the accuracy of t
tables, or the justice of the right hon.
tleman's deductions from them. Tha
it might be true that there were fe
placemen in that house now than form
that would not shew that the influenc
the crown had undergone any diminu
That unobserved influence of the cr
out of doors, growing out of the appo
ment to the various and numbe
offices under the patronage of gov
ment, was alarmingly progressive,
might render it necessary to diminish
number of public officers and place
eligible to seats in that house.—E
man who contemplated the vast accu
lation of the national debt, the enor
extension of the army and navy, the
respondent augmentation of all the o
public establishments, and the mas
patronage in the gross and in the d
that must necessarily arise out of suc
state of things, must be convinced tha
influence of the crown has increased a
increasing. The next question was, w

hat being the case, it ought not to
minished? It was his decided and
entious opinion that it ought, and
t must be reduced, if parliament
lisposed to do its duty. As an in-
of the alarming increase of the in-
e of the crown, he might refer to an
hich passed within the last two years,
t for the establishment of the Local
a. He begged gentlemen to consi-
hat a mass of influence was creased
establishment of that large force,
ling too throughout every part of the
om; he wished them only to con-
ate the means which this single
ishment afforded for attaching per-
of every description to the govern-
as would be obvious from the num-
commissions signed and published
ery gazette.—[Signed by the lieu-
s, whispered across the table.]—Yes,
by the lords lieutenants; but the
ns were to be approved of by the go-
ent, and, consequently, indebted to
vernment for their commissions. Be-
the number of applications to the
ary of State's office, and the sums of
indispensably issued for the sup-
f this force, necessarily and unques-
ly increased the influence of the
over members of that house, through
constituents.—There were numerous
instances which he could state, but
re was another important subject to
on, he should not think it justifiable in
occupy too much of the attention of
use, in as much as the principal ques-
ould not be discussed till next session.
ight hon. the Chancellor of the Exche-
had, on a former night, taunted him
being a theorist, a disciple of specu-
whilst he claimed for himself to
the practice all on his side. So far
ver, from being supported only by
y, he would contend, that he had the
m practice of parliament and the
principles of the constitution on his
During the whole of the last centu-
easures had been adopted from time
me, for the gradual improvement of
nstitution of that house, by the remo-
rom its body of persons dependent
the crown. Of this description were
arious Acts for the exclusion of dis-
fied persons from seats in that house,
or the disfranchisement of voters who
t have rendered themselves unworthy
e elective franchise by the corrupt
of that valuable privilege. Every
measure was more calculated to purify parliament than to curtail the influence of the crown. He did not rest therefore upon theory; his Resolution was founded upon the original practice of that house, and was but an extension of the principle which had been uniformly acted upon since the Revolution. Having proved his Resolution to be conformable to the uniform practice of parliament, he should then contend that the present was a proper time for acting upon it, by diminishing the number of Placemen and Pensioners, and others influenced by the government, having seats in that house. He was bound, however, to add, that that part of the Act of Settlement which was to exclude all public officers and placemen from seats in that house after a certain time, was a mere theory that never had been acted upon, for it ceased to be a theory, even before it could have become a law. The principles laid down in that part of the Act of Settlement would, if acted upon, prove most mischievous in practice, and highly detrimental to the public service. But there was an opposite mischief, which it was equally the duty of that house to guard against; they might have too many such persons in parliament; a mischief which existed at present, and which it was the bounden duty of that house to correct. A right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Rose) had said on a former night, that, besides the great officers of state, it was necessary that others connected with the public departments should have seats in parliament, as the duties of their situations were intimately connected with the business of that house, and could not be effectually discharged if they were excluded from seats in it. Granted: this he did not pretend to deny. It was never his wish to exclude a reasonable proportion of the gentlemen connected with the public departments from that house; but he thought that some limits should be set to the number, and was convinced that there were at present more than were necessary among the members of that house. He begged to be understood in this observation as leaving the persons so circumstanced altogether out of his consideration, and looking only to the practice. Many of the hon. members who were in that situation were highly respectable, and would, no doubt, give their votes independently on the same side as at present, even if they had no connection with government or the public departments. Any observa-

tions, therefore, which he should have to make, would not apply to the particular persons now in office: others had before them been in the same situation, as others might after them; the practice alone he condemned, and to that he should be a most decided enemy, whoever might be involved in it. In looking to the list upon the table he was prepared to assert, that it did not appear to him necessary that all the commissioners of the Admiralty should have seats in that house. Whenever the First Lord, as it often happened, was not a member of that house, two Commissioners and the Secretary of the Admiralty would obviously be enough to have seats in that house, and fully adequate to do all the parliamentary business of that department. The same observation he should make respecting the Commissioners of the Treasury, of whom he was of opinion, that only a certain proportion, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, should be allowed to sit in parliament. In the Ordnance department, as the Master general was scarcely ever a member of that house, he was of opinion that the Secretary might be allowed to become a member of that house; but he could see no reason why the Storekeeper, the Treasurer, and the Clerk of the Delivery, should be eligible to seats in parliaments. With regard to the Paymasters of the Army, it would be desirable that the Principal Paymaster should sit in that house; but there could be no necessity whatever for admitting either the joint or the deputy paymaster to the same privilege. As to the Board of Controul, as the business of that office had very little connection with the details of parliament, he could see no reason why any more than the President of that Board should have permission to sit in parliament. Having said that he would not object to the efficient officers of the State being members of that house, and even having admitted that some of the subordinate officers connected with the public departments might be allowed to sit in parliament, in order that they might have an opportunity to become acquainted with the business of that house, and fit themselves for higher offices, he should confine his concessions to them, because he did not think it at all necessary, that any other placemen should have seats in that house. He should now leave that part of the question, and go to his majesty's Household, the individuals connected with which having seats in that
house, were so many advocates for pre
gative, and added considerably to the
fluence of the crown in parliament. T
might be extremely proper; but it
not appear so clearly in that light to h
Gentlemen might think that it was
cessary and right that the ministers sho
have a controul over a certain numbe
the members of that house; they mi
think, and maintain too, that it was pro
that the crown should have, as in ot
times it had, a party in that house to c
troul both sides of the house. But to
point he should only allude, because, h
ever relaxed their practice had been
late, and however difficult the Spea
might find it to resume those reins wh
his predecessors had found effectual
check all irregularity and disorder,
which had been wrenched from him,
tainly without any the most distant im
tation against himself, by the gross
disorderly assertions to which he had b
reduced to the necessity of listening;
relaxed as their practice had been, th
were limits which it would not be jus
able on any ground to overstep, and con
quently he should only allude to a circ
stance which he could not without vi
ting order venture to mention. He co
not discover any reason why the Gro
of his majesty's Bedchamber, the
Equerry to his majesty, or the Vice Cha
berlains to his majesty and the que
should be members of that house, the
ties of their office respectively not hav
the slightest connection with parliam
tary business. It was his opinion,
the presence of such officers in parliam
had no other effect than to increase
influence of the crown.—The cases
had mentioned, out of the many that co
be brought under the consideration of
house, would be sufficient, he trusted
prove to the house the necessity that
isted for providing some further limita
of the number of Placemen and Pens
ers having seats in that house.—With
supposing the existence of any corrup
dishonourable motive in such pers
there were even virtues in their na
that might give them an improper b
gratitude and friendship might blind t
to their public duty, and the respect t
owed the constitution. It had been
vided by an act of queen Anne, that
persons having pensions during pleas
should be eligible to sit in parliam
The principle of the act was sound,
it was soon evaded, for Pensions w

rards granted for terms of years. e act of George the First it was pro- that persons holding pensions for of years should not be capable of in Parliament. This was an ex- n of the principle of the former act, e measure stopped short of the limit ld have been carried to, and left it hird act to exclude life-pensioners t that house. There could be no , that the persons to whom pensions granted, must feel attached to the nment to which they were indebted e grants; but it might be said that lders of pensions for life were more endent than those who held during re, or for a term of years. Un- edly it would appear that such must e case; but when it was considered ensions might be granted for a term rs, greater than the probable or pos- luration of any life, it must appear rdinary, why the Act of George I. ot been extended to pensioners for well as pensioners for a term of The holders of sinecure places also to be excluded from seats in ouse, because it was maintained by persons that such places ought still continued, in order that they might ide the reward of merit and public es;—they created influence, and therefore disqualify for parliament. ht perhaps be right that a sinecure held for life should not render the incapable of sitting in parliament. inecures were not always bestowed reward of merit: they were often ed without any reference to services, such cases were the instruments of most pernicious and reprehensible s of influence. He had thus stated ews upon which he was induced to forward the Resolution he had to se. He hoped, that no person would larm at the production of such a pro- on at this particular moment, as if it he first step to a Parliamentary Re-

Whatever might be the difference ling in the house upon the subject rliamentary Reform, he was per- l, that this was a proposition which l unite both the advocates and the ents of Reform in its support. Those were adverse to Parliamentary Re- according to the usual sense in which understood, would do well to vote s Resolution. The adoption of such a sition would shew the people, that the of commons had the means and the disposition to reform itself, and deprive the advocates of change of one of the strongest of their arguments against the constitution of that house. The friends of Parliamentary Reform, on the other hand, had an interest in supporting his proposition, because in whatever way the question of Reform may be disposed of, however the members of that house may be elected, they must agree with him, that it was not desirable that the influence of the crown should be increased in that house.—He did not recollect any thing further that was necessary for him to say on this subject in order to induce the house to agree to his Resolution. He had stated on a former night his opinion upon what was called granting remunerations, but what he considered anticipations of services. He was still of the same opinion, and looked upon such grants as a most prodigal waste of the public money.—Much he had heard said of purchasing the lives of professional men, that is, of giving them a compensation for abandoning their professions. This practice he was sure could not be right upon principle, and appeared to him to be a gross and glaring abuse, the growth of modern times. He was glad, however, to take that opportunity of adverting to what had fallen from a noble friend in answer to some observations he had made on a former night, relative to the appointment of a learned gentleman, Mr. M'Donald, to be an American commissioner. He felt pleasure in stating, that he believed his noble friend's representation on that occasion, to have been correct, and that Mr. M'Donald, not only had been distinguished in his profession, and ably executed the duties of a commissioner, to which he had been appointed, but had made no stipulation whatever respecting the amount of compensation to which he was entitled for having quitted his profession: the grant and the amount of that compensation having been the gratuitous retribution of the government. Though he considered the case of this gentleman as a distinguished exception, he was no less an enemy to the principle, and entirely condemned the practice. The hon. member then moved his Resolution to the following effect, "Resolved that this house will early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration how far it may be expedient to provide some further limitation to the number of Persons holding seats in this House, together with Pensions, Sinecures, and Places of emolument under the crown."

Mr. *Rose,* as one of the persons alluded to by the hon. gent., and whom he wished to disqualify from holding seats in that house, begged to say a few words.—The hon. gent. had proposed no practical amendment to the great influence of which he complained. That house consisted of 658 members, and the measure suggested by the hon. gent. would not go farther than to disqualify 25 of them, which was a number so small that it could not make any sensible alteration in the constitution or the decisions of that house. He had occasion to state a few days ago, that the number of placemen now in parliament was less by 18 or 19, than it was in the year 1781. He had since found that in fact there were about 25 or 26 less than at the former period. When the hon. gent. spoke of the unobserved influence of the crown, he certainly had forgotten, or perhaps not attended to the statement he had then made. The diminution of the influence of the crown over the members of that house was still greater in respect of this, which was called the unobserved influence, than in the ostensible places granted by the government. Formerly, valuable bonuses in loans, lotteries, and contracts, used to be given to the members of that house; and nothing was more common than members having the profits of offices held in other names, and of which none but the ministers, or those immediately about them, knew any thing. There were probably, in former times, above 50 or 60 members who thus enjoyed concealed favours from the crown. As to the king's immediate household, or grooms of the bedchamber, he had never heard of their influencing the decisions of that house. He believed that at present there was but one amongst them who was a member of the house of commons. As to the provisions so often spoken of in the Act of Settlement, they were immediately found to be impracticable, and that serious inconveniences would result from them; and therefore this part of the Act of Settlement was very soon repealed. It appeared to him, upon the whole, that if the increasing influence of the crown was what the hon. gent. complained of, he had not pointed out a sufficient remedy.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that, as the hon. gent. had begun his speech by saying, that he could not conceive any possible objection to his motion,
he therefore thought it necessary for
to give his reasons for opposing it.
considered that if the house were
agree to the motion, it would be express
its opinion that it was desirable to
the subject into serious considera
with a view of diminishing the nu
of placemen in parliament. He, th
fore, conceived, that it would be preju
cing the question to agree to such a
tion, whereas the question would not
prejudged by their not agreeing to
It would be open to the hon. gent
bring it forward as early as he please
the course of the next session. The
gent. had stated, that at no former
was it ever argued in that house,
the crown ought to have an influ
over the members of that house.
he would venture to say, that when
the question of reform was agitated
it was resisted on that very ground,
practically it was of advantage to
country that the crown should have
influence in that house. Even the
lebrated Resolution of Mr. Dun
" That the influence of the crown ha
creased, was increasing, and ought t
diminished," did not go so far as to
away all influence from the crown.
this motion, which the hon. gent. see
to have in view in bringing forward
present resolution, such influence
to a certain degree recognised, else
motion would have been, not that it sh
be diminished, but that it should
abolished and removed out of those w
As to what he had heard of a great
content prevailing in the public
on account of abuses in the constitu
he did not believe the fact. It was a
used by those demagogues who argu
public meetings; but he did not be
it was the sense of the country. He c
not conceive any good that could pos
result from this motion, and therefo
could not support it. If the influen
the crown had increased, the influenc
the popular part of the constitutio
increased also. The increase of wealt
independence was a sort of counterva
influence which balanced the incre
influence of the crown. He was
nished that the hon. gent. should co
the establishment of the Local Mili
an increase of influence, when he
know that he himself was not in
slightest degree influenced by hold
high commission, that of colonel, i
Local Militia. The fact was, that th

ents were given, not by the crown, on the recommendation of the lord nants of counties, to which recom- ation the crown had certainly a ne-.. Conceiving that the motion could no other effect but to prejudge the on, he should not support it.

Tierney said, that as the Resolution ow worded it would prejudge the on, but he thought with a slight al- on that objection could be got rid of. hon. friend would limit his motion esolution, that the house should in xt session of parliament enter into nsideration of the subject alluded to notice, he should agree to the mo- Although he was not for yielding pular clamour, yet if the public opi- evidently sat in one direction, he ht it ought not to controul absolutely ecisions of that house, but that it ll induce them to consider that sub- ith peculiar attention. This matter, ver, did not originate from popular ur, or from any thing which took out of doors; it was from an act of ouse itself; from a Report of a Com- e which they had appointed to in- ate this particular business. Upon round, he thought the house might properly pledge itself to take into leration early in the next session, a t of one of their own committees. would be only pledged to consider ubject, but not pledged as to the er they were to determine on it. He ht that some of the placemen men- l ought not to sit in parliament; but sagreed with many people, in think- here could be any sound objection to ure placemen and pensioners, who their appointments for life. They just as independent as any other and the late administration were antly opposed by many persons of lescription, and the present adminis- n by some.

rd *Folkestone* rose, in consequence of ast observation which had fallen from ight hon. member, who appeared to o have fallen into a great mistake. The sion of the right hon. gent. seemed nsist in this. Many of those who held ures and pensions for life, when they against a particular administration, eived they shewed a great deal of in- ndence, and that therefore they were fit and proper men to sit in that e. This was not, however, the sort dependence which he thought should be required from those who called themselves the representatives of the people. The sort of feeling that became a representative of the people was a common interest with the people at large. Those who held these sinecures and pensions had a different interest. They had other people to look to, to whom they were bound, if not by expectancy, at least by gratitude, and therefore they were not altogether as independent as other men, or as fit for representatives of the people. If they did not expect any thing from ministers, therefore, they had their debt of gratitude to pay to them, and did not continue with the people, as true and honest representatives ought to do. On this ground he objected to them as much as to persons having pensions during pleasure.

Lord *H. Petty* did not conceive that the reduction of placemen in that house would produce much effect. The increase of the influence of the crown was principally from the increased patronage in the revenue, the army, and navy, but did not appear directly upon the members of that house. Though the influence of the crown, upon the whole, had greatly increased, it had rather diminished in that house. The immense military force, and the expenditure of the country, were the causes of this increased influence, which, though it did not operate so much in that house, had a great effect on the country at large. His hon. friend would agree with him, that the inflence of the crown, instead of increasing, had diminished in that house, when he stated that in 1738 the number of persons having places and pensions under the crown amounted to 234, having among them an income from the public purse of 212,000*l.* per annum. The observation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, as to the motion of Mr. Dunning, did not apply. He did not allude in that motion to the influence of the crown in that house, but to the influence of the crown generally. That great man would have been the last person in the country to admit that the influence of the crown in that house ought to prevail, or that such an idea ever had been, or ever ought to be, entertained in parliament.—One reason why he agreed with the motion, was, because he thought the Welsh Judges ought to be excluded from seats in that house, as should also the Masters in Chancery. He once more begged to recommend to the right hon. gent. the review of the establishment as to the Welsh

Judges, and particularly that fiction of law, that there was one sovereign of this country and another of Wales. He thought the Welsh Judges should be removed entirely, that Wales should be treated as a part of England, and three more added to the number of the Judges of this country.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said, he felt not the least difficulty in agreeing with the motion proposed. It seemed to him, that after the Report of the Committee of Finance upon this subject, and the consideration given to that Report in the course of last week, if they were to negative this motion it would be almost saying to the country, that they were to disregard totally that part of the Report; a proceeding which would be most impolitic, injurious, and improvident. He was not prepared to say what offices or sinecures ought to be abolished; at the same time he could venture to say, that his views of the subject did not coincide entirely with those who had spoken, though he was convinced that something should be done. To say that it was only necessary to exclude the members holding official situations, from that house, shewed an ignorance of the constitution, and the manner in which the government was carried on. Before the Revolution the government was conducted out of parliament; but since the Revolution the practice of the constitution was, that it should be conducted in parliament, and principally in that house. It was essential, therefore, that the servants of government should be there in person. What use, however, could there be of persons who had places holding seats in parliament if they had no business to do there? Of this description were the officers referred to by his noble friend.—As to sinecures or pensions for life, he thought it not fair to extend the principle of exclusion to all who might hold such appointments. In this country rewards for services were conferred in various ways, and to some persons it might be more gratifying, that the reward should descend to their families than be enjoyed by themselves. Would it not be hard, that in a case of this kind, the person enjoying such reward should be excluded from parliament, though altogether independent of the crown. He himself held a place for life, in lieu of his seat on the Chancery Bench in Ireland. He was not, however, under any obligation to the crown for it; he held it under an act of parliament. He could not, therefore, agree, that all persons holding situations for life should be excluded from parliament, so long as th
were situations that rendered them ind
pendent. The noble lord (Folkeston
said, that persons holding pensions had
common interest with the people of t
country. Did the noble lord mean t
he had no interest in the Habeas Corp
or in the constitution? He should be gl
to know why he had no interest in all t
laws existing for the preservation of t
liberty of the country and civil prosper
of the kingdom, because he held an off
for life? It had been recognised that sin
the Revolution ministers should sit in p
liament, but never that they should be s
fered to influence or controul the decis
of parliament. If it were so, what wo
it amount to, but that two branches of
government were to be corrupted by
third? This house, however, never
give to the crown any power so to inf
ence it. The influence of the crown
our naval, military, and other branch
had greatly increased. Without entren
ing on the constitutional influence of
crown, he thought something might
done by agreeing to the motion of his h
friend, which would prove useful to
country, creditable to the house, and sa
factory to the public. If the house rej
ed the motion, it would appear as if t
intended to do nothing at all in the b
ness now suggested.

Lord *Folkestone* explained, that he
not mean that pensioners had no comm
interest with the people, but that they
an interest separate and distinct from
interest of the people.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that
could by no means agree with the H
mover in the premises he had laid do
and of course it could not be expected
he should agree in his conclusion.
could neither agree with him, that the
fluence of the crown over that house
increased in a great and unparalleled
gree, nor could he agree with him in
posing that it would be advantageous t
duce the number of placemen in
house. There was one part of the o
nal argument which was now abando
It was no longer insisted that the numb
placemen in that house had increased of
years; and it had been correctly state
a noble lord (H. Petty) that far less th
century ago, the number of placeme
that house was in a proportion of at
five to one greater than at present.
would no longer be contended that
number of placemen in parliament ha

ed, and he felt it necessary for him to
the reasons why he thought it would
pproper to drive those out of parlia-
who were now in it. As it was evi-
that the house of commons must
s want information on various public
cts from the members of the adminis-
n, it was much better that ministers,
persons in ostensible situations, should
oken to in their places, as members
at house, than be brought up to the
like culprits. The present practice ex-
nce had shewn to be a wholesome one,
f it did not at present exist, it would be
icial now to introduce it. If no
emen were suffered to sit in parlia-
but the ministers themselves, it
d follow that when the present gene-
n of ministers were over, they must
cceeded by raw and inexperienced
ons. This was a necessary conse-
ce; for if those who were acquiring
ledge of the business of government
erior departments, were to be abso-
y excluded from sitting in parliament,
at office were they to learn that ne-
ry and constitutional part of a minis-
duty, to explain to that house the mo-
of their conduct, and to defend the
riety and policy of their measures?
en were to be trained up for ministers
y other school besides that of parlia-
, if the crown were to look for its mi-
rs any where but in parliament, then,
ed there might be a well founded jea-
of the power of the crown. He
no greater security to the people for
aithful discharge of the duties of go-
ment, than that those who held high
tions should have seats in that house,
be there obliged to explain the mo-
of their measures and conduct to the
e and to the country. If we were
to set about contriving a plan to en-
the crown to chuse its ministers any
e out of parliament, such a plan
d be most injurious to the liberty of the
try. This was now by long habit,
gh not by established law, the practice
e constitution, and he was convinced
it could not be changed without great
ic detriment. This motion would go
move from their seats in that house
y distinguished persons who held sine-
places or pensions for life, as the
rd of public services performed either
hemselves or their fathers. This ex-
on of persons who were receiving re-
s for their past services, he conceived,
d be equally erroneous and unjust as that of the public officers themselves. He believed it would be admitted that both in the other house of parliament and in this, there were at least as many persons holding Pensions and Sinecures who voted against ministers as for them. They, on all occasions, voted as if they had no advantages from the crown. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) had marked so strongly his own pension as coming from parliament instead of his majesty, that he could not forbear from saying, that if any desire of making that house the source from whence such rewards should flow, lurked behind, he should esteem it a most lavish and preposterous idea of remuneration, and he thus early intimated his dissent from any such proposition. The right hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) had himself a pension for life, and yet the present ministers had always the advantage of his vigilance and correction. There were other hon. gentlemen on the same side of the house, who, though long holding sinecures or pensions, were constantly arrayed against his majesty's present government. A noble lord (Folkestone) had talked of pensioners being bound by gratitude. The gratitude, however, of those gentlemen for the remuneration they received for their services, did not certainly appear to be any gratitude to the crown. The right hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Ponsonby) had spoken of his pension being conferred by an act of parliament, and not by the crown. The right hon. gent. might, therefore, well conceive that it was to the parliament, and not to the crown that his gratitude was due. If there lurked in the mind of any gentleman the idea of parliamentary pensions being granted as the reward of public services, he, for his part, would much rather forego all claim to remuneration. He did not know any course that would lead to a more lavish and preposterous expenditure. He felt satisfied that the influence of the crown over that house was gradually, but constantly diminishing. He wondered that the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) who himself held a conspicuous situation in the Local Militia, should consider appointments of that sort likely to influence the votes of members. He was surprized to hear that gentleman, in the language and tone of manly independence, complain that such appointments as he himself held, made men dependent on the crown. There was an old philosopher, who said he would not argue with a man who had 50 legions, and

for the same reason it did not become him to argue about the influence of an appointment in the Militia with a Militia Colonel (A laugh). But if this establishment of Local Militia were so very bad, and if it introduced 300 sycophants and dependants on the crown, he would ask, was that great evil to be redressed by driving two Lords of the Admiralty out of that house? (A laugh). The number which the hon. gent. proposed to turn from the house was so very small, that it could not sensibly affect the votes of the house; but the absence of those members might deprive them of a great deal of useful information. He therefore could not by any means concur in a proposition which would appear like an acknowledgment on the part of the house, that there were too many placemen among them. If the hon. gent. chose to argue that point next session, he might do so without being at all prejudiced by the decision of the present night.

Sir *Francis Burdett* expressed the particular disadvantage under which he rose to reply to the commander of so many legions, as he presumed the right hon. gent. who last addressed them was. For his own part, he admitted, that his knowledge of the constitution was principally derived from the Statute Book. He was of opinion that the commons house of parliament ought to be a full and fair representation of the people; and so thinking, he could not but consider that argument as most extraordinary, which defended the defects in the representation of the people, upon the ground that there were at present in that house many persons who, under a reformed system, would not be returned. What was this, but to assert that there were representatives of the people as the house was now constituted, who had not only a separate, but a contrary interest to that of the people? Amongst the many evils which the defective state of the national representation engendered, there were none more grievous than the obligation under which the house frequently was placed to resort to palliatives for the purpose of staying the evil; an evil which admitted of no palliative. It had been stated by a right hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Ponsonby,) in illustration of a principle, that he, though holding a pension in right of his late office (that of Lord Chancellor for Ireland) still held that pension totally independent of the crown. Now, he must own, that in his view, both the principle and the practice of conferring
such pensions, were a very great and o
jectionable public grievance. It was ha
that the people should be saddled w
such burdens. Within a very short per
the country was called upon to pay pensi
to four different Chancellors of 5,000
year each. Why were persons holding su
offices removed on the change of eve
successive administration, thereby impe
ing the course of public justice; at the sa
time that it aggravated the public pressu
In supporting the present Resolution
still felt that it was only palliative, capa
of producing good as far as it went. I
however, would feel much regret, if
tended to mislead the public judgment,
diverted it from the only redress adequ
to the evil, namely, a Reform in the Rep
sentation of the People. For that th
could be no substitute; as upon a free a
pure election, where the choice of the p
ple selected those entrusted with the dispo
of their properties and persons, the v
spirit of the constitution depended.
however, it was to be all influence
other words, corruption) in one bran
and all submission in the other, then
could not consider the whole but as a m
farce. Would any man pretend to s
that such a pure and free election exist
when it was asserted and proved in p
tions before the house, that 157 Borou
mongers returned a majority of its me
bers to that house? He laid no stress u
any augmented influence of the cro
but he reprobated a system which alt
nately in the name of the crown oppres
the people, and in the name of the peo
diminished the just prerogative of
executive branch of the constitution.
knew that the crown was entitled to
constitutional exercise of its preroga
by the law of the land, and that it
necessary to entrust to the executive
vernment strong powers for the able
effectual administration of public conce
But it was also a part of the constitut
and the very living principle of pop
representation, that the people should
be taxed without their own consent,
that their persons should be safe under
protection of the laws. Secure them
those two points, and on their part th
will be no attempt to encroach upon
rights or just prerogatives of the cro
Where can the security be found? O
in a fair and adequate representation of
people in the commons house. This
would ever contend, was the plain
simple principle, certain of producing

effect, and rendering unnecessary utes and palliatives of any sort.

Porchester reprobated the proposi- excluding official characters from ouse, as replete with evils of serious tude. The noble lord had deter- to vote however for the Resolution, the impression, that there might lly be a description of persons hold- aces and enjoying pensions, whom it be proper to remove from that

Ponsonby in explanation stated, that on. baronet must know that in the of things it was impossible, that a cellor could remain in office who dif- wholly in his political views from her members of the king's govern-

. *Ellison* protested against the libels he too often heard uttered against ws and constitution of the country— stitution under which the people en- a greater participation of civil bless- than any other empire in the world. hon. baronet, he was sorry to say, nothing but deformities, and was y led away by a predilection for dry- act propositions. He could not vote e proposed Resolution, brought for- at a time when the general purity blic management was so universally tted (a laugh).

. *Hawkins Browne* expressed himself e same opinion. He was far from ing the influence of the crown had ased in that house; on the contrary, ought it less now than at any former d. Unless the house saw some great ffectual remedy would be the conse- ce, to pledge themselves to a measure is kind, would be a delusion of the le, especially of those who wished to placemen excluded. There were y cases, in which only a choice of was left. It was different here. For wn part, he knew the good effects of resent system. The country had long ished under it, and he for one would easily consent to change it. The ent measure he viewed as a mere ative, which could produce nothing delusion. He should, therefore, give s negative.

r. *Pole Carew* thought the hon. gent. brought forward the motion, had laid grounds for his proposition that should ce the house to entertain it at present. as open to him to give notice for the session, but at present they had not had a fair opportunity given them to deliberate on it in such a manner as the importance of it required. He should, therefore, oppose it.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he would beg leave to trouble the house with a very few observations, in answer to what had fallen from some of those hon. members who had opposed his motion. Notwithstanding all that had been said with respect to the impropriety of agreeing with his Resolution, on the ground that it would, in effect, go to prejudge the main question, he contended, that the course he had pursued was the ordinary course of proceeding when a measure was considered by any member necessary, and the existing session was too far spent for its discussion then. The house had a precedent in the Bill brought forward to regulate the office of Treasurer of the Navy. Two hon. members had adverted to the characteristic purity of those times, and in the fervour of their ejaculations almost appeared to feel that it was heaven itself; yet, notwithstanding all their encomiums upon the purity of public men, he (Mr. Whitbread) must say, that he was anxious to apply a little correction to them, not to the hon. members personally (a laugh), but as constituting a part of the house of commons.—He next reviewed the objections of the right hon. Secretary (Mr. Canning,) and contended, that such was the purity, as it was called, of those times, that even the Chair was obliged to endure from the right hon. gent. and his colleagues, admissions and justifications which in other times, in the days of Mr. Dunning, would not be tolerated. The right hon. gent. he supposed could not have been present at the whole of his (Mr. Whitbread's) speech, or he would never have spoken as he had lately done. So far from having an idea of excluding the members of the administration from the house of commons, he had expressly said it was his wish that a liberal portion should be allowed to sit there. Yet there were offices the holders of which ought to be excluded from parliament; and there were persons in that house who were only there for the mere purpose of giving direct influence to government. His right hon. colleague who preceded him (Mr. Perceval) had said, that no such expressions had been used in former times as were on the present occasion. This he (Mr. Whitbread) denied. Could it be supposed that when Mr. Dunning introduced his bill against the influence of the crown, expres-

sions equally strong and plain were not used? Did not that bill expressly say, that "the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." That right hon. gent., however, introduced a language into that house, as to the sale of seats in parliament, which no former Speaker would have endured. He was sorry to say the present right hon. gent., who so honourably filled that high station, was obliged to listen to it; for the fact had been incontestibly proved; and the right hon. gent. had openly avowed and vindicated it; and when, from the zeal and sincerity of the house, they were about to have a Bill that would go a great way to put an end to such disgraceful proceedings, that right hon. gent. came forward, and was willing the bill should preclude the landed and monied interest from purchasing seats in that house, but was very ready and anxious to give the whole monopoly to government in the way of offices, and by that means make the mischief more grievous and more extensive than ever it was before. The learned Chancellor of the Exchequer considered it the duty of the house not to indulge any hopes of reform, which might be entertained out of doors. Let him not be alarmed, lest any false hopes should be entertained by the people respecting him. For what hopes could be indulged, when they saw a noble Secretary (lord Castlereagh) convicted, on his own confession, of an attempt upon the dignity of parliament, still retained in the service of the crown; when they knew that the right hon. gent. himself had been accused of a participation in another unconstitutional attack upon the independence of that house, and had shrunk from the inquiry? When they recollected that he, one of the greatest reversionists of the kingdom, had opposed the passing of a measure which had twice received the sanction of that house, for the purpose of correcting such an abusive exercise of the prerogative. That right hon. gent. had taken care the people should have nothing to hope for from him. He had positively denied that all which the house had heard, either from petitions or regular county meetings, was the opinion of the people; it was only the clamour of a set of demagogues, who wished to carry their own favourite points. That house, forsooth, the learned gentleman contended, should not now mistake the voice of a few designing demagogues assembled at a tavern, for the legitimate opinion of
the country. Oh yes! when every c
ty in the empire resounded with a
for the correction of gross abuses, th
swer is, these are clamours of Jac
and Demagogues; and the learned ge
man totally forgot what he himself
seen and heard, the cry of some infu
ruffians armed with bludgeons, insu
and abusing some of the best men in
country, as enemies to Church and
(Hear! hear!). Turbulence and in
ty of this kind, in the estimation of
learned gentleman, bespoke the sen
the people; but the converse was ap
to the legitimate expression of their s
ments, when the people were conv
constitutionally, and their decision un
ported by any factious arts (Cries of
hear! and laughter, from the minist
benches), "unsupported, I say," (a
Mr. W.) "by any of those factious
which raised that murderous cry
which the right hon. and learned g
owes his office, and to which those
now cry 'hear him!' are indebted
their places." That right hon. gent.
hated meetings at taverns, and yet he
not hesitate to defend his right hon.
league for having attended a tavern m
ing, and there most indecently and un
stitutionally declaring the sentiments o
nisters on questions of a public nature
to him by the chairman.—Mr. Whitb
then said, there were some who hel
present official situations, who, he sh
think, might severally be dispensed
from a seat in that house. One was
right hon. gent. opposite to him (
Rose), whom he was afraid, he must a
to part with; not because he was T
surer of the Navy, but as clerk of
house of lords. The right hon. g
was liable to be called away by the lo
and therefore, rather than he should
taken from them at a time when
might not wish to part with him, he tho
it would be best to provide that the c
of the parliament should not sit in
house. He thought the Masters in C
cery should also be excluded, and he
not clear whether it was proper for
Master of the Rolls to have a seat in
liament. He adverted to the statut
queen Anne, by which all officers in
administration were to be put out of
house, and to the statute of George I
which pensioners for years were dis
lified, and said, that by Mr. Burke's
the third Secretary of State was exclu
from a seat. It might be practically

to diminish the seats of officers of
ment in that house, not in order to
h the talents in the house, but to
way a dead weight from it. He
this measure in a different light
ee hon. baronet. It was true, in-
t was but a palliative, in compari-
a reformation in the house of com-
but if that was not to be obtained
palliative was better than nothing.
n. member then expressed himself
ed friend to a temperate and consti-
l Reform of the house of commons,
into effect by the house itself.
l to that successful result, the whole
y must, in a temperate and firm
r, express its wishes. The experi-
hat recent circumstances afforded,
ost the highest power in the coun-
elding to its unanimous feeling,
in a similar case, ensure the success
cause of Reform. The great danger
pprehended was from any precipi-
n pressing the question, and thus by
ople's own conduct throwing them-
into the power of their opponents.
ngly recommended the people not
nto such a snare, as the royalists did,
hen seeing Oliver Cromwell on an
e hill, prematurely rushed forward
note his object, crying out, that the
ad delivered him into their hand.

ngers were ordered to withdraw.
ouse then divided, and the num-
ere—

r the Motion - - - - - - - - 54
ainst it - - - - - - - - - - - - 113

ajority against it - - - - - - 59

IRD REPORT OF THE FINANCE COM-
E.] The house went into a Com-
to consider further of the Third Re-
f the Finance Committee.

Henry Martin called the atten-
f the Committee to the Sinecure
s attached to the courts of law,
he stated to amount to 26,000*l.* per
, which sum was sufficient to pro-
r the proposed increase of the Judges'
es, and so it ought to be applied.
on. gent. took notice of the Register-
f the Admiralty, and the balances
ed in the hands of that officer, con-
o the Resolution of the Committee
97; and also of certain Sinecures in
d. He concluded with proposing a
ation in substance as follows: "That
xpedient to extend the principles of
tion and abolition, already acted
by that house to certain Sinecure Offices, and Offices executed by Deputy."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proposed a Resolution with some verbal alterations from that of Mr. Martin, to which the latter acceded, and withdrew his own.

Mr. *Bankes* thought every unnecessary office ought to be abolished, and that the salary of every office executed by deputy, should be reduced to that actually paid to such deputy. The hon. gent. proposed an Amendment to that effect.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* opposed this amendment, because it would involve the abolition of all Sinecures, which, as the means of rewarding public service, was a fundamental principle of this constitution: nor could he concur in the latter part of his honourable friend's proposition.

Mr. *Bankes* was undoubtedly of opinion, that no money ought to be paid by the public, but for the public duty actually performed, and it was known that there were no less than 120 or 130 offices highly objectionable on this ground.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* supported the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the means of remuneration for efficient public service, which Sinecures afforded, were done away, some other resource for that purpose ought obviously to be provided. Then, how was public economy to be promoted by adopting the recommendation for putting an end to the existence of Sinecures? In fact, there were only eight or nine Sinecures, which formed the fund from which his majesty was enabled to reward the great officers of state. Much, then, as these Sinecures were abused, he put it to the Committee how a cheaper fund was to be devised. He put it to his hon. friend whether he would object to the provision of any due reward for those who, without wealth, might have rendered important public services to the state.

Mr. *H. Thornton*, in supporting the Amendment of his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes), adverted particularly to the Sinecures in Scotland and the West Indies, which could not be comprehended in the description of those alluded to by the right hon. gent. who spoke last. His impression was, that the amount and application of all Sinecures ought to be known to the house, with a view to reform and abolish such as were objectionable. Indeed, he was free to say, that Sinecures were not a convenient way of rewarding public services.

Lord *H. Petty* was of opinion, that if Sinecures were removed some other means of remuneration for public services ought to be provided. But upon the utmost reflection, he would rather prefer the existence of Sinecures, believing as he did that, notwithstanding the mistaken odium attaching to them, if they were abolished, larger pensions would be granted, and consequently greater burthens imposed and entailed upon the public. He was, however, free to confess, that there were some Sinecures, particularly in the West Indies, which ought to be done away. But as to the Sinecures to which he would apply his rule, unless the principle of reward for public services, to which no man who had a just conception of the public interest could object, were actually set aside, it was absurd to deprecate the existence of those Sinecures which furnished the means of that reward.

Mr. *Huskisson* maintained, that according to the Bill of Mr. Burke, which had been referred to by the hon. mover of the Amendment, Sinecures, as furnishing the means of reward for public service, should not be done away without providing a substitute.

Mr. *Ponsonby* concurred in the argument of his noble friend (H. Petty), being perfectly persuaded that if the crown were deprived of the means of rewarding public service which Sinecures afforded, such a system of pensions would follow as would make those persons lament the change who were now most anxious for the abolition of Sinecures. The right hon. gent. recommended strongly a revision of the system acted upon by Deputies in certain offices connected with the administration of justice in Ireland, which system was at present a very serious abuse to suitors, and particularly to the poorer class.

Mr. *W. Smith* protested against the latitude of the doctrine laid down in the debate upon the subject of Sinecures, and quoted the authority of various Reports from committees of that house, combined with the opinions of some of the best men the country had known, to sustain his objection. In point of fact, those Sinecures were not applied to reward public services, but to gratify ministerial favouritism, which rendered their existence still more objectionable. The hon. member read a list of Sinecures in Ireland, to the amount of 26,000*l.* a year.

Mr. *R. Dundas* promised to consider the recommendation with respect to the and exactions complained of, in cer offices connected with the administra of justice in Ireland. The right gent. pointed out certain offices in S land, which, although requiring the formance of every active duty, w through misinformation no doubt, scribed in the Report of the Finance C mittee as Sinecures.

Mr. *H. Thornton* corrected the mis of the right hon. gent. as to the Repo the Committee, which mistake procee from the offices alluded to being pl under the general head of "Sinec and offices executed partly or wholly deputy."

Mr. *Wilberforce* observed, that in sidering Sinecures, their effect on the lic mind was to be kept in view. still thought that this was the most ec mical way of rewarding public ser but if retained, these sinecures ought t placed in a clear and distinct light, so neither the object nor amount coul mistaken.

The Amendment was then negat without a division; and the Resol as proposed by Mr. Perceval, carried.

Lord Ossulston gave notice tha would propose a Resolution at an opportunity, to the effect, that Sine were an expedient mode of remunera public service.

The Chairman then reported prog and the debate was ordered to be resu on Tuesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 9.

[Irish Revenue Regulation B Mr. Foster moved the order of the da the third reading of the Irish Rev Regulation Bill; and the question ha been put that the bill be now read third time,

Sir *John Newport* rose to resist a c in this bill, to which he thought it i sible the house could give their fina sent, if they were aware of its object was no less than a grant of full am and indemnification to all the excise cers in Ireland, who had for a seri years past, in direct violation of duty and their oaths, been plunderin revenue of that country (as appeared the Reports of the Irish committee quiry) of no less a sum than 850,00

by taking bribes from the distillers
nniving at their evasions of the du-
pon their manufacture, and thus com-
and colluding with them to defraud
venue of which they were the sworn
onfidential officers. If such a clause
llowed to pass, he was sure it would
operate as a sanction and encou-
ent to fraud, as to create a necessity
other clause of indemnity in a year
hence.—The reasoning upon which
ght hon. the Chancellor of the Ex-
er for Ireland supported this clause
a former night was, that the salaries
excise officers in Ireland were in-
ate to their maintenance, and there-
xposed them to the temptations of
ry to betray their duty; but that
salaries being now raised, there were
urse to be no more frauds in future.
e (sir J. Newport) could not admit
moment that fraud could be justified
any such plea in a revenue officer,
of a violation of his oath and his
which would be scouted in any
of criminal judicature, if offered in
e by a highway-man, or a house-
er, where no trust was reposed. The
hon. gent. pleaded the notoriety of
frauds in almost every branch of the
ue, as a necessity for this indemnifi-
n; and a recent instance had oc-
d in the house, by which it was
n that an officer in high situation (Mr.
was not only indemnified for past
ces, but sanctioned and encouraged
till higher promotion, though his
was established by his own confes-
and now came this clause to extend
mnification to the whole corps of such
quents. With such a clause the bill
d be a statute of pains and penalties
nst the public, and of protection to
factors; for one clause in the bill de-
ced the most enormous penalties
nst any person who should offer a
e to a revenue officer; and yet it con-
es with a clause to indemnify all re-
e officers who had taken bribes in the
flagitious way for betraying their
, in direct violation of a bill which
passed the house so recently as the
1806, expressly to prevent such
ds. No parliament, he declared, had
passed such an amnesty as the pre-
; and if the house should now sanction
ts protection a class of men, guilty in
berless instances of such flagrant
sgressions, such proceeding must be
to the public interest, and highly injurious to the public morals. The right hon. baronet concluded by moving, "That instead of now, the bill be read a third time this day three months."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* hoped, that as the objections of the right hon. baronet were directed solely against a particular clause in the bill, he would be content to take the sense of the house upon that clause, instead of opposing the whole bill.

Sir *John Newport* had no wish to defeat the whole bill, and was satisfied to rest his opposition upon the final clause.

Mr. *Foster* denied that the clause was intended for such a purpose as that of screening defaulters. It was merely a clause in compliance with a conditional promise made to certain officers, of whose guilt there was no practical proof to be obtained, but who, on the condition of indemnity, had fully acknowledged the facts, and explained how a repetition of such fraud might in future be prevented. He had himself repeatedly stated to the house, that the pay of the excise officers in Ireland was too small for their maintenance, and consequently exposed them to the temptation of bribery from brewers and distillers, over whose works they were placed in the way of their duty. Such were the temptations held out to them, that they had not the fortitude to resist: and so universally and notoriously did the traffic prevail amongst every description of excise officers in every part of Ireland, that the frauds upon the revenue were to an incalculable amount. This appeared upon examination before the Commissioners of inquiry in Ireland. It was, in fact, so generally the usage, that the excise officers conceived there was no crime, or breach of duty, in a matter at which they supposed their superiors connived in consideration of the known inadequacy of their salaries to their maintenance. It was recommended by the Commissioners of inquiry, as the best means of rendering those officers honest and faithful for the future, that their salaries should be increased; and as the defalcations were almost universal, and committed almost without the consciousness of criminality, it was proposed, that an amnesty should be given for all that had passed, upon the strong assurance that under the increased salaries, no such acts should take place for the future: or if they did, that they should be instantly followed by dismissal and the severest penalties. What would be the obvious consequence of rejecting this clause? Why, that these men would be placed in the power of those very brewers and distillers, at whose frauds they had heretofore been induced by bribery to connive, and who might again drive them to new connivances and frauds by the threats of prosecutions, fines, and penalties for former acts, the proofs of which were in their power, and thus render the bill nugatory, and expose the revenue to a repetition of all those frauds it was intended to prevent.

Mr. *Horner* expressed his astonishment, that a British house of commons should be called upon to pass such a clause; but he was still more astonished at the motives for it urged by the right hon. gent., namely, the universality of the offence in every department of the revenue of Ireland; but, most of all, at the circumstance of continuing in their places, and remunerating by advance of salaries, the very officers who, in breach of their trusts and of their oaths, had been one and all, avowedly and for a series of years, defrauding the revenue, and combining and colluding with others to defraud it. Was there no possibility of finding any other men in Ireland with honesty and ability enough to fill the place of these men? If such a fact were possible, but which he could not believe, then there should be men sought in some other part of the united empire.

Mr. *Foster* explained, by saying, that these frauds were not chargeable on all the branches of the revenue, but merely on the excise; that the act of 1806 limited the time of prosecution for all crimes designated there, to three months after the fact; that the indemnity proposed by this bill came down no lower than January 1808; and that for all such offences since committed, the parties would still be liable to a prosecution.

Mr. *Bankes* was astonished at the introduction of the clause before that house, so contrary as it was to every principle which a British parliament had been used to respect and maintain. He regretted that it should have the support of his right hon. friend the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, and begged to ask what the house would think if such a clause were proposed in that house, to indemnify and protect the excise officers of this country, if it was known that they had entered into combinations to defraud the revenue? These latter would have been instantly dismissed to a man, a others found to fill their places. He w surprized to hear from the Chancellor the Exchequer of Ireland, that perso who had been guilty of these frauds, we not only retained in their situations, b even their salaries had been raised, in t hope of securing their honesty and fideli for the future. This he conceived to a project totally hopeless; and he shou have preferred, for the public advanta their instantaneous dismissal, and t filling up their places with other m however simple or moderate their abiliti against whom at least government had experience of their dishonesty, to t continuance of men whose crimes fo series of years were avowed and ev vindicated, and sanctioned by those wh peculiar duty it was to watch over the venues of Ireland. Of the affairs of t country he was sorry to say, that the m they were investigated the more lou they seemed to call for the correct hand of that house. It was not wonde that the people murmured at the incre of taxes, if that increase arose not fr any necessity founded on the inadequa of the taxes already imposed, but to m up for the frauds of revenue officers, w instead of being dismissed and punish were retained and indemnified.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* expressed his won that such a clause should receive sanction of the right hon. the Chance of the Exchequer, contrary as it was all the principles usually respected that house. It was unsupported by precedent in former amnesty bills; fo went to extend pardon not only to comparative few who appeared to h acknowledged their guilt, but to thousands who never make any ackn ledgment at all; so that the house no mode of measuring the indefinite tent of criminality which they were ca on to vote. It was a direct attack public morality, and held out encoura ment to the revenue officers in Engl to commit the like offence, for surel was quite impossible the right hon. g would follow up with pains and penal the same class of persons in England frauds on the revenue, in violatio their trust, or even against poor wret defrauding the revenue, otherwise ha no place of trust, but equally plea the inadequacy of their incomes to support of their families; while the r nue officers of Ireland, notoriously, eries of years, guilty of such frauds, to be indemnified, protected, re- in their places, and ameliorated in circumstances. He trusted that would never disgrace itself by the on of such a clause.

Chancellor of the Exchequer was hat surprized at the indignation as- by his hon. and learned friend at lause, after the explanation which en given; and spoke at some length port of the clause upon the same as Mr. Foster. No man, he said, for a moment seriously suppose e clause was intended to sanction tion or criminality, but merely to t the recurrence of similar abuses, t that inconvenience to the public which the immediate dismissal of excise officers in Ireland must oc-.

Calcraft spoke of the clause in the est terms of reprobation, and asked, the right hon. gent. venture to pro- uch a clause to that house in protec- the revenue officers of England, if ad been guilty of such crimes? He good deal astonished at several of easures which had passed that house tion to Ireland, since the administra- the right hon. the Chancellor of the equer for that country commenced; e owned this proposition surprized more than all the rest, supported as it y the speech and vote of the right gent. (Mr. Perceval). To continue fraudulent officers in their places, nly indemnified and protected, but ded and encouraged, was beyond thing he had ever witnessed; and oo, upon the pretence that men could e found in Ireland to fill their places. ould not credit the assertion; he of no extraordinary talents it re- to do the duty of an exciseman. no men fit to do these duties were found in that country, they should nported from some other. It was lous to suppose that men in the habit ing by their frauds, at four or five reds or thousands a year, could be ered honest by the addition of thirty rty pounds to their salaries.

r. *Marryat* gave ministers credit for best intentions in supporting this e, but thought they would be woefully pointed in the result. In relation to continuance of those fraudulent of- , with the hope of reform, he should uided by the old proverb; "Never trust a reformed drunkard with the key of the cellar."

Mr. *Hutchinson* said, that the doctrine in support of the clause went to libel the country. If it went abroad, it would give an idea that there were no honest men to be found there; and if the members for Ireland did not condemn it, they would deserve the reprobation of their countrymen.

Mr. *Croker* defended the clause, and said there was no alternative but an immediate dismissal of all the excise officers in Ireland, and the abandonment of the revenue. He would not have voted for it, if it was to defend corruption.

Mr. *Babington* said, if he thought the clause would prevent corruption, he would vote for it; but could it be supposed that men who had been in the habit of receiving large sums from the distillers, and living up to it, would leave their habits for the advance of their salaries? It was contrary to all human probability, and was not to be expected; he should therefore give the clause his negative.

Mr. *Windham* was ready to admit, that if the fraudulent officers must necessarily be retained, the clause ought to pass of course; but he denied the necessity, and consequently must oppose it. Not only did he reprobate the idea of indemnifying men who had so grossly betrayed their trust, and defrauded the revenue, but that of retaining those men in their places, after the avowal and proof of such fraud. It taught those men to laugh at government, to set them at defiance, to believe that government could not do without them, and, of course could not dismiss them; and, under such feelings, was it to be expected such men would, for a trifling increase of salary, forego the temptation of gaining five times as much by fraud? and what sort of picture was this to hold out for their brother revenue officers in England?

The question being loudly called for, a division took place, when there appeared:

For the Clause - - - - - - - - - - -	41
Against it - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	47
Majority against Ministers —	6

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that it appeared from papers on the table that the Storekeeper of the Magazine in Hyde Park never filled any military office, and he also understood that he was in possession of a sinecure office. He trusted that he would be removed before the next session: if not, he should feel himself obliged to make a motion to that effect.

[EAST INDIA PRIVATE TRADE.] Mr. *Prendergast* rose, to submit to the house a motion for papers which he had made the other day, but which had been withdrawn upon a point of form. As he had before explained himself sufficiently upon the subject, he saw no necessity for entering into it at any great length at this time. He maintained that his statement had not been overturned by any thing that had fallen from the hon. chairman (Mr. Grant). He had stated the law and applied it to the fact, and on both points he was perfectly correct. The hon. chairman had said, that he had derived his information from a memorial of some interested persons. He denied this, and observed, that he had not seen that memorial till after he had given his notice. The hon. gent. then entered more particularly into a statement of the grievances under which the Private Trader laboured, from the conduct of the Directors. He read the Order which they had sent out to India, in 1803, as to the rates of freight with which the private merchant was to be charged; which were, 11*l.* per ton during peace, and 14*l.* per ton during war. This rate was acted upon by the merchants, in their arrangements. No other order had been made on this subject till the 10th of August 1805. The hon. chairman had said, that this was the rate fixed during peace, but that a period of war altered the circumstances; and that an order had been immediately sent out to fix a higher rate. This the hon. gent. denied, and asserted that on the contrary, an order had been published, in 1805, confirming the same rates of freight that had been established in June 1803. The merchants, considering these as binding upon the Company, had made their arrangements accordingly. The hon. chairman had stated, that no extra ships had arrived in India in the years 1805-6, because these ships had been turned aside from their destination, for political purposes, over which the directors had no controul. But this was one of the hardships of which the private merchants particularly complained. They were unable to procure a supply of ships independent of the Company. They made their arrangements in reliance upon the Company; and then, when they most wanted vessels, the ships were taken away for political purposes, leaving the merchant completely in the lurch. This was an extreme hardship, and one to which the private merchant ought not, in any view, to be subjected; but more especially when the Compan by the act of 1793, was bound to affor every facility and accommodation. T hon. gent. next stated, that in 1806 it happened that the Company had som spare Tonnage in their regular ships, an in these, therefore, the property of priva merchants was conveyed from India this country. The private merchants course thought that as they had no alt native, they would only be subject to t rates of freight which the Company h promulgated. But when the goods arriv in this country they were charged w 44*l.* per ton, which as the directors h the power of exacting in their own han the merchants were forced to pay. had before called this injustice and oppr sion, and he would now add that it fraud likewise, because the directors employed the power which they possess to violate their own agreement, and to appoint the just expectations of the priv merchants. Mr. Prendergast proceede observe, that from 1805 till July 1807, other advertisement had been publishe and consequently in the year 1806 and of 1807, the private merchants natura concluded that they would be permit to convey their property at the old ra But to all this the hon. chairman had plied, that a specific bargain had b made by the merchants with the gove ment of Bengal. He (Mr. Prenderg himself was on the spot; he was a g deal interested, and yet he had he nothing of any such bargain. He t remarked, that the directors had writte the governor-general in 1807, fixing rates for the previous three years. hon. gent. read the rates; season 18 30*l.* per ton in regular ships; season 18 32*l.* per ton in regular ships, and 22 extra ships; season 1806, 26*l.* per to extra ships, and 30*l.* 10*s.* in regular sh Not satisfied with the agreement wh they had made with the Chancellor of Exchequer, for the accommodation of Private Trade, they had sent out order their government in India to charge th high rates of freight there, while here the strong arm of power, they char treble the rate which they themselves fixed. An hon. gent. below (Mr. Wall had, on a former occasion, character his conduct as unjust; but when the ho considered the facts which he had stated, he was satisfied it would allow he was fully warranted in retorting the cusation, and in saying that the proc the hon. gent. was not only unjust, arked by a total ignorance of the : on which he had spoken.—Mr. ergast then adverted to the proposi- which the Directors had made to the ellor of the Exchequer, in which had stated their readiness to afford ivate trader every accommodation, allow him freight on the most rea- e terms. This obligation they had ed, and had subjected the private to the consequences of the pro- y with which they managed their rns. But he maintained, that they right thus to waste the property of constituents, and of the public, upon their debts must ultimately fall. d laid before the house facts which s impossible to controvert; and his ment, he contended, was in no respect unjust or erroneous. He concluded oving, That the copy of the Memo- f the Directors to the Treasury, in some time ago presented to the , should be re-printed, &c. &c.

R. Dundas observed, that the ob- ions of the hon. gent. were premature, act of 1793, and the other matters, l come under consideration, when the was furnished with all the requisite nation on the subject. These papers l not comprehend the whole of the ion, and it was not therefore upon alone that it ought to be discussed. lamed the hon. gent. for censuring onduct of the Directors, before the ne- y documents were before the house.

Wallace maintained, that though rincipal facts stated by the hon. gent. correct, the inference which he drew them against the directors was g. The hon. chairman had stated, after the extra ships had been di- d from their intended destination for cal purposes, the merchants them- s had requested to be allowed to ship goods on board the regular vessels, payment of the same rate of freight e Company paid, which was 44*l.* per and yet this favour was converted a charge of oppression and injustice. wished the hon. gent. had conde- led to explain one fact. The private hants themselves, as ship owners, had heir ships to the Company at from 19 *l.* per ton. How then could they ct that the Company should be able -let their own ships to them at 14*l.* ton? The real state of the case was, as to the charge in 1804, orders had been sent out after the advertisement to raise the rate on account of the war. The orders did not arrive in proper time, and the result was, that the directors had settled the account at 14*l.* according to the original advertisement.

Mr. *C. Grant*, repeated what he had formerly said, that the house could not properly come to a decision upon these points, till the whole of the circumstances came before it. The agreement in 1793, he observed, went no further than furnishing the private merchant with 3,000 tons of shipping. He next gave a short history of the transactions between the Company and the private merchants. The Company had resisted the project of carrying home produce in India built ships, but in 1802 an arrangement was made by which the Company engaged to furnish the private merchants with English built ships, subject to the regulations of the Company, at the low rate of 14*l.* per ton. But when the war commenced, it was necessary to raise the rate of freight, and orders were sent out to raise it to 20*l.*; but it having been stated that it had been already signified to the private merchants that the rate would be only 14*l.* for the year 1804, the directors acceded to this. As the war continued the expences rose, but still the charges were within what the Company themselves paid. His hon. friend (Mr. Wallace) had truly stated that the merchants themselves had charged the Company at the rate of from 19 to 21*l.* in 1803; and how could they expect to be supplied cheaper? As to the want of shipping at a particular period, he repeated that this had arisen from the vessels having been detained at Cork, Madeira, &c. for political purposes; and it was impossible that the Company could either controul this; or be ready with vessels to meet such an accident. In the year 1805 the private merchants had been furnished with tonnage, in the regular ships at the rate paid by the Company, and what more could they expect? There was no law or convention in this case that could give the character of injustice to these transactions. As to publications in the gazettes in India, he could not answer for these; but he could aver, that here the extra ships, in 1805-6, were charged at only 14*l.* with some exceptions from particular circumstances.

Mr. *Howorth.*—Mr. Speaker: As the state of the India Company must soon force itself on the attention of parliament, not-

withstanding any attempts to conceal facts, or suppress the evidence, I am not aware that any other benefit will result from the present motion, than that general information, which naturally arises out of such a discussion: With respect to the India Trade, undoubtedly, Sir, the restrictions and interruptions which have been imposed on the free merchants, and the extravagant price of freight demanded of them, have produced the effect of diverting the legitimate trade of India into clandestine courses, by forcing a great part of British capital to pass under foreign flags. But I think it rather unfair to charge the honourable Directors with making this exorbitant demand for freight, for whatever blame may attach to the expensive system under which they act, it surely could not be reasonably expected, that they should give facilities to the free merchants and promote their objects, by charging a lower rate of freight than the Company were paying, at a certain loss to themselves. Whenever a corrective shall be applied to the abuses of the Indian trade, it will probably be found to consist in this, in enabling the British merchants to bring their own goods upon their own ships, subject however to the supervision and controul of the East India Company, to be freighted and refreighted, to be imported and exported through their offices, the goods and merchandize to be deposited in their warehouses, in short, in a system, which will enable the British merchant and natives under British protection, to trade upon equal terms with the merchants of every other country: Do this, and you will bring the whole trade of India into the Thames, and for this plain reason. If the terms were equal, the security would be infinitely greater. Sir, I shall take this opportunity of adverting to a circumstance, which though irrelevant to the present motion, is not altogether unimportant. In May 1808, a Report was presented to this house by the Committee appointed to consider the affairs of India: in that Report an account current was stated between government and the East India Company, by which account it appeared that a balance was due from government to the Company of 1,500,419*l.* This account was signed by Mr. Wittwer, an authorized agent on the part of government, and by Mr. Wright the accomptant for the Company. In consequence of this Report it was moved by the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the sum of one million
and one half should be paid to the Ea
India Company in liquidation of this deb
leaving a balance of only 419*l.* due fro
government to the Company. In th
annual account of the East India Compa
just printed, I find inserted as part of t
Company's assets, a statement of, "I
what due from government 960,000*l.*"
is true this charge is stated with this com
ment "that the Committee in their repo
having suspended for further examinati
such parts of the Pay Office demands as ha
been objected to on the part of the Co
pany, the account is still open for furth
investigation." Sir, the fact is this, in t
account signed by the authorized agen
of the parties, two Items are admitted up
estimate, which necessarily is subject
revision; and one charge was suspend
altogether, and very properly suspende
because the Pay Office accounts were n
in that state of correctness necessary
conclude them, leaving that head of cou
open for further adjustment: But, Sir, I w
remember when the million and half w
voted in liquidation of the debt from
vernment to the East India Company,
hon. friend of mine (Mr. Whitbread) pu
question to the right hon. the President
the Board of Controul, Whether that
count so settled was to be considered
final, and conclusive? and he was
swered in the affirmative. I have tak
this opportunity of mentioning this c
cumstance, lest such a paper suffered
remain upon the table unnoticed, m
hereafter be taken advantage of. Anot
circumstance, I would mention, is, t
various letters which I have received fr
India, concur in stating the discontents
the Company's officers, and the disaffecti
of the native troops. This is principa
attributed to a system of foisting kin
officers into the native corps, persons
acquainted with their language, and unu
to their customs. At Bombay it was
tended to mount additional cavalry, an
was ordered to be officered by king's o
cers from Madras: this excited such rese
ment on the part of the Company's o
cers, and such discontent amongst the
tive troops, to whom their officers w
endeared by long services, and with wh
for their gallant conduct at Bhurtpoor, th
had received the thanks of lord Lake; t
Mr. Duncan, the governor of Bomb
prudently withheld the publication of
order, and remonstrated with the gove
ment of Bengal on the subject. It
also been stated to me, that an order

ssued for drafting off annually from
grenadier battalion 12 picked men,
r to form a crack corps. To the hon.
ian (Mr. Grant) it will be unneces-
expatiate on the mischiefs which
esult from such measures. I had
that the mutiny at Vellore, at the
ime that it afforded an aweful, would
ave afforded an instructive lesson, of
surdity of inforcing British regula-
upon Indian armies. On that occa-
e lives of near a thousand men, of
upwards of two hundred were
soldiers, were sacrificed to a turban
whisker; if that pernicious folly had
en stopped, your whole native army
have been lost by it: If such a
and such an example be disregarded,
u equally indifferent about the con-
ce? I am sorry to observe, that in
ouse very few know what is doing in
and I fear very few care.

R. Dundas admitted that he had al-
that the account between the Com-
and the public had been closed, with
t to the articles which they had
their consideration. Still, however,
ompany might prefer a claim, but
might be also a claim on the part of
ublic to meet it, and till the Indian
ental accounts were audited, it was
sible to say how the matter exactly
As to the practices respecting the
, he had good reason to believe that
n. gent. was mistaken.

Peter Moore contended, that every
ought to be laid on the table that
to throw any light on the state of
dia trade. He strongly objected to
otion, that the question was not to
cussed till the Company came to the
for a renewal of their charter. If
formation was to be given till then,
ivate merchants would be left com-
y in the dark, and very hardly dealt

. *Prendergast* observed, that he stated
rom unquestionable authority. The
hairman had said, that the Company
y law obliged to furnish only 3,000
of shipping. He had understood,
ver, they were obliged to furnish as
as the private merchant might find
sary to carry home his produce. He
s understood that the quantity was
regulated by the demand. The act
at point spoke for itself. He was
sed to hear the hon. chairman say,
he extra ships were only charged at
te of 14*l.* per ton, at the very time that he himself had stated them to have been carried away upon some political expedition. He denied having ever heard of the bargain with the government of Bengal, to which the hon. chairman had alluded, and remarked, that no reply had been attempted to his statement of the rates of freight, that had been ordered in 1807.

The several motions were then put and agreed.

Mr. *Prendergast* afterwards, alluding to the circumstance he had mentioned on the former night, of the dismissal of Mr. Samuel Middleton, a servant of the Company, for being concerned in the trade of indigo, while the chairman of the Court of Directors (Mr. Grant) was allowed to bring that article home from India, in violation of the bye-law, that no Director should be concerned in any trading speculation, and considering what he conceived a partiality, as likely to produce an ill effect on the respect which ought to be kept up for all the transactions of the Company, moved "That there be laid before the house a copy of the Oath of office taken by the Court of Directors; the bye-laws of the Company, prohibiting any trade being carried on by any director; the bye-law making an exception in favour of Mr. Grant; and the Minutes of the Resolution of the governor and Council of Bengal on the subject."

Mr. *Grant* made a short explanation of the circumstance, as far as he was concerned, of the establishment of the trade in indigo, from India to this country, of which he was the original promoter, and in the manufacture of which he had embarked a very large capital. Upon his return from India, he had been elected into the office of Director, when no law existed against that board being concerned in trade; afterwards, in 1795, that law was enacted, and he upon that occasion stated his case to the Company, and the consequence was, that, upon two general courts it was agreed, that he did not come within the spirit of the regulation. If he were compelled to choose between his situation as director, and the giving up of his property, he should be compelled to elect the former. He, however, had no objection to the motion.

Mr. *R. Dundas* saw no ground for the motion, as there was no charge against the hon. chairman: and, if there was, it did not come under the jurisdiction of that house. The whole of it was, that the hon.

chairman having promoted a most important branch of commerce, was allowed to retain his property in it; this was no circumstance to induce a supposition that he would act contrary to his duty as a director; and it would be a bad reward for his past services, to deprive him and the Company of his future exertions.

Sir *John Anstruther* concurred in the same sentiments; and said that the Company had a right to make what regulations and what exceptions they pleased. The case was this: Samuel Middleton, a judicial servant of the Company, had, as such, taken an oath he would not be concerned in any trade whatever; in breach of which he had entered into a trade in the article of indigo; for which he had been dismissed their service. Where, then, was the resemblance between his case and that of the hon. chairman? He was decidedly against the motion.

Mr. *Peter Moore* declared, he had taken an active part in promoting the bye-law, which excluded all concerned in trade from the directory; if any one arraigned that, it should be in the India house, and not there. The fact was, the hon. chairman was not concerned in trading, but merely brought home the produce of his estate, like any other property. He advised the hon. mover to withdraw his motion, and apply himself to the India house, where he would find justice.

Mr. *Prendergast*, in consequence of what had been stated, consented to withdraw his motion, which, after a few words from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who objected to it, as wishing it to be negatived, was agreed to without a division.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] On the motion of Mr. Curwen, the house proceeded to the order of the day, for the further consideration of the Report of the Seats in Parliament Bill. On the question, that the Amendments be read a second time, Mr. G. Johnstone stated, that having some further observations to make upon this measure, he should reserve what he had to say till the question should be put, that the Bill be engrossed. After a short conversation between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bankes, and lord Porchester, the house resolved itself into a committee to reconsider the bill, so far as related to the first clause.—In the committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an amendment, by which the penalty for making a gift or promise of money in order to obtain a return to pa
liament, was fixed at 1,000*l.* (besides t
original 500*l.*), and the person so makin
a gift or promise of money was to
rendered incapable of sitting in parliame
for the county, city, borough, &c.
which he should be in this manner return
This amendment was agreed to, after
short discussion, in which Mr. Bankes, t
Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ponso
by, the Solicitor General, and Mr. Tiern
participated. The Report was then broug
up on the house being resumed, when
Bankes moved an amendment to
amendment adopted in the committee, t
the disqualification should operate as to
whole of the parliament, to which s
undue return may have been obtain
A short discussion ensued, when a divisi
took place. For Mr. Bankes's amen
ment, 49—Against it, 71. Majority 2

On the re-admission of strangers,
found the house occupied in going thro
the various amendments of the bill. U
reading the clause originally proposed
the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for
posing a penalty on persons transfer
services for seats,

Lord *Milton* moved, that the w
"express" should be left out of
clause. The effect of leaving that t
in the bill would be to augment the b
ful influence of the crown in parliam
by throwing into the patronage of
Treasury all the boroughs of the king
But the bill had been so mutilated i
its parts, and was so ill calculated to e
its professed objects, that although
might succeed in persuading the hous
leave out the term to which he obje
he should still feel it his duty to
against the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* con
ed, that if the word objected to by
noble lord were to be left out, the c
would be monstrous, and no person
might be returned after a contested
tion, could have any security, if he h
any time within the preceding seven
procured an office for a friend, th
might or would not be charged upon
as having been obtained with a view t
election. He was therefore of op
that the word should stand in the bill.

Lord *Porchester* thought that no
could be more pucrile, or preposterous,
the bill with this expression in the c
He contended, that neither a jury,
committee of that house, on their
would put any but the fair constru

such grants as those alluded to by ght hon. gentleman. It was, in fact, ed of them in this instance, to give confidence to ministers, which they not to give to the courts of justice, committees of that house. If they l adopt the clause with this word in at would the country think of them, at they gave not only a pre-emption n exclusive right to the Treasury, hat, too, at a time when they pro- it to be their object to do away the ce of disposing of seats altogether? y should not get rid of the word, he ht that they ought at least to get rid e clause.

e *Solicitor-General* argued in support e clause as it stood. He did not that any very serious danger could from its operation, because the ad- tration could not possibly have at disposal places enough to barter for e seats for boroughs; but if they they could not do better than to give to the friends of their opponents, and they might get rid of them altogether. he whole, he thought the particular ng of the clause absolutely neces- o the efficiency of the bill to its ob- because the great purpose for which been brought in was to prevent the sale disposal of seats in that house oney.

F. Burdett thought the bill itself so ory, that he felt no interest for its ss; but he thought the zeal of the ed gentleman who spoke last had got etter of his prudence, as a member e government. While he was ar- so strenuously against the amend- , he was always supposing such a cor- state of things to exist, as absolutely it necessary for something to be The whole effect which his speech roduced upon his mind was to make think that the amendment against h he had argued ought to be adopt- He seemed to take for granted that xistence of administration was only preserved by corruption, which was sely what this bill proposed to coun- t. As to the distinction which had taken between giving money and g an office for the purpose of obtain- a seat, he was so far from agreeing it that his opinion was directly on the side. The learned gent. had said, offices might be given innocently, but y never could, and the guilt must ssarily attach to the person giving money. He would allow that giving money was now prohibited, and therefore it was illegal; but if it was not that it was prohibited by law, he could not see how more guilt could attach to giving money, than to giving an office, or to any other species of corruption. He thought that of all species of corruption the giving of money was not only the least injurious, but the most innocent. If those boroughs must be still kept open for the purpose of traffic, it was the least mischievous mode of trafficking. He knew that it was a common saying, "the man who buys supposes that he has a right to sell," but he also knew many instances of persons who purchased their seats with the intention of acting independently, and who did so act. A member who came in as representative of his own money might act independently if he would; but those who were returned by the corruption of office, come into the house bound, as it were, hand and foot, and had not the power of acting independently. As to the pensioned parliament of Charles II. that had been so often thrown in the teeth of the Tory administration of those times, the excuse given was, that such was the modesty of those times, that many would accept a pension secretly, who would be ashamed to hold an office. In the present times it was also known, that many would accept a bribe when gilded with the name of an office, who would be ashamed to take a bribe in money. He, therefore, thought, that, of all manner of corruptions, corruption by offices was the worst and most dangerous. As to the influence of the crown, he always thought that the monopoly of the borough mongers was as injurious to the legitimate rights of the sovereign, as to the interests of the people. The argument of the learned gentleman had been defective in supposing that it had ever been represented that all the seats in parliament could be purchased directly by offices. What had been said was, that the patronage of the ministers would, when all competition was taken away, have a preponderating influence in the boroughs. Every body, however, knew that the patronage of ministers went much further than the word offices expressed. Government had patronage enough not only to purchase a majority of seats in that house, but to purchase almost the whole of them if they thought proper. It was from the speech of the learned gentleman, that he was convinced that the amendment was proper.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that the inconveniences which would follow from adopting the Amendment, appeared to him to be far greater than those which would follow from rejecting it. If this word, "express," were inserted in the bill, then it would be found impossible to convict any body under the strongest and clearest circumstances, to prove that guilt, which the object of this bill was to guard against. By leaving this word in the bill, they would be doing nothing less than proclaiming to the people, that offices, titles, situations and contracts, might be used secretly for the purpose of procuring seats in parliament; for unless it should appear to a jury, a judge, or a committee, that an express contract or agreement could be brought forward, no punishment should follow. He thought that when money was excluded from the market, offices, titles, and other favours which ministers had to bestow, would be more operative. If it were once laid down, that money might not be given, but that offices, contracts, and such like might, it could not be denied that these considerations were equally corrupt, and ought equally to be guarded against. He did fear that this one word "express" would do more to increase the influence of the Treasury than the rest of the bill would do to diminish it.

Sir *W. Lemon* was ready to agree to any measure for reforming the existing corruptions, but must unquestionably vote against the clause, if the word "express" were retained.

Mr. *Curwen* thought that the adherence of gentlemen to this word, did call very much into question the sincerity of their offers of supporting the bill. From what he had observed of the administrations of the country, the government appeared rather inclined to rule by numbers than by the affection which must result from promoting the happiness of the people. It appeared to him that this word would defeat the main object of the bill, which was to rescue the character of the house, and gain the confidence of the people. He thought the people would construe this clause as a mode of protecting that corruption, which it was intended to destroy. He certainly did think that the corruption of money was of all others the most debasing, but he contended both against the corruption of money and of office. If he could, however, remedy only one of them at present, he thought it was an object gained of too much importance to aband the bill, even though loaded with clau and provisions of which he did not a prove.

Sir *John Newport* said that there was double disadvantage in the corruption office. The office was badly dischar and the country had neither an indep dent member, nor a good officer.

Mr. *Grattan* agreed entirely with hon. friend, in wishing for the adoption the bill. The rejection of it might ins ministers a corrupt majority in parliame the adoption of it would afford the peo at least, a chance of independence. declared his intention to vote against insertion of the term "express," althou it was his determination to support the were that term even admitted to sta part of the clause. There were def in the bill, which did not arise from hon. mover, but were introduced fro quarter not equally interested in its s cess; still, however, he would support because it appeared to him to be a dec ration of the common law of the land; a reassertion of the constitution. By common law of the land, any mini who procured by money seats in par ment was guilty of a breach of the c stitution, and punishable by impeachm He would suppose a consequence of bill, which he was not inclined to ad in fact, that the entire monopoly of purchase of seats would be exclusiv confined to the ministers. If any mini did act upon such a principle by tak advantage of his exclusive possession the market, he (Mr. Grattan) was cer that the notoriety would be enough to move him. He would rather that whole clause should be expunged t the word "express" should be retain but at all events, he should vote for bill, as he considered it the restoratio a constitutional principle; the com law was now practically repealed, an required to be revived by statute. bill (owing to its modifications) might immediately produce the benefits inten but it might operate slowly, and in end produce such happy consequen He was in favour of the oath; there many other clauses which he consid advantageous, but so great was his att ment to the principle, that he would it even destitute of those provisions.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* agreed what had fallen from the right hon. g who spoke last. He thought that it utmost importance to the house and country, that this bill should pass. ared with the advantages of passing a bill, he thought the objections to articular clause or amendment were ortant. The principle of the bill f more value than the details, and appeared to him that the attention house had been this night distracted he principle, in the consideration of ording of this Amendment. If they to look at the history of the bill, would find that it originated in con- g the broad fact of persons obtain- ats in that house by the payment of of money. Another case after- arose in the course of the debate, ces being transferred for seats. If, the house were now to provide re- s for the two cases which had been ted, it appeared to him that they have fully discharged their duty. hole object of the clause introduced right hon. friend (the Chancellor Exchequer,) was, that the house take care, while they punished the , not to spread a net which might those who had disposed of offices the most innocent intentions. He not agree with those who thought his clause, having the word "ex- in it, so vitiated the whole bill, as ke it useless. He was sure that his hon. friend who introduced it could ve intended it as a screen or protec- himself, for no one man could be from suspicion of such practices; e danger of punishment was not so for those who gave offices as for who asked for them and obtained

If this opinion of implied contracts o prevail, a minister must no longer t his friends upon appointments to but must go among the ranks of his cal enemies, to consider who had so decidedly hostile to him either in e life or in public, that he might e to give him a place without sus- of looking for a vote. We should ee it in the papers that on such a day leman went over to the other side house, and made a furious attack ministers, for the purpose of qualify- imself to hold a high situation. se, for the sake of argument, his friend, the member for Yorkshire Wilberforce), should be asked to re- end any voter to a vacant place, hat of receiver general, why his ca- m must be this:—"Did you vote or procure any vote for me at the election, or did any person in affinity with you, or any person connected with you, vote for me"? and if the voter answered in the affirmative, why his hon. friend must in prudence say—"Then I cannot recommend you, Sir, for there is a case in which the suspicion of an implied contract might arise, which, under the provision of Mr. Curwen's Bill, may expose me to the loss of my seat." [Hear! hear!] This would be the aukward situation to which members would be reduced. It was impossible that any minister could be personally acquainted with all the men that it was necessary for him to place in offices. He could only take the recommendation of his friends, and of those gentlemen, who, from their local situation, were acquainted with the persons, or their fitness for the offices to which they recommended them. If local influence was to be altogether abolished, it would be necessary in every office as well as in the Excise, to transplant men from Lancaster to Cornwall, or the most distant parts of the kingdom, in order that they might have no local attachments, nor the power of obliging any one by a vote. He hoped that notwithstanding the paternal feeling which the hon. gent. (Mr. Curwen) might be naturally expected to entertain for his bill, he would not altogether abandon it on account of this alteration.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that if the object of the right hon. gent., was merely to entertain the house, and display his great command of the English language, he certainly had accomplished that object, as he had amused the house, and shewn his power of words; but if he expected to convince any single member of that house that the word "express" ought to be suffered to remain in the clause, he had completely failed. He had concluded by saying, he hoped the hon. gent. (Mr. Curwen,) would have too strong a parental feeling for his bill, to abandon it in consequence of this alteration. Although the original bill might be called the child of the mover, yet if that child had been changed, and another put in its place of very different features and complexion, he did not see that any parental feeling called upon him to adopt what was not so much his own child, as the child of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought light and darkness were not more opposite than the principle of the original bill, and the clause which

was now proposed to be amended. As to the history of the bill, he must beg leave to set the right hon. the Secretary right. It did not originate from a discovery that seats had sometimes been obtained for a sum of money, but it was at the time that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer was bringing in his Bill against brokers trafficking in places and offices, that his hon. friend had proposed to introduce a clause against trafficking for Seats in Parliament, which it was afterwards thought better to bring forward, in the shape of a separate bill. The necessity of some sort of a bill to prevent this corrupt traffic was made most evident by the specific and unmistakeable transaction of lord Castlereagh. He considered that that decision would remain on the records of the house, a lasting memorial of the intention of the house to screen delinquents. After that transaction, it was impossible that his hon. friend (Mr. Curwen,) should not have the corruption by the grant of offices, fully as much in his contemplation, as the corruption by money. If the right hon. Secretary would now lay aside all the fanciful suppositions and extravagant conceits with which he had amused the house, and come to sober reasoning on the subject, he thought it was impossible for him to say, that such a case as he had supposed for his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce,) or such topics as he had urged, could by any possibility have the least weight before any committee of the house, or any jury, or any man upon oath. He would indeed appeal to the right hon. gent. himself, dropping the extravagance of his conceit, whether he could seriously believe that any committee of gentlemen, upon their oaths, could possibly decide that such a case came within the purview of this clause, or whether any jury could so determine? Sure he was, that it would not require a tenth part of the ingenuity to guard against any such decision that was this night employed to palliate the proposition of ministers. The apprehension was quite fanciful, and the bill would, in fact, be nugatory, if this word "express" were not omitted. If it were retained, his full persuasion was, that its effect would be to protect the corruptions of government, and to deprive the people of any advantage which the bill was otherwise calculated to afford.—A right hon. and learned gent. (the Solicitor General) had stated, that if this word "express" was not to stand in the clause, the table of t
house would be covered with petitio
which would have no other foundat
but some of these implied contrac
Now, he would tell that right hon. a
learned gent., that if he happened
argue professionally against the petition
under such circumstances, he need
exert much of his zeal, or much of
eloquence, to persuade the committee t
such petitions should be rejected as fri
lous or vexatious. This being the ca
the evil so much feared, of the ta
being covered with frivolous petitio
would be able to correct itself. As
the supposition of the ministers e
being obliged to go to their politi
enemies to recommend them persons
fill offices, that supposition could h
been only made to produce a laugh:
he would venture to say, that if any
the opponents of the ministers were
recommend a person for a place,
nisters would always shew suffici
firmness to resist such a recommendat
The alterations which had been made
the bill were in its most important
efficient parts. In the first place,
house could not bear that its meml
should be obliged to take the oath with
penalties of perjury annexed to it. Th
who elected them were, however, obli
to take such an oath, and therefore it
peared that it was not intended that th
should be any equal justice between
electors and the elected. The peo
must believe, that the reason the w
was left out was, that the house wis
to screen corruption in its own memb
and were afraid of their incurring
penalties of perjury. After they
thus got rid of the most operative pa
the bill, they introduce this word "
press," which they did not borrow f
any act of parliament in existence,
which would effectually protect all
rupt proceedings of theirs in the dis
sal of offices. He would ask whe
had this bill passed some time ago, g
tlemen would not have been found to
fend the traffic of lord Castlereagh v
Reding, upon the ground that it was
an "express" contract? [No, said
Perceval across the table.] Mr. W
clared his belief of the contrary;
if the right hon. gent. thought otherw
why did he defend the act of lord Cas
reagh, which, according to the undisp
authority of the chair, was a violatio
the law of parliament, and which law

ble of this bill declared to be the ble of the constitution? But he not that declaration of the law of ment as much as other gentlemen What availed the recognition of a ple, if that recognition was accom- by a palliative for its violation? isters were provided with a protec- hich would enable them to violate w with impunity, the law would erly useless. Indeed it would be than useless—it would be mis- us; and, however the house might ceived by such a measure, they rely that the public would not be ed by it. The public would see bill originally introduced to guard t the operation of undue influence t house was so contrived in its pas- hrough the house, as to aggravate il complained of by giving a pre- ant influence to government. In such a bill, with the insertion of ord "express," promised no good, threatened much harm. The peo- England would naturally enough e that this word had been introduced hield for all manner of corruption e part of ministers, and to take all protection from it on the part of ountry. He had so strong an ob- n to this word standing part of the , that if it were to continue in it ould find himself obliged to vote st the bill.

. Secretary *Canning* said, that in the lluded to, with respect to the barter writership for a seat in parliament, s determined that the intention of greement had not been carried into , and that was the cause of the trans- not being punished, which was an wledgment, that if it had been d into effect it would have been hed, and this implied acknowledg- ought therefore to be satisfactory on ead.

. *Lyttleton* said, he was a friend to mentary reform being brought about oderate means, and as such hailed esent bill with pleasure; but the al- ons it had undergone had changed aracter, and reduced it to a mere nul- He had expected much from this the outset, but it had since been so ted, and would be so totally changed word objected to were retained, that ld not think of supporting the shadow the substance was gone. He lament- ry seriously the conduct of ministers, who were pursuing a course calculated to disappoint the reasonable expectations of the country, for that moderate reform which he would prefer to any violent change.

The question being loudly called for, the house divided and the numbers were,

For inserting the word "express" 97
Against it - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 74
Majority - - - - - - - - - - —23

Upon the motion that the bill be engrossed,

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that not expecting to be present at the third reading of the bill, he took that opportunity of declaring his most decided disapprobation of it as it now stood, as considering it at once scandalous and disgraceful.

Mr. *Curwen* declared his determination of supporting the bill even in its present shape, under the hope that it still would be productive of some good, for he could not believe that any ministers would dare to abuse the principle so openly acknowledged by it.

Mr. *W. Smith* conceived that the bill as it stood, if disgraceful to the house, as asserted by his hon. friend, would at least not be so to the bringer in of it. But he considered that the effect of it would be to narrow the entrance into that house, between the Treasury and the popular boroughs.

Mr. *Tierney*, though unwilling to accede to the bill in its present mutilated state, yet would not oppose it for the little good it might effect.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that in the present state of the house, after members had gone away, he would not delay the public business, by dividing it on the question.

Lord *Milton* had no idea of gentlemen retiring from their duty as a reason for not taking the sense of the house, where he felt his duty required it, and determined to do it on the present occasion.

Mr. *Ponsonby* said that under the understanding general on these occasions, he would be better pleased not to divide the house; but if it took place, he would give the same vote he meant to give on the passing of the bill. He was never better satisfied of any thing than of the purity of the hon. member who brought in the bill. But when he found the bill as it now stood contained only three lines and a half of that which was originally brought in, it would do more to destroy the Constitution than any act passed since the Revolution.

The house divided on the motion, when the question of engrossment was carried;

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 84
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 33
Majority - - - - - - - - - - - - - - —51

[Seditious Societies Bill.] Upon strangers being re-admitted to the gallery, we found the Attorney-General declaring his intention of abandoning his bill for amending the present acts for regulating Seditious Meetings. He declared he was of the same opinion as at first, that the present acts were sufficient; but others having expressed doubts on the subject, he had thought it right to regulate the supposed confusion. He gave notice that he would bring forward his measure early the next session.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 12.

[Protest against the War Taxes Extension Bill.] The following Protest against the passing of the War Taxes Extension Bill was entered on the Journals.

" Dissentient; 1. Because this bill purports to provide for the supply of the present year, by taking one million annually of the war taxes. 2. Because this new and dangerous measure has been introduced into this house at a period of the session when it cannot possibly receive that consideration and attention with which it ought to be examined by every branch of the legislature of our country. 3. Because no information has been laid before us to justify the enormous increase of the public expenditure during the last two years; and the consequent necessity of large and continual increasing loans. 4. Because the present measure is subversive of the principles on which the sinking funds and war taxes have been successively established and augmented; principles invariably adhered to under every change of men and measures during the last three and twenty years, and now first abandoned. 5. Because the system, of which this measure is, we fear, the commencement, will rapidly absorb all the extraordinary resources provided by the wisdom of parliament to meet the exigencies of war; and will, within a very few years, plunge the country into financial difficulties, such as have never yet been apprehended even by those who have thought most unfavourably of the resources of the country. 6. Because we consider this bill not only as a most improvident and injurious financial measure, but also as founded on political views peculiarly inapplicable to our present situation. Engaged in a long a
arduous struggle, we are now adoptin
policy which, in the same instant, di
nishes our income and enormously
creases our expenditure. We are do
this at a time when wisdom and just
equally require a more economical and p
vidential policy; which, while it sacrifi
no real prospects of advantage, and
fused itself to no well-founded claim
assistance, should look with a much m
jealous anxiety to the present inter
and ultimate security of our own countr
and establish, instead of delusive, tem
rary, and ruinous expedients, a solid b
of permanent resources; the only fit p
vision for a contest of indefinite durat
and in the issue of which our existenc
involved.

Sidmouth.
Rosslyn.
Grenville.
Carrington.
Yarboroug

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 12.

[Judges' Salaries Bill.] The ho
went into a committee on the Judg
Salaries bill.

Mr. *Bankes* proposed a clause to prev
the sale of the office of Clerk of Assize,
to render it an office during pleasure,
instead of being as at present, dur
life.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observ
that this office had not been sold dur
the time of any of the present judges,
render the person holding the office re
vable, however, at pleasure, would be
subject him to be removed at the discre
of every senior judge as he went the
cuit. It was understood that this o
was not in future to be sold.

The clause was accordingly withdra

Mr. *Bankes* objected to the increase
the salaries of the Chief Justices in Wa
In this he was supported by Mr. Al
crombie, and opposed by Mr. Perce
and Mr. Ryder.—The clause was c
ried.

Mr. *Bankes* objected to the increase
the salaries of the Welsh Judges genera
on the ground of the inutility of the co
nuance of the four circuits in that count
and of its having been recommended
one of the reports of the Finance Comn
tee to turn the whole into one. The
fect of the present increase to all
judges would only be, in the event of

ompliance with this recommenda- t the Finance Committee, to occasion n expenditure of the public money, sing an additional recompence in tion to the increased salaries to be d.

Attorney General said, the idea of g to increase the salaries of the judges might have the effect of g them out; but that, he was satis- as not the wish of his hon. friend. he idea of abolishing any part of the l establishment in Wales, he had heard that this was desired by the of that country.

H. Piggott thought the augmentation al to the dignity of the judicial cha-

Resolution was then agreed to.

Bankes proposed a clause for prohi- Welsh judges from holding seats in ment.

Chancellor of the Exchequer dissented ny such idea. Those judicial cha- from Wales who had been candi- for seats in parliament, had been st distinguished persons from that y.

S. Romilly maintained, that for the irty years the Welsh judges, with three exceptions, had been chosen among gentlemen of the profession ere members of that house.

Lockhart saw no occasion for the ion.

clause was negatived.

Horner proposed a clause for pre- g any one of the judges of the prin- y of Wales from practising as a law- uring the period he ought to be the assize.

Attorney General objected to the , on the ground of there being no ity for it; and that even a whisper be sufficient to correct the prac- ithout the aid of an act of parlia-

clause was negatived. The other s were gone through, and the house ed, when the report was ordered to eived the next day.

RUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.] Sir *Bunbury* moved the second reading bill to prevent wanton and malicious y to Animals. He said he was hap- the opportunity of shewing himself y to the cause of humanity, and was d with the thought that this bill kely to experience no opposition. y to dumb animals was so prevalent, that it was impossible even to walk down to this house without witnessing barbarities shocking to their feelings; the practice was too common among youths, to the disgrace of their parents; and men in general disgraced themselves by their treatment of animals which contributed to their ease and to their comforts; this was exhibited in the practice of cutting off the tails of horses, and thus depriving them of the defence which nature had given them, from the annoying attacks of flies and other insects. The injury these animals also received from the carelessness and wantonness of drivers of mail-coaches, diligences, post-chaises, and slap-bangs, also called for legislative interference: he therefore hoped this bill would meet with the approbation of parliament.

Mr. *Windham* said, that however his sentiments might be represented, he should not vote for a bill of this sort, which went upon a false and spurious kind of humanity, calculated to do more mischief than the very abuses it meant to prevent. There was one scandalous defect belonging to the bill, and that was the gross partiality and inequality of its enactments. It fell foul of one class of offences only, while it left untouched an infinitely larger class, and in which the very members of the legislature themselves were implicated, such as hunting, fowling, horse-racing, &c. It would open, besides, scenes of infinite vexation and injustice, by means of informers and litigation, much greater, indeed, than those it was framed to prevent. Besides, the obligations which the bill enforced were all moral duties, of that imperfect obligation which did not admit of legislative interference. He should take another opportunity of opposing the bill more at length.

The Bill was then read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] Mr. Curwen moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill. Upon the Speaker putting the question that the bill be now read a third time,

Sir *T. Turton* took this opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon the general merits of the measure. He declared himself a decided friend to moderate and practical reform. It was his unequivocal opinion, that when eleven thousand persons exercised the elective franchise, for and in the name of eleven millions, gradual reform became absolutely necessary; but at the same time, he was equally sure, that universal representation was universal nonsense. When, in the course of the discussion upon the present bill, it was openly asserted, and not contradicted, that the Treasury kept open shop upon every general election, for the purchase and sale of seats in parliament, could any one doubt of the necessity of some reform in the representation? Of course, then, he could not but agree to the principle of the bill. If, indeed, the measure proposed by his hon. friend (Mr. Curwen) had been carried into effect by the house, it would, in his judgment, have immortalized the present parliament; the bill, however, still contained, he thought, sufficient of good in it, to call for his assent to it. During the discussion of the clauses, a form of oath to be taken by the members had been proposed; this was objected to, and, after a debate of fourteen or fifteen hours, and when an attempt had been made by himself to modify it in such a manner, as, he thought, would have removed all objection, then came out, for the first time, the objection to any oath whatsoever being administered. This he considered as a principal fault. Another objection taken by those who supported the bill in its present form, was to the rejection of the word "express," in the clause prohibiting contracts for seats; this, in his opinion, rendered the bill so far faulty; but still the recognition of the principle that parliament had within itself the power of its own regeneration, was to be found in it, and, as such, he was determined on voting for it; owning, at the same time, that it had, in its progress, from its introduction to its present shape, greatly disappointed his expectation.

Mr. *Johnstone* strongly opposed the bill. In considering the present system of representation, as compared with the past scenes of our history, he was persuaded that there was so much virtue to be found, as should make them tender, at least, in applying remedies, without being enabled to foresee the consequences, which, according to the event, might turn out good or bad. Any change in the constitution of a branch of the legislature ought to be attempted with the greatest circumspection, for it was difficult, if not impossible, to anticipate the bad effects which might result from causes apparently of little importance. In illustration of this opinion, he instanced the Mutiny act, which no one on its introduction could have been aware would give a paramount power in the government to one of the houses of parl ment. He acknowledged that the before the house had been very mu amended in the committee, but he decla that he should vote against it, becaus was the first of a series of intended novations, and an acknowledgment in self that a change was necessary in constitution of the house of comm Hitherto the proceedings of that ho had been guided by the principle, that remedies have gradually followed the de lopement of practical evils. (Cries of he hear!) The comment conveyed in cheers of the hon. gentlemen oppo might have its weight, if it were true the assertion, so often repeated in course of the present discussion, "that Treasury was a mart for seats in house," was founded in fact; but he d ed that any such case was or could be m out. In all former cases that house wa the habit of waiting till proof was m of the charge, and as it was not dispose take assertion as a substitute for evide it would wait till proof was actu brought forward to substantiate the cha Although abuses were proved to exis the present day, yet, it was remarka that, during the whole of the present cussion, no one member had undertake demonstrate that less abuses had existe any former period of the constitut therefore he considered this result o discussion, an essential benefit to the lic, by demonstrating that there wa pretext to bring the constitution bac its original purity. For these reason voted against the bill.

Mr. *Abercromby* said, he felt him bound to state his reasons for voting ag the bill as it stood at present. Wh motion was lately made in that hous refer to a committee the considera of the case of a noble lord, charged having trafficked for a seat in parliam the house had rejected the motion, an had concurred in such rejection, not because such practices were openly av ed upon that occasion, but because present bill, in its original shape, had at that time introduced by his hon. fri and he had then hoped and believed, the house would have set itself serious the work of purging itself.—Howeve it appeared by the event, that the h had not thought proper to redeem pledge, to which he considered it bo he could not bring himself to vote fo bill in its present shape. He would a

he sentiment of the hon. baronet to
the good it offered, if he could find
uch prospect from it; but he was
nced it could produce no beneficial
for the public, as its only effect
consist in adding to the influence
y possessed by the crown. He could
elieve the house was seriously dis-
to put down corruption, or could
earnest upon the present occasion,
every form of oath, intended as a
vas rejected; as nothing was more
than that some sort of oath was ne-
y to prove the purity of the member
ssing a seat. There was one remain-
ound of objection, in his view of the
against the present bill. The pur-
of seats in parliament was said to be
ry both to the law of parliament and
w of the land; but the present bill
t designate as such, all agreements
at purpose, but only all "express"
ments. This was, indeed, a new
n a legislative enactment, and could
pply, in its plain and ordinary sig-
ion, to agreements under hand and
There was no man so mad as to in-
himself in such a predicament as
nd they might as well and with equal
tency apply the principle to the case
rder, and expect that in all cases of
there should be witnesses present at
rpetration, to prove the deed.

H. Thornton declared himself in
of the bill; although not as a
friend to it, as having been altered
erially for the worse, in the course
passage through the house. When
were found to exist respecting the
se of seats, was it fair they should
in the same state, especially when
ing which would have placed those
s on the footing of certainty might
een enacted and would have ren-
so material a service? The bill cer-
as declaratory of the principle and
law, he considered a good one, and
desirable; and though the clauses
had been introduced tended in
egree to defeat the object of it, yet
ted the publicity given to that ob-
uld serve to put down the practice
essed to abolish. If the will was
l by that house, it must certainly
hat effect. One complaint was,
e great personages of the state were
ed in the traffic for seats; and with
ace could they notice the minor of-
of electors taking bribes for their
when such a traffic was notorious?
He thought it absurd and inconsistent to punish voters for selling their votes, and to leave wholesale corruption of the same kind unpunished. He hoped that parliament would at a future opportunity put down the practice of giving money to voters 14 days after the election, which was a mode of evading the Bribery laws. Upon these principles, he should give his support to the bill. He wished, indeed, the word "express" had been left out, though only applied to the incurring the penalties enforced by the act, as all cases of implied contracts for seats were, by the existing statutes, contrary to law.

The *Secretary at War* declared he would support the bill. He was not one of those who wished for any alteration in the present constitution. He was decidedly of opinion, that if the greatest talents of every age, assisted by every means, and supported by every facility, were to be brought together, they could not form a perfect constitution for any country at once. Evils could only be remedied as they successively arose. On these principles it was that he professed himself a warm admirer of the British constitution, and an enemy to what was popularly called Reform. He entertained the highest admiration of the British constitution, and thought that innovations might give the people more power in the house, as well as elsewhere, than was consistent with its principles. He saw no practical inconvenience from persons coming into parliament by means of their own money. It was in this way that talents and abilities were often introduced into the house; and as the vulgar error which asserted that money was given in order to make money was now exploded, he must say he was sorry this bill was ever entertained. He did not think it necessary to increase the popular influence; on the contrary, he feared that the current was running too strongly in that direction: the people might have too much influence within that house, as they might have elsewhere. He certainly wished the bill had never been introduced; but as it had been brought forward, he would vote for it; because, after it had been admitted, in the course of the discussion, that seats were bought and sold, that house could never without adopting some such measure, go back to the situation it was in, before the introduction of the bill.

Mr. *Adam* felt it necessary to state to the house the ground of the vote which he

meant to give upon this measure. He had at first been of opinion, that the measure ought not to have been entertained; but when he referred to the illustrious time of passing the Grenville Act, and found that no such cases of corruption had then been stated, as had lately been admitted in that house, he considered it impossible that the house could omit to endeavour to correct the evil by applying the necessary remedy. He had wished the bill, in its original form, to have passed; but the introduction of the word "express" into it, rendered it impossible for him to support it. The constitution of parliament, whether the members were representative or nominated, appeared to him the best practical system of representation, that ever existed in any country. It had been observed by an hon. member (sir S. Romilly) not then in his place, that the word "express" had never before been introduced into any act of parliament. This statement had not been denied by any legal authority in the house. As the bill then stood, he felt himself in this unfortunate situation, that he must either make a distinction between office and money, which he could not do, or entertain the question of reform in its broadest sense. The only way in which he could get out of this dilemma was to vote for the rejection of the bill, with an understanding that the subject should be brought forward in a more perfect form, early in the next session. He hoped, therefore, that gentlemen would turn their minds to the subject in the course of the recess. He suggested to gentlemen for consideration three defects in the existing election law. 1st, The want of a petitioner, who, in some cases could not at present be had; 2d, The circumstance that in cases of sale or bribery, no petition could at present be received after fourteen days from the meeting of parliament; And 3dly, The want of evidence. He had prepared some clauses to remedy these defects; but upon reflection he thought the best plan would be to reject the bill at present, and take the subject into consideration the next session. But independent of his general objection to the measure, there were other defects in it which rendered it impossible for him to support it. There were no machinery whatever to set it in motion: it wanted a clause to regulate the seats obtained by such means as the bill was intended to prevent. Penalties were unquestionably recoverable in the courts of
law; but nothing was provided with re
spect to the possession of the seats so ob
tained. A man might have the penaltie
recovered by action against him, and ye
continue to occupy his seat in that house
The hon. gent. then proceeded to mak
some observations on the nature of bur
gage tenures, and insisted upon the pro
priety of extending the time for presen
ing petitions against this species of cor
ruption. He proposed that any of th
king's subjects should have the right
petitioning, even although he should ne
ther be a candidate nor elector. The bi
would be nugatory without giving suc
right of petition. Having maturely con
sidered all these circumstances, he had a
tered his mind with respect to the amend
ments he had intended to propose, an
should not therefore press them on th
house in the present instance. He though
it right, however, to state on this occasio
that, in his opinion, the time for presen
ing a petition ought to be extended fron
fifteen days to one calendar month aft
the discovery of the offence; and tha
this right of petitioning should continu
during the whole parliament. He pro
posed also, that to the right of petitionin
should be annexed the right of costs,
the petitioner failed in substantiating h
allegations. The hon. gent. conclude
by restating that he would not bring fo
ward his amendments now, but would vo
against the bill, under an understandin
however, that it would be brought forwa
in a more perfect shape next session.

The *Solicitor General* observed, that
the hon. and learned gent. had not pro
duced his clauses to the house, it was n
necessary for him to enter into the discu
sion of them. From what he could co
lect, however, from the hon. gent's. speec
it appeared to him to involve very nov
regulations as to the election law, as fou
ded on the Grenville Act. His claus
would introduce, for the first time, in
that law, litigation by the common in
former; and no member of that hou
could any day come down to his dut
without feeling it necessary to inqui
whether any petition existed against hin
The hon. and learned gent. had said, an
upon the authority of an hon. and learne
gent. not then in his place, that the wor
"express" was not to be found in an
act of parliament. What, he would as
would the house think upon this subjec
if it should appear, notwithstanding a
these learned authorities, that the wor

press" was to be found in an act of
ament, that, every day of his profes-
l practice, came within the cogni-
e of the learned member alluded to.
eferred to the statute of Frauds and
ries. In the 5th clause of the 29th
arles II, which directed what was to
validity to a will, it was provided that
will must be signed by the testator,
his presence, by his 'express' direc-
(A cry of Hear! hear!). It cer-
y was not connected with the word
eement," but had been introduced
e same purpose as in the bill under
eration. He had mentioned this
with a view to shew how extraor-
y a declaration had been made by
earned members on the other side.
as not disposed to pursue this subject
er: the measure was a legislative de-
tion of the law; and when it should
declared, he was persuaded that the
ise which it was intended to pre-
would be discontinued, even without
ntervention of a penal statute. It was
rm conviction that the offences com-
ed of and admitted to exist, were
mitted only from an ignorance of the
and he had no doubt that many hon.
emen, if aware of its being contrary
w, would never have committed the
ce. Upon these grounds, he should
his support to the bill.

rd *A. Hamilton* would have delivered
entiments upon this measure, at some
er stage of its progress, if he could
caught the Speaker's eye. He
ght it extraordinary that any man,
valued the prosperity of this country,
l suppose that this was not a subject
or the consideration of the house.
ral gentlemen had delivered opinions
rse to the principle of the bill; but
hould not consider himself as faithful
s duty, if he did not protest against
doctrines. It had been said that this
ure was an experiment; but was there
a more dangerous, a more alarming,
a more extensive experiment existing in
continuance of those abuses which this
was intended to prevent? What would
e situation of that house, if no mea-
were to be adopted for correcting
corrupt practices which were univer-
admitted to exist? It was the duty
e members of that house, to see, either
the charge was unfounded, or to
care, that the practice should be al-
. He had been a warm advocate for
bill, as it had at first been introduced;
but it had been so altered in its passage through the house, that he should not be surprised if the hon. member who brought it forward, should now feel himself called upon not to support it. Not five lines of the original bill had been suffered to remain. He begged the house to consider what would be the effect of the bill as it had been altered, if suffered to pass into a law. It would throw the whole of the seats that remained saleable, into the hands of the Treasury, and upon these grounds he should feel himself bound to vote against the bill. He thought there would be a much better chance of producing an adequate and efficient measure, if it were suffered to lie over till the next session of parliament. It had been said by a right hon. gent., that the Resolution of 1779 was a sufficient security against the corrupt practices complained of: but when, in the course of last month, he had brought a distinct charge against a noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) a contrary Resolution was voted, namely, that as the agreement had not been carried into effect, no farther proceeding was necessary. As to what had been said with respect to the influence of property, he concurred in it so far as it was honourably and fairly exerted. What he condemned was, that it should be brought to an ignominious market, and be thereby made the instrument of subverting the integrity and independence of parliament. Such conduct, in his opinion, reflected disgrace upon the parliament. It had never, until this session, been admitted in that house, that seats were publicly bought and sold; or that the notoriety of the offence was to secure impunity for the guilt. If the house should not put a stop to this practice, it would be impossible to preserve its character, or to retain any portion of the respect of the public.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* did not rise for the purpose of retracting, or explaining away, any of the opinions he had stated on a former night. Those opinions he had formed by deliberate reflection in retirement, and they had been confirmed by his subsequent experience in life. He first had stated, that property and political power ought to be connected: he was still of the same opinion; but in standing up as the advocate of influence he did not mean to vindicate the practice of corruption. So far as influence could legitimately be exercised, it must extend to all property. He considered the landed in-

terest and the country as identified; and so far from admitting that the landed interest and the monied interest were correlative terms, he looked upon one as properly and constitutionally subservient to the other. He was of opinion, that an opportunity should be afforded to men of talents, and men possessing property in different parts of the empire, to obtain seats in that house, and sure he was, that that man would be a bad friend to his country, and a worse enemy to the constitution, who would exclude officers of the navy and army from parliament. It was his opinion that the crown should have the means to exercise an influence in that house. When parliament had formerly been assembled only to pass the acts proposed by the crown, then it might safely be as independent of the crown, as some gentlemen seemed to wish; but now a great part of the government was carried on in that house; and unless the crown had influence, the government could not go on. It was his wish and his firm conviction that the different branches of the legislature should and ought to be connected by means of this influence. If the branches were wholly independent of each other, such would be the effect of human frailties and passions, that they would be made to pull different ways. An hon. baronet, in alluding to an observation of his on a former night, that one week's confusion would do irreparable mischief to the country, had asked him, Whether he thought this measure would produce confusion? In answer, he had to state, that he certainly did not think so; but when so many gentlemen resorted to such various means of misleading the public, and exciting unfavourable impressions as to the public establishments—the state of the army, which uniformly drove the enemy before it wherever it came in contact with then—the possibility of saving many millions of the public expenditure—he thought that any measure, which would be the result of popular clamour so raised, or public delusion so kept up, would be dangerous in the extreme. It was his opinion, that abuses ought to be corrected: but before that house should resort to strong measures, it was necessary to enquire, first, whether the abuses existed; secondly, to consider the magnitude of the alleged abuses; and thirdly, to take care that an evil of small extent should not be followed by too violent a remedy. The bill before the house,
he thought, would go a good way to co
rect the scandalous corruption which w
admitted to exist; but then it would a
have other effects, which he should
precate. Yet, upon mature consideratio
he was of opinion, that the bill wou
produce more good than evil; and und
that impression he should vote for it.

Sir *Francis Burdett* rose to say a very f
words upon the subject of this bill. T
measure appeared to him to be wholly
efficient as to the provision of any ad
quate remedy of the abuses, if not u
versally, at least generally, admitted
exist. It would not, however, be ine
cient for the purpose of screening c
ruption; and upon this ground he thou
it ought to be called "A Bill for granti
indemnity for past corruption, and for p
viding security for future corruption."
had been called up, however, particula
by the insinuations of the hon. gent. w
had just sat down against the advocates
reform. He did not mean to say that
was insensible to these insinuations, or t
he was not included among those to wh
the hon. gent.'s inuendos and observati
were intended to apply. But before
should proceed to take any further notice
these insinuations, he had one observati
to make upon the hon. gent.'s arguments.
these he appeared to answer himself.
the assertion of the hon. gent., that pol
cal power should be connected with p
perty, he entirely concurred, and the
tablishment of that connection was
great object for which he contended. I
the hon. gent. had no sooner laid do
this principle broadly, than he drew t
corollary from it, that places which
longer retain any property, should s
continue to possess a share of the rep
sentation, and consequently of politi
power. The two propositions were ir
concileable. The hon. gent. disdain
that he should be thought a friend to c
ruption, and yet defended a system, wh
was the living source, the salient spring
all the corruption that existed in t
state. He could not perceive what id
the hon. gent. had of corruption. I
when the hon. gent. said that it was co
trary to the principles of human nature t
a man should take an office and not aft
wards vote for the person who had p
cured it for him, he seemed to have a ve
strange notion of corruption in excepti
such a case. What! was it not corru
tion, if the vote was to be given for a bri
received? and could it make any diff

n the nature of the corruption, whe- hat bribe was given in the shape of le consideration in money or of a ive office? What he had to say re- t to the insinuations of the hon. mem- e should reserve for the last; insi- ns applied to him and others, who n every legitimate way, and by all tutional means, to procure advo- or what he looked upon as necessary, to the salvation, at least to the hap- and freedom of this empire,—a Re- n Parliament.—With respect to the itself, the hon. member who had ht it forward, ought to be the first to against it. If he should not do so, ould prove himself to possess a r degree of mobility of opinion, ater inconsistency of principle in ng the opinions of those who op- him originally, than he could se him capable of. How could he rt a measure in which he could not ore than three lines and three quar- the preamble of the bill which he troduced?—He should hope, there- hat the hon. gent. would not shew that as attached with the fondness of a t, to this supposititious offspring, this ling forced upon him as his legiti- production; or send out to the pub- th the weight and influence of his a measure which was really the of the right hon. gentleman opposite. on. member had at first besought of ght hon. gent. not to melt down his re, not to change its nature or de- its identity, by his alterations and lments. But when the bill had gone he right hon. gent.'s crucible, it had melted down completely, and no- now remained but the dross. (Hear!). The provisions which had been uced into the bill would have a di- contrary effect from what was ori- y proposed by the hon. gent. The s it then stood, would not only be an nity for past corruptions, but be an ual plea in bar against any charges of escription, which might hereafter be ted. However scandalous any such ctions might be, this bill would af- a sufficient plea in bar against him or ther hon. member who should bring e that house such charges as had been by his hon. friend (Mr. Madocks), st the noble lord opposite (lord Cas- gh). But what was the situation of ght hon. gent., with respect to this ure, at a time too when he had himself been accused of being a party to a transaction such as the bill was intended to prevent? Was it to be endured that the notoriety of such corruptions should be made a justification of their existence? If that principle were to be admitted, then it would appear that the modes of reasoning in that house differed widely from the modes of reasoning and interference adopted elsewhere. The judges of the land, when they had it in contemplation to put down any particular offence which had become notorious and frequent, took a different course from that which had lately been pursued in that house. It was not thought bad reasoning in them, when they wished to put down offences under such circumstances, to make severe examples of those who were guilty of them. But in that house, when ministers were charged with being guilty of these corruptions, and when it was admitted on all hands that they generally were practised, no punishment was to be inflicted at all! This was the more extraordinary, because they had in their hands means the simplest, the most constitutional, and the most consistent with parliamentary usage, for correcting the evil. It had been said, that the bill was only a declaration of what was the law already; and that the principle it contained had always been the principle of the common law against the scandalous traffic for seats in parliament. This, however, had been denied by the common lawyers; but, at all events, they had in that house the constitutional mode of putting down such offences, by applying the punishment it merited to the offence when detected.—As to the bill under consideration, it appeared to him originally, not only to be futile but mischievous, because he was convinced that its operation would have the effect of giving a monopoly of boroughs to the Treasury. It was not by such measures, that they could ever hope to correct the evil they wished to get rid of. By such measures, they would only establish a film and skin over the ulcerations of the foul corruption which was known to exist, and to pervade the whole of the political system under which the affairs of the country were at present administered. They must strike at the root of the corruption if they expected any success from their attempts to eradicate it.—He considered that what wanted reform in parliament was a vice which was inherent in the house, as it was now constituted, and which prevented it being the representative assembly of the people. It seemed to be generally allowed, that some sort of reform was necessary, and he was sure that this sort of reform was not that which the people expected, or the times called for. This bill, which was introduced as a measure likely to unite all parties, had turned out directly the contrary, as it had disunited in opinion most of those who had been accustomed to agree on other subjects. The house had lately heard the opinions of many of its members respecting their ideas of the constitution, and of the best means of correcting its notorious abuses, and restoring its primitive purity. It would be seen that hardly any two agreed upon the subject. One man said, this was the constitution, and another said, something else was the constitution. The only point that all agreed in was, that to their particular ideas of what was right and proper, they gave the name of the Constitution. He should be more precise in his definition of it; he borrowed his ideas of the constitution from the statute book, and for every one of those opinions he entertained, upon this most important of all subjects, he was prepared to quote chapter and verse in support of them. He knew there were many who laughed at the idea of bounding the constitution within the limits of the laws of the land.—The constitution appeared in those men's eyes as some sublime kind of mystery which it was hardly possible to conceive, and still more difficult to explain. His views of it were very different—he had been at all times perfectly ready to explain those views—and, if there was any ambiguity in the opinions he had delivered at any period, or in any place, upon that subject, he was sure it was unintentional on his part. He knew, however, that when the words, demagogues, public agitators, haranguers of the people, and enthusiastic reformers, were so often mentioned in that house, he was the person principally alluded to. He would not therefore continue any longer the butt of such insinuations, nor rest contented in that calumniated and denounced situation. He thought, that short as the duration of the session would probably be, the house ought not to break up contaminated, as it must appear in the eyes of their constituents, and unpurged of the corruption which had been proved to exist in it. He thought that they should give some pledge to the people before they broke up, as to the course they should hereafter be disposed to p sue upon this great constitutional questi and it was his intention to come down morrow, and move a short Resolut pledging the house to take into their c sideration, early in the next session of p liament, the grievances of the people, particularly that grievance of grievan the State of the Representation. should take that opportunity to state plicitly what he did mean and what he not mean, in order to put the house completely and entirely in possession his sentiments upon the subject, that th should be no farther room for those candid insinuations and calumnious im tations, which were daily thrown against him. He certainly should have thought of bringing forward a mo of that importance, if he had not matu and thoroughly considered the subj and perfectly made up his mind upo But he should reserve to that occasion full explanation of his sentiments.— concluded by giving notice, that he wo to-morrow move a Resolution to the ef that he had stated.

Mr. *Curwen* rose and said: Mr. Speak I feel myself imperiously called upo defend my own consistency in still c tinuing my support to this bill, notw standing the changes it has underg and its inadequacy to afford a comp remedy against the scandalous tra which it was intended to prevent. It be in the recollection of the house, w I moved for leave to bring in the bi then professed the measure I should p pose would be one framed with a view meeting what I conceived would be ag able to the sentiments of a majority members, rather than what would acc with my own opinion, as necessary fo to restore the confidence and respec the country. I then felt some measu were indispensable, and I thought it m consonant to political wisdom, and m consistent with real intention of do good, to attempt the obtaining some vantage towards so salutary an object, t to contend for what I knew to be imp ticable; and thereby to leave matter they were. I was fully aware of the m chief which might result from the disc sion of such a question, if I should fai producing some measure which mi satisfy the country, and prove it was the intention of parliament to abet support practices, which threaten destruction of this branch of the const

Sir, I put it to any man within these
I appeal to every man out of them,
what has fallen from the highest
ty in this house, after it has been
unly declared, that if we take no
will be in vain for us to deny, that
orth the seats in this house may be
th impunity—will it be contended,
fering such an opinion to be pro-
ed through the country, were it
the meeting of the next session of
nent, would not be fraught with
and imminent mischief.—Sir, this
would determine my vote for the
as it even more defective than it is.
tlemen contend, nothing is gained
s; is the declaration of the law
g? Is the putting a stop to the open
seats nothing? Greatly do I lament
ht hon. gent. has so constructed the
respecting office, as to make it liable
mputations raised against it. I will
justice, I do not believe it proceeds
ny such intention; nor that it will
the facilities gentlemen attribute to
I regret it, because it will deprive
ght hon. gent. of the merit due to
nd this house, of the credit that
even such a bill ought to acquire
, the measure is fraught with more
ty than gentlemen are aware. I
lled, and still contend, the sanction
ath can alone render this measure
l. In justice, however, to the right
ent., I must declare, that until the
hall come to some decision upon
of William and Mary on the Treat-
, it is impossible to frame any oath
ght not entrap the most conscien-
an in this house. It fell to my lot
upon a Committee with the right
ent. below me (Mr. Windham) when
ovisions of this act were discussed,
ter great diversity of opinion, we
treating, or giving any thing for
intenance and support of voters,
; on the same day another Com-
came to a different resolution.—It
time for the honour and dignity of
use, for maintaining the respect due
Grenville's tribunal, that parlia-
hould come to some decision; and
his is done, then, and not till then,
may be introduced to render this
e efficient.—Will it be contended a
tion of law is of no value, when
e here a law as express as any law
, but which the practice and deci-
Committees has rendered doubtful.
actice of selling seats has become so common, that whatever may be the law, it has become a dead letter. If, in voting for this bill, I considered myself precluded from proceeding farther to make it complete, I should indeed be doing an injury to the country. I view it, Sir, as giving a greater facility in attaining the objects I want. I consider, as it has always been considered, that the first step towards reformation has always been found the most difficult; and heartily shall I rejoice, if the house shall resolve upon taking this first step. Will any man who views this, divested of prejudice, contend, that with that preamble upon your statute book—with the recorded opinion of the legislature upon the subject of corrupt sale of seats—with an enactment decisive against the practice of it as far as money is concerned; that it will be possible to continue the nefarious system, by bartering seats for office? Sir, I will take upon myself to say it will be impossible, such practices must be so open to detection, that no one will be found fool-hardy enough to attempt it.—The hon. baronet's (sir F. Burdett) opposition to the measure has been consistent. The alterations made in the bill can be of no consequence in his view of it; for had it passed as it was brought in, it would equally have had his hostility. I rejoice he has given notice of his plan of reform; the house will now be able to judge how far his ideas are practicable. I know, Sir, there are many loud in their calls for Reform, that dread nothing so much as this house making a temperate commencement towards it; who view such a step as putting an end to all the visionary plans which are afloat. Reform is a word in which there is much magic, every one applies it as a remedy to all the evils he sees in the government and constitution.—Sir, it is surprising, amongst the late Addresses and Resolutions for Reform, to observe those of a place of some note inveighing against the corruptions of this house, when it is a fact notoriously known, that for thirty years past, the worthy Electors of that place have had a fixed and settled price set upon their votes. What do these gentlemen mean? what is it they demand? Is it the liberty of putting themselves up to public sale? Sir, I am not a friend to any plan that shall go to make such a change as might endanger the constitution.—The first Reform I wish to see, is the introducing purity amongst ourselves, in order that we may impress upon the people, that they, no more than

us, shall be at liberty with impunity to abuse the elective franchise. When this shall be completed, then I should rejoice to see the elective franchise extended: Pass this law, Sir, and you will lay the foundation for salutary regulations, which must effect a reformation, both in and out of these walls.—If the bill passes, I shall feel pledged, if my health permits me, to proceed, and to endeavour to accomplish the object I had in view; if it fails, I leave it to others more able.—Reluctantly I undertook this business, and I am ready to own, I did not fully comprehend the difficulties I had to encounter. Indeed, Sir, it was not my intention to have done more than proposed my plan to a Committee, and left it to them to have carried it into effect.—The hon. baronet (sir F. Burdett) says, that this bill will operate as an indemnity for the past; where does he find any thing to justify such a declaration? I defy him to shew any grounds for it; if he can, let him point it out, and I will abandon the bill.—Sir, my situation is not enviable; I find myself opposed by those gentlemen with whom I generally think and act. For though, Sir, I never have been what is called a good party man, yet I have my prejudices, and from respect to the talents and abilities of the hon. gentlemen below me, on many cases I should be disposed to adopt their opinions; yet on a measure upon which I have been compelled to bestow much time and consideration, I have formed an opinion, and I think it more consistent to take responsibility upon my own opinion and conviction, than upon any authority, however high.—Sir, I have felt I had an imperious duty to perform, and acting up to what I conceive to be most for the dignity of this house, which I wish to uphold, and most for the advantage of the Empire at large, I am ready to encounter any calumny and odium that may attach upon me, having, what is the best consolation under all circumstances in life, the entire approbation of my own conscience in the vote I shall give.

Mr. *Windham* said, that he felt it necessary for him to make some observations, as the bill had been so completely altered in the Committee; that there was danger lest, in voting against it now, after having voted against it before, he should appear to be guilty of inconsistency. It appeared to him as full of objections in its altered state as in its original state; although the objections were of a different nature. His former objections rested, first, on the denial
of that assumption which was made
foundation of the bill; secondly, that
conceived the reasonings by which it
supported, to be false, and dangerous
the extreme; and thirdly, that he c
ceived that it would open the door to
finite mischiefs. As to this implied c
ruption, if it is what the law had decla
corruption, the law of course had a
pointed out how it was to be punish
and if the utmost attention paid to
subject of these corruptions could prod
nothing better than this bill, he thou
the old legislators had done very wel
stop where they did. He deprecated
bill originally, because he saw the di
culty of stopping at the point they mi
wish. It was easy to remove any abu
if the removal of the abuse was the o
thing to be considered, and if no reg
need be had of the means to be employ
and of the mischiefs that might ensue.
take off a wen or other excrescence,
butcher would do as well as the surge
were no consideration necessary of w
might be the consequence of cutting
off unskilfully. The real question wo
be, whether the patient would not
left in a more dangerous state than that
the original disease, and especially wh
it was considered that there were numb
who, instead of healing, would perpetua
apply caustics to the wound. He thoug
the hon. gent. (Mr. Curwen) was hims
somewhat inconsistent in voting for a
so opposite in its nature and tendency
that which he had originally introduc
He seemed to think that it was better
get half his measure than none of
"Half a loaf," it was said, "is better th
no bread," but not so, half a reform.
was a gross error to suppose, as was p
petually done, that the half of an act
which a benefit might be obtained w
any thing like half the benefit. For
stance, if the grievance complained of w
a beard of a month's growth, or a pair
those absurd whiskers with which the fac
of some of our soldiers were now d
graced, and the barber should say he h
not soap enough to hold out for the who
face, but he would shave half of it, wou
the person so shaved be considered as g
ting rid of half the grievance? and mo
especially if the barber should say, as
the present instance, that although
shaved the hair from one side of the fac
it would grow so much thicker on t
other, so that there would be precisely t
same quantity, although only on one si

face (A general laugh). That was the case in the present instance; s the hon. baronet (Sir F. Burdett) bserved, the removal of the com- n of private wealth would increase ower of the treasury. By the ed bill, the hon. gent. (Mr. Curwen) get half of his measure, but no part object. For his part, he was no of the influence which the crown sent possesses. In considering the degree of influence for the crown sess, it was necessary to consider the nist influence which it had to contend All manner of persons were usually ring against the government, and it ecessary that government should be enough to counteract them. As to fluence of the crown, it was well that it succeeded to prerogative; gentlemen wished to see a country no influence was wanted, they turn their eyes to France. In that y that influence of the crown was essary. If any officer in the customs, y other department, betrayed the which was reposed in him, he could out and executed. In such a coun- re was no occasion for the crown influence; it was sufficient that it ower. He considered it most de- g and impolitic for a government to y with every temporary popular n; but he thought it more degrading endeavour to delude the people by them what was worse than nothing. elusion, however, would not pass. eople, he was persuaded, would find e trick, and would not be made to irmingham counters for sterling gold. reamble, and the first clause of this ppeared to be merely calculated to e the people, and make them sup- hat something was done, which was ct not done. The people, to be collectively considered, seemed to ade only to be duped. They were ed always to be duped by some- They were duped by those ha- ers, who told them that eleven ns and a half of the public expendi- might be saved. They were now to be duped by ministers, who were to pass a bill, holding out a promise could never be realized. As to the tal affection which the hon. member Curwen) had manifested for his bill, surely of the oddest sort possible; was for a child not his own. The was a perfect changeling, with no resemblance to the former either in features or colour.

Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

It must have been got by a negro slave. The indifference too of the hon. gentleman between this and the original bill, was not less extraordinary. It was much the same as in a case that he remembered of a gentleman who made proposals in a family where there were several daughters, and when the father inquired which of his daughters it was that was honoured with his choice, replied, "just which you please." Upon which the father was said to have replied, very properly, "since you are so indifferent, I think it may as well be neither." The case however was stronger here, daughters may differ widely; but they cannot properly be said to be contrary or opposite. "Substantia substantiæ non contrariatur." Whereas these bills were in that state of opposition as to be mutually destructive of each other. But the hon. mover was determined to have a bill, and provided he succeeded in that object, it seemed to be no part of his consideration what the bill was.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* felt extreme surprise that the gentlemen who in former stages of this bill professed themselves its supporters, should now evince a disapprobation of it as not tending to effect what they had first in view. In this particular, the character imputed to it in its present state was an extremely unjust one; and the hon. gent. who first introduced it, however he might feel disappointed in not carrying all his object into effect, yet acted with perfect consistency in assenting to it even in its present shape. What some gentlemen had said as to its not being adequate to the suppression of what was intended by the hon. gent., he did not really comprehend. The hon. gent. who originated the measure, had been himself convinced of the propriety of leaving out the oath, and therefore he thought that the amendments which he had proposed to the bill, were by no means of the nature that had been ascribed to them. The only material amendment in which the hon. member did not concur, was in the insertion of the word "express" as to the agreements respecting offices. He could say most sincerely that he had no other object in this amendment, than preventing persons from innocently incurring severe penalties. He so little thought that his amendments deserved the character which had been given of them, that those who originally supported the bill, and now opposed it, exposed themselves in his opinion, to the imputation of never having been sincere friends to the bill, and seizing hold of the first pretence to vote against it. The right hon. gent. who spoke last had said a great deal, to shew that the bill was not calculated to answer its avowed end. He would ask, if a preamble such as that of the bill in question, pledging parliament against corruption, and all species of the corrupt traffic, was nothing? Was it of no importance, that the bill should in its declaratory part make those matters clear respecting the bribery laws, on which, among considerable authorities hitherto, there had been considerable variance? As to the introduction of the oath, he thought that the difficulties, the practical difficulties, resulting from it, seemed to be admitted even by the right hon. gent. who spoke last. He thought, however, he had no good reason to be satisfied with the rather uncandid manner in which he had been treated. Gentlemen seemed to have agreed in the principle of this bill, for no other purpose than to have a pretence for giving him a vexatious opposition in the committee, to whatever amendment he might, as a member, have felt it his duty to propose. With regard to the hon. mover of the bill, he regretted sincerely if he had failed in satisfying that gentleman of the sincerity of his support of the principle of the bill. He would again assure him of the sincerity of the motives which had actuated him throughout. He respected public opinion, as much as any gentleman, and endeavoured to act in consonance to it; though he believed, had he gone to the full extent in support of the bill in its original form, he would not have succeeded in satisfying popular clamour. Those parts of the bill, as it originally stood, which appeared to him to be productive of great practical difficulties, he had opposed, and now that the house had agreed with him in removing those objectionable parts, he sincerely thought that the bill in its present shape was calculated to do much good, and that it might now be safely passed into a law.

Mr. *Tierney* agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that before the house would rise that night, some one or other of its members would be exposed to imputations for insincerity of conduct in the progress of the bill then pending. He would not attempt to anticipate the public opinion, or say who would be the objects of
their censure; and he thought that t
right hon. gent. would have done well
he had acted in the same way, and abstai
ed from those insinuations against the si
cerity of others, when, perhaps his o
might be equally questionable. Wh
his hon. friend introduced the present bil
he confessed he hailed it as a source of re
good to the best interests of the countr
but since that period, the bill had unde
gone such changes, it had been so mutil
ed and defaced that its very principle w
essentially altered, and consequently
operation and end must be widely differe
He denied therefore that he was just
liable to any charge of inconsistency
now voting against the bill, for what
had originally supported was not that whi
he now opposed, and that was the reas
why he opposed it. If his hon. frie
meant, however, altered as it had been,
support the bill, he trusted he would
him justice as to the motives, that
fluenced him to oppose it. He had nev
been absent in any one stage of its pr
gress, and now that he saw in what sha
the bill was about to go out to the publ
he must decline having any part whatev
in passing upon them so gross and m
chievous a delusion. In the first cla
of the bill, as introduced by his ho
friend, the giver and taker of a bribe we
placed on a complete equality, as to t
penalty of 500*l.* In the present bill n
a syllable of that clause survived; and
that was given in exchange for it was
what? A new preamble, which w
not worth sixpence, its spirit being do
away by the enactments which accomp
nied it. He would ask, was the omissi
of such a clause no material alteration
the nature of the bill? But the truth
it was, the right hon. gent. through t
whole progress of the bill betrayed
great anxiety to throw a shield round t
members of that house; there was
scruple in dealing out-punishments to t
electors, as the baser part, but there w
manifested upon all occasions a wonderf
jealousy for protection of the electe
Now, unfortunately, whatever was t
cause, the public did not think precise
in that way. They did not think t
members of that house, altogether abo
punishment. And though he never wa
nor would be, the slave of popular cl
mour, he hoped he should never be bac
ward in paying due respect to the fair an
legitimate expression of public opinion
for, after all, it was the tribunal befo

that house was ultimately to be
; and it must not be forgotten, that
gave rise to that bill was a disclosure,
led to a confession upon both sides
at house, of the existence of corrupt
ces in procuring seats in that house.
was not a circumstance calculated to
he suspicions of the public, but ra-
o make them look to their proceed-
on that bill with great jealousy. The
hon. gent. who had thrown out such
nts against the sincerity of others,
brought his own to rather a queer
n the committee. He was a friend
bill, and the moment he got it into
ommittee, he never stopped till he
eded in making it as unlike the mea-
ne professed to befriend as any mea-
could possibly be. The bill went into
ommittee with the clause of penalty;
lause respecting the oath, and that
ding the agreement for the grant of
; and before it is allowed to come
f it, the right hon. gent. had de-
d it of altogether; penalty, oath, and
. As for the preamble, notwithstand-
he fine eulogium the right hon. gent.
passed upon it, he thought it amount-
neither more nor less than nothing;
Bribery Act would not be carried into
by it—and why? Because that
t go to affect members as well as vo-
and there was no saying too much
t the tenderness the right hon. gent.
fested for the former, though, to be
it was a fine thing to talk big of
ting a minister in the penalty of
0*l.* as if such a fine could be pre-
ve. But this was of a character with
est, and was only throwing a shield
t the members; and yet if the sin-
y of the right hon. gent. was ap-
ed to, it might be difficult for him to
unt why there should be any differ-
between the elected and the electors;
the same offence in either, *mutatis*
ndis, should not be visited with the
kind of punishment? Why they
should not be put upon the same
ng? Or why what was a misdemeanor
e elector should not also be a misde-
nor in the elected? Another material
ation in the bill was, that as it origi-
y stood, the grant of office was made
ffence like every other gift, and he
d not see why the gift of office should
be considered as criminal as the gift
money, where the intention was the
e. But the right hon. gent. insisted
n the introduction of the word "express," which did away the whole force and use of the clause. When that right hon. gent. acted as a new reformer recently, he took a different course with respect to his own measure. [Here Mr. Tierney read the passages from Mr. Perceval's Bill to prevent the Sale of Offices, and observed, that the term "express" was not included in that bill, nor ought not in the present].—But he could not believe it possible, that the right hon. gent. really meant to prevent the Sale of Seats in that house, as his conduct in the treatment of that Bill was totally irreconcilable with such an intention; and as to his (Mr. Tierney's) sincerity, he could only say, that wishing well as he did to the bill of his hon. friend, he must wish ill to the present one of the right hon. gentleman. He again adverted to the preamble, and said, there was nothing in it; it was joking with the public; it was laughing in their faces, and giving them more than pretence for saying to that house what Dr. Johnson said to Macpherson, "Hereafter I shall be more inclined to believe what you shall prove than what you shall say."—They indeed, said a great deal in all conscience, and it was now time for them to do something. The public had observed the course they had taken during the session, and would not be inattentive to the manner in which they would close their career. As to the right hon. gent.'s opposition, he believed it to be a government measure, and meant nothing personal towards that right hon. gent. Though his hon. friend was deserving of great praise for having introduced the bill, yet, after the alterations it had undergone, it would do him now but little credit; and he would advise him to take care that it should go out to the world not as his, but as the measure of the right hon. gentleman. For the reasons he had stated, he must oppose the bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said a few words against the bill. He thought that if the bill was suffered to pass, it would stand in the way of something better; and that on the other hand, if it was thrown out, something more effectual would be substituted in its place. Besides, if it did pass, there were some who might think that enough would then have been done.

The gallery was then cleared for a division; when we understand, three divisions took place. The first on the third reading—

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - 98
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - 83
Majority for the third reading —15

The second that the Bill do pass—
Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - 97
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - 85
Majority - - - - - - - - - - —12

The following Amendment was proposed by lord Folkestone, as the proper preamble to Mr. Curwen's Bill:—"A Bill for more effectually preventing the Sale of Seats in Parliament, for Money; and for promoting a Monopoly thereof to the Treasury by the means of Patronage."

For the original Title - - - - 133
For lord Folkestone's Amendment - - - - - - - - - - 28

Majority - - - - - - - - - - - - 105

List of the Minority.

Abercromby, Jas.
Barham, J. F.
Brand, hon. T.
Browne, Anthony
Burdett, sir F.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Combe, H. C.
Creevey, Tho.
Cuthbert, J. R.
Ferguson, R. C.
Folkestone, lord
Hall, sir J.
Horner, Francis
Hughes, W. L.
Hutchinson, C. H.
Latouche, J.
Lloyd, sir E. P.
Lyttleton, hon. W. H.
Madocks, W. A.
Martin, H.
Maxwell, W.
Milner, sir W.
Milton, lord
Parnell, H.
Smith, W.
Tavistock, marq. of
Taylor, W.
Tracy, H.
Wardle, G. L.
Western, C. C.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 13.

[SALE OF OFFICES PREVENTION BILL.] On the order of the day for the third reading of this bill,

Earl *Grosvenor* complained, that the table was loaded at the end of the session with a great number of bills, each of which was of infinite importance, but so crowded together, that it was quite impossible for any noble lord, if he possessed ten times the faculties belonging to our nature, to attend with care to them. Last night a bill of the highest importance passed *sub silentio*, though it contained clauses most obnoxious to the country, respecting which it legislated; he meant the bill for draining the Bogs of Ireland; a bill which was nothing more nor less than a plan for enriching private individuals at the expence of the public at large. He considered the measure to be the beginning of a similar project intended for this country. But he then gave notice, that if the like should be attempted, he would give it every opposition in his power. With respect to th bill immediately under discussion, h thought it highly improper that the sal of the places of the Band of Gentleme Pensioners, and that of Commissions i the Army, should be continued. His lordship also adverted to the same princip being recognized respecting the sale an purchase of Offices in the Law, which h considered as poisoning the source of justic

The *Lord Chancellor* accounted for th crowded table, and the number of bil upon it at the close of the session, by th number that the commons had passed that period. But his lordship observe that in all times it had been the same cas according to the number and proportio of bills before them. As to the transf and disposal of Law Offices, he believe there was not on record an instance whe the patronage bestowed on the Keeper the Great Seal had been abused, from th Revolution to the present hour, althoug that patronage was a main link in the chai that fitted each noble person who precede him in office during that period, to hav the personal means of holding rank consistently and suitably with others of the lordships. As to the sale of Commissio in the army, he was of opinion, that instead of injuring, it benefited the army b preventing the admission of improper pe sons to hold rank therein.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* defended both th principle and the detail of the bill, an supported it strenuously.

Lord *Redesdale* perfectly coincided i the sentiments of his noble and learne friend, and contended that the Sale Commissions under proper regulations, wa rather beneficial to the army than prejudicial. It prevented adventurers from engrossing Commissions, and ensured to th army men of rank, respectability and consideration.

The bill was then read a third time, an passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 13.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.] Lord Binning brought up the report from th Committee on the Scotch Judicature bill.

Mr. *Horner* spoke at considerable lengt upon a great and oppressive defect existing in the mode of proceeding in the cour of session in Scotland, and for which thi bill afforded no remedy; notwithstandin ne subject had occupied so much of liberation of the house of lords, both rmer and the present session. This was the necessity under which were placed, when answering the ions of their opponents, of first tak- t copies of all the elaborate plead- equired to be entered by the other s records of the court, before they proceed to any replication by plea dence. These pleadings, in some ces that came within his own know- amounted to a volume of 1500 the copy of each of which required gnature of an officer of the court, ust receive a fee upon each: and known instances where though the litigation did not exceed 200*l.* or the fees of court alone amounted to r 700*l.* and one in such case to 1500*l.* an arrangement had long prevailed practice of the Scotch courts, for er reason that he could see, than to a revenue for the Scotch law of- but it was a bar in the pursuit of wholly insurmountable to all suitors nary circumstances; and even where r was successful, and his antagonist to appeal to the house of lords, the could not proceed thither without out complete copies of the proceed- the courts below, although not of st use to them, nor competent to any new light to his advocates the higher tribunal. The hon. and l member forcibly urged the neces- easing the people of Scotland from tolerable tax on the legal justice of ountry, on the necessity of assimi- the proceedings there to those in nd, and of extending thither the ad- e of trial by jury in civil cases; and ught this bill ought not to pass the without such an amelioration of the ure it purported to amend.

R. Dundas said, that a measure s that recommended by the hon. and l member could not be adopted, t a most important alteration in the practice of Scotland for 300 years, erefore the house ought not precipi- to adopt any such proceedings, but eliberately, to hear the final opi- of the commissioners appointed to the subject, and to examine it in bearings; and he knew that there any of the highest legal authorities land, who differed in opinion on the -

Abercrombie admitted that the house should do nothing precipitately on the subject; but he was at a loss where to cast the blame, for the delay which had taken place in not bringing forward the final report of those commissioners to examine this subject; for whose appointment a bill passed late in the last session, although the commission was not signed by his majesty until last January. He understood that a majority of three commissioners were in favour of the alteration suggested by his hon. and learned friend; and that the only point on which they had not yet been able to make up their minds, was how the officers were to be compensated for the loss of fees that must accrue from the alteration. They had, indeed, suggested the transferring those fees to another quarter, but one equally objectionable with that on which they were now imposed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* supported the opinion of Mr. Dundas as to the deliberate caution with which any alteration should be attempted in legal proceedings so long established. He admitted that it was desirable to extend to Scotland the trial by jury, but this only provided it was agreeable to those most concerned, and who best understood the usage and feeling of the country.

The Bill was then passed.

[Foreign Property in the Funds.] Mr. *Howorth.*—Sir, The subject to which I am requesting your attention was under discussion in the session of 1806. I must observe however, that, although it has been discussed, parliament has not been called upon to pronounce a direct opinion upon it. The motion then made for that purpose, was set aside on a point of form: my object is, to revive the question concerning the exemption granted to foreigners, holding stock in our funds, and not resident in the king's dominions, and to place the property of such foreigners, upon the same footing with that of his majesty's subjects. By an act passed in the 46 Geo. III. duties of ten per cent. were granted upon the dividends payable out of the public funds. In that act a clause was inserted, to exempt the property of foreigners residing abroad, from these duties; by the returns from the tax office it appears, that the average of the annual amount of this exemption, is about 65,000*l.* exclusive of foreign property in bank stock, of which no returns are made. It will not be argued that a saving of 60, or 70,000*l.* a year, to a country already in

debt upwards of 600 millions, and in the enormous annual expenditure of 80 millions, is immaterial. It is only in comparison with our debts and our expences, that this, or any other saving, can be called inconsiderable; even they who live on the public income have an interest in improving it, much more so have they, who are forced to pay it, who are harassed by the exaction, and crushed by the amount, of the taxes. The first question which presents itself is the policy of granting this exemption; that is, whether the loss the revenue suffers, and the abuse and inconvenience which attends it, is compensated for by the inducement it offers to foreigners, to invest their property in our funds. In order to weigh this correctly, we must advert to the state of our funds: we shall there find, that the interruption of foreign commerce, and other circumstances connected with it, have diverted a great part of the commercial capital of this country from its usual channel, and that an influx of idle money is forced into the stocks, for want of better employment. This, Sir, with the constant demand created by the sinking fund, has produced such a rise in our stock market, that brokers find a difficulty in executing orders to any large amount, so much greater is the proportion of buyers, to that of sellers. In illustration of this I would bring to the recollection of the house, the terms on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer negociated the last loan, at £4. 12*s.* 10*d.* per cent., a rate of interest, as he justly expressed it, at which money has rarely been borrowed by the public. Why then it appears that we derive no advantage from inviting foreigners to invest in our funds: but if we did, is there any probability of our losing it? Is any hon. member prepared to state where foreigners can deposit their property with equal convenience, with equal advantage, or with any thing like equal security? In fact, we are paying a high rate of interest to foreigners, for money which we can make no use of, with this additional injury, of paying that interest, not in exports, which might benefit our manufacturers, but in bullion, draining the country annually of nearly a million sterling in gold and silver. The exportation of bullion is a growing evil, and arrived at a height which calls for the serious attention of government. The next object for consideration, is, the abuse which attends this clause of exemption; it is true the act has provided an oath, and a
penalty, to guard it from fraud, but t
temptation which the facility of evasion a
fords, and the difficulty, I may almost say t
impossibility, of detection, renders it hig
ly probable, that under the pretend
name of foreign stockholders, considerab
defalcations of revenue take place. I wou
ask for whom are we making these sac
fices! For men who spend their proper
in other countries. It is curious to remar
if an alien resides in England you tax hi
but, if abroad, you grant him an exem
tion. By this clause, you are taxing yo
friends to support your enemies, you t
your own subjects to throw it away up
foreigners, you harass the already ov
burthened people of this country w
an additional taxation of nearly 70,00
annually, to make up the deficien
occasioned by this clause of exempti
which, as far as it goes, is a supply to t
enemy; you help to fill a spunge whi
Buonaparté squeezes at his pleasu
What is the return you meet with for t
indulgence? implacable confiscation
British property in every part of t
globe. But, Sir, it has been argued, th
the property of Foreigners in our fun
ought not to be taxed, because the p
prietors are not represented in parliame
The stockholders of this country ha
one common interest in the funds, a
perhaps no property in this country is m
fully represented: the Alien stockhol
is in the proportion of about one to thir
Can there be a doubt then that the prope
of Aliens in our funds, is virtually as e
ciently represented, as if they were r
dent in this country? What is the situat
in which a foreign stockholder stands?
becoming a purchaser in our funds,
places himself in the situation of the origi
subscriber, subject to the same conditio
liable to the same contingencies, stand
precisely in the shoes of the party fr
whom he purchased. The incidental
cumstance of an Alien's purchasing Engl
stock, neither can, nor ought to change
condition of the stock; for, carry t
to its full extent. Suppose the whole
tional debt was held by Foreigners
would, under this clause of exemption,
dermine the whole contribution raised
this tax; that is, you must then pay
subjects of Buonaparté eleven or twe
millions a year, to help him to carry
a war, by which he hopes not merely
conquer; but to annihilate this kingdo
With regard to justice and good faith
may be insisted on, that the principle

tion having been in fact admitted liament, has produced a confidence, ought not to be disappointed. Sir, ld not betray any confidence, I not break any faith, I would not hem by surprize, for, considering lien stockholder as a mere money to suit his own convenience, I would him timely notice of the terms on I would receive his money, leaving is option afterwards to consult his onvenience. With this prospective ll move, "That this house should in the next session of parliament to consideration the expediency of tinuing from and after the 5th day pril next 1810, so much of the of 46 Geo. III. as provides an ex- n for the duties on the annuities, nds, and shares, &c. &c."

A. Baring contended, that the of the comparatively trifling sum 000*l.* a year should not be put in tition with the character which this y had always maintained for honour ood faith, and which enabled it to ts resources even from those nations hich it might be at war.

T. Turton maintained that the taxing funded property of foreigners, was tly consistent with justice and po- The only point upon which there be a doubt was, whether the funds to have been taxed at all; but this been determined in the affirmative, was no reason why foreigners should placed on a footing with the subjects country.

Fuller thought, that as the property e foreigners was protected, as well own, at an immense expence of and treasure, it was but fair that hould bear a share of the burden. were a number of foreigners who ir living in this country; and some ere even said to make their 6,000*l.* by warbling and pleasing people's in God's name let them have it, ple chose to give them; but ve were compared to a ship in dis- and not knowing where to look v taxes, he thought we should make ay something for the protection of roperty.

Hawkins Browne considered that ng this tax would be a breach of faith, and that even taxing those hould hereafter purchase in our would be impolitic and unwise. uld only consider foreigners as o personal taxation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* felt himself bound to oppose the motion. Such a Resolution as was now moved, to undertake a future consideration of the subject, would not be binding on the house, or a sufficient warning to the stockholder, and therefore he could see no necessity for now entertaining it. Whenever this question came to be discussed, it would not be on the point of conveniency to the revenue, but of justice. When the subject was formerly agitated, the difficulty that occurred to him was, what distinction ought to be drawn between the British subject and the foreigner, and he could not see why the latter ought to be exempted from bearing a part of the public burden with the former. The pledge of parliament had been misunderstood. It was that the funded property, which was most easily come at, should not be made the prominent object of taxation, and not but when it was taxed in general with every other species of property in the country, he could see no ground for imposing it altogether on British subjects. He would not however enter into the discussion of the subject now. At this late period of the session, when it was said the house ought not to be called on for a decision, he thought it equally inconsistent to call on them for a pledge, which was to bind them next session. It was therefore the impropriety of the time, which called on him to oppose the motion.

Mr. *Tierney* said this question had frequently been agitated, and always decided in favour of the foreigner. The foreigner would think, if we made him pay the income tax now, we only spared him formerly, because, when property was only taxed at the rate of five per cent. it was not worth while to make him liable to its operation. But now that it amounted to ten per cent. it appeared to us an object of importance, and that circumstance annihilated our pity. He thought such a change in our conduct would operate to our disadvantage, as a similar step did formerly against France. He did not think the foreigner who had placed his fortune in our funds, relying on the good faith of the country, ought to be forced to pay the income tax, or sell out at a great loss; but he had no objection to the duty being imposed on all future purchases.

Mr. *Dent* thought foreigners, in depositing their money in our funds, consulted their own interest only, and therefore ought to be liable to the income tax.

Mr. *H. Thornton* spoke on the same side.

Mr. *Howorth* in reply said: The hon. member on the same bench (Mr. Baring) having admitted (and few are more conversant in business of this nature), that it is not to our advantage to grant these exemptions, and having expressed his belief, that should they be removed, it would not occasion any change of stockholders, has granted the impropriety of continuing them on the score of policy; but the hon. member's opposition to the present motion, and indeed the whole objections made by those members who have spoken on the subject, are grounded on the supposed injustice, and breach of faith to foreigners, in now withdrawing these exemptions. I had hoped that I had met objections of this nature in the terms of the motion, and that by giving timely notice of our intentions, we could not fairly be charged with injustice or illiberality. In truth we have never been bound to foreigners, any more than to British subjects, and if upon a plea of necessity, you have broke through the acts and provisions made in the reign of queen Anne, if you have violated all the acts from that time to the present day, which have uniformly provided for the payment of the dividends at the bank of England, without any deduction whatever, I would ask upon what principle of justice it is, that foreigners should be exempted from the effect of a financial resource, raised for the support of government, and the protection of that property in which they have voluntarily, and for their own convenience, become proprietors; their property is protected, and they are bound in justice to contribute their share of the expence of that protection. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems indisposed to commit himself to any pledge on the subject, at this late period of the session, and as the subject is important, I am not desirous of pressing it to a decision now. I shall therefore beg leave to withdraw the present motion, intending again to bring it forward at an early period of the ensuing session.

The motion was then withdrawn.

[America.] Lord *H. Petty* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for certain Papers relating to the attack on the Chesapeake, in addition to those already on the table. The Instructions given to Mr. Erskine on that subject he thought ought to be produced, as well as the communication he must necessarily have made to government, explaining the motives for his r
cent conduct; for without them, no jud
ment could be formed of the degree
which he had violated his Instructions,
indeed, of the general conduct of the Am
rican government. If the right hon. s
cretary, from information which he mig
possess, should state to the house, that t
Instructions given to that gentleman cou
not be made public without detriment
the public service, he would not press h
motion for the present; but the commun
cation from Mr. Erskine, in which he a
signed his motives for making those a
rangements with America, which had e
cited so much attention, he thought
such importance, that it ought to be imm
diately laid on their table. The nob
lord concluded by moving, "That the
be laid before the house a copy of t
Instructions given to Mr. Erskine on t
subject of the Attack on the Chesapeak
as also any communication that his m
jesty's ministers might be possessed
from Mr. Erskine, explaining his motiv
for making the late arrangements wi
America."

Mr. Secretary *Canning* thought the re
sons he should give for not concurri
with the motion would be satisfactory
the noble lord. It had been rumour
abroad that Mr. Erskine had not depart
from his Instructions: he thought it w
proper to prove to this country, to Am
rica and to the world, that such a repo
was not founded in fact. The fact wh
ther the arrangements he had made, we
or were not in conformity to the Instru
tions he had received, was the point
question. The papers already produc
were, he thought, sufficient to substantia
the fact of Mr. Erskine's having gone b
yond his Instructions. He had, indeed, t
admission of the noble lord, that the a
rangement was concluded without due a
thority. This was the main point which g
vernment, in justification of the measur
they were under the necessity of adoptin
were anxious to establish. All farther di
cussion of the subject at this moment, wou
not only be attended with inconvenience
too obvious to put him under the necessi
of repeating them, but might possibly e
danger the success of ulterior arrang
ments. The point necessary to establi
was, that the Instructions were not fo
lowed, and of that the noble lord seem
convinced. With respect to the condu
of Mr. Erskine, nothing was said of it b
what the absolute necessity of the case e

from government. The proceed- f that gentleman were productive of great embarrassment to his majesty's cers. On the very day that his last ch was dated, the arrangement he took upon himself to make with merican government was made pub- that country; and in the course w days after, property to the amount ny millions was probably loaded for country. The noble lord supposed ome verbal assurances were obtained r. Erskine, to the effect of the sti- ons contained in his instructions. was a point upon which he could not pected to satisfy the noble lord; but such assurances had been obtained, must have been of so satisfactory a e, as to induce government to act the faith of them pending any ulte- ecurity. They must have been such induce ministers to acquiesce in an gement contrary to the principles by it was to be defined. That this was he case it would not be difficult to from the circumstance of govern- being compelled to disown the ar- ment. He hoped the house and the ry would believe, that if the three which Mr. Erskine was instructed ire had been obtained, there exist- his majesty's councils a disposition mit the neutral to carry into effect nself the principle of the departure the Orders in Council, and not to re- o the harsher measure. That the f these three points was not obtained vident from the papers on the ta- This was in fact the most impor- it was the *sine qua non* of the arrange- that America should maintain her ntercourse system against France. hird stipulation was not even touched This, though of considerable im- nce, was not of that paramount con- nce that the first was. Government he right and the power to prevent als from trading with France, and it ere matter of courtesy to propose rrangement to the American govern- on the subject. Now, let the house what a situation the relations between ountry and America might be placed nsequence of this arrangement. The Intercourse Act was to expire on the of May, and, in the arrangement of Erskine, there was no stipulation for cting it, as against France; so that Orders in Council might be rescinded e very moment that the trade between France and the United States might be perfectly open. The better half of the agreement into which Mr. Erskine was authorized to enter into with America was, that she should shut her ports against France, and this could only be done by her reviving the non-intercourse system as against that power. There was another question of a curious sort respecting the Non-Intercourse Act. When this country determined to make atonement for the injury committed against America in the affair of the Chesapeake, it proposed, through the medium of Mr. Rose, that the proclamation for excluding British ships of war from the waters and havens of the United States, should be recalled: this was refused. Any power receiving an injury from another, with whom she is in friendly intercourse, has certainly a right to call for atonement for that injury: but if without waiting to see whether it will be granted or denied, she takes her retaliation into her own hands, her right to atonement from that instant ceases. America, therefore, in resorting to retaliation, sided *pro tanto*, with France. Upon the change of the executive government in America, it was understood, that there was a disposition in the new government to come to an immediate arrangement on the subject of the Chesapeake. The proposal was therefore renewed. How that proposition was received by the secretary of the American government was evident from the correspondence that was published. How far that gentleman was disposed to re-establish the former relations between the two countries; how far he was inclined to strew the path of reconciliation with flowers, any Englishman who read that gentleman's note might judge. By Mr. Erskine's arrangement, our Orders in Council were to be rescinded (they are so in fact at this moment, for they cannot be put in force as against America for a limited period;) and this great price was to be paid—for what? Why, for six weeks liberty to trade with America. If this agreement had been transmitted to government for its approbation, no disclosure would have been made on the subject. But government was under the necessity of coming to some determination on the subject within 24 hours; and being resolved not to sanction it, it was necessary to make the disclosure contained in the papers on the table, particularly as it was said, that the arrangement was agreeable to the Instructions to Mr. Erskine. But these reasons would not justify any farther disclosure; such disclosure might prejudice existing or future negociations, and embarrass that ulterior arrangement, which he hoped would be terminated satisfactorily. There was another point in Mr. Erskine's Instructions to which he found it necessary to allude. He was instructed to procure an interdict of all commerce, as well between Holland as France; for upon what plea could the former be entitled to any exemption? If she were a dependent power, she must follow the fate of France. If she were an independent power, and still submitted to the dictates of France, she was the more blameable, and was therefore the less an object of indulgence. How these instructions were fulfilled, would appear from the correspondence of Mr. Erskine already before the house. He must have known that Holland was exempted from the operation of the Non-Intercourse Act. But it had been suggested that he might have had private assurances, that Holland would be placed on the same footing as France. What! after it was specifically stated in the formal act, that it was not to extend to Holland! But doubts were entertained as to its being applied to the kingdom of Italy, the iron crown of which sits on the head of the ruler of France! If any doubt existed that Mr. Erskine had gone the full length of the concessions he was authorized to make, without obtaining the whole three, nay, not even one of the points he was instructed to demand, the person who entertained such doubt had only to read the papers already before the house. If these did not remove it, nothing that he could say or produce would. He felt himself under the necessity of opposing the motion for the reasons he set out with stating. This was not the proper time to enter into the discussion of the policy of the arrangement with America; and as the pending negociation might be prejudiced by further disclosure, he trusted the noble lord would see the impropriety of granting the papers he called for.

Mr. *Morris* vindicated the conduct of his relative, Mr. Erkine, and abstained from making that reply to the right hon. gent. which his speech seemed to call for, lest such reply might call forth a discussion tending in the slightest degree to interrupt that system of conciliation now likely to take place between the two countries.

Mr. *Marryatt* thought the motion, as far as it concerned the affair of the Ches peake, totally irrelevant to the prese juncture. With respect to the dispatc he thought if it were produced, that ought the answer of his majesty's min ters, in order that the house might ha sufficient evidence whereon to found decision.

Mr. *A. Baring* entered into a detail our correspondence and intercourse w America. He thought Mr. Erskine m have obtained some substantial concessi to the demands of England, with which were at present unacquainted, and on whi he grounded his treaty.

Mr. *Stephen* combated the arguments favour of the motion. He was of opini that America, in all her proceedings, h no wish to promote an impartial cou with respect to France and this countr It was the business of that house to ta care lest France should triumph in the negotiations, and lest England should n sanction decrees which she had befo arraigned, and desert measures to whi she had at other periods given her su port. At all events, in his opinon, discu sions in that house could not tend at t present crisis to promote amity betwe the countries.

Lord *H. Petty* declared, that as a part disclosure had already been made on t subject, all he wanted, both for the sake public utility and private justice, was, t such disclosure might be made as ample possible. It had appeared, however, fr the speech of the right hon. gent., tha negotiation was now pending, to whi such disclosure might prove dangerou Since this was the case, he was willing the present to withdraw his motion, un a disclosure could be made without dif culty on the subject.

The motion was withdrawn.

[SINECURE PLACES.] Lord *Ossulst* moved as a Resolution, (after a short conve sation upon the point of Order between t Speaker, lord Folkestone, and the Chanc lor of the Exchequer), "That it is the op nion of the house, that the existence Sinecure Offices, and Offices executed deputy, is unnecessary, and inexpedie as a means of remunerating public se vice:—That Pensions, if granted, as some occasions it may be proper th they should be granted, for more th one life, may in all cases supply the pla of the said offices, and whether grant by parliament, or placed at the power the crown, to grant, under limitations wi ct to amount, and with regulations for ing them under the immediate notice s house, will provide for every object hich Sinecures can be usefully ap- :—That, in pursuance of this prin- this house will, at the earliest ll, take into its further most serious deration, the means of effecting the tion or Regulation of all offices of the description, and especially with re- t to such of the said offices the emolu- s of which have increased beyond all dent or expectation at the time they granted, and are capable, from their nt, of being applied with material it to the service of the state." The lord prefaced his motion, with a h of which no part was audible in the y. The motion was negatived with- ny observation.

RUELTY TO ANIMALS' BILL.] On the n for going into a Committee upon ill.

Windham said, that his first and ge- objection to the Bill was, that the t of it, however commendable, was uch as to become a fit subject of le- tion. For this opinion he had at least etty strong voucher, in the universal ice of mankind down to the present ent. In no country had it ever yet attempted to regulate by law the uct of men towards brute animals, ex- so far as such conduct operated to the dice of men. The province of crimi- egislation had hitherto been confined injuries sustained by men. This fact, gh affording a pretty strong presump- (sufficient, one should think, to make use, and not hurry through the house, hardly any discussion, a bill of so a character,) was yet, he would con- not absolutely conclusive. It might ght, that 'all this should be changed;' what was now proposed, should be though it had never been done be- But the question was, at least, of importance, and not to be decided out more discussion, than had hitherto place, or could now well be ex- ed before the sessions would be at d. The novelty of the subject, not details or particular application, but s general character, was a topic not ght forward, as an objection, by the sers of the bill, but claimed and in- upon by its authors. In a pamph- irculated with great industry, (and of authority, as coming from the same e with the bill itself,) it was expressly stated, and with no small triumph, that the bill would form a new era of legislation! Two reflections arose upon this; first, that we ought to take care, to be cautious at least, how we began new eras of legislation; secondly, that we ought to have a reasonable distrust of the founders of such eras, lest they should be a little led away by an object of such splendid ambition, and be thinking more of themselves than of the credit of the laws or the interests of the community. To have done that which no one yet had ever thought of doing; to have introduced into legislation, at this period of the world, what had never yet been found in the laws of any country, and that too for a purpose of professed humanity, or rather of something more than humanity as commonly understood and practised; to be the first who had stood up as the champion of the rights of brutes, was as marked a distinction, even if it should not turn out, upon examination, to be as proud a one, as a man could well aspire to.

The legislature, however, must not be carried away with these impulses, of whatever nature they may be, but must consider soberly and coolly, whether it might not be something more than mere indifference or want of thought, that had kept men, for so many thousand years, from attempting to introduce this new principle, as it was now justly called, of legislation; and whether, in the attempt at present, they might not do far more harm than good.

Of the desirableness of the object speaking abstractedly, there could be no doubt. As far as wishes went, every man must wish, that the sufferings of all animated nature were less than they were. Why they were permitted at all, was a question, as had been observed by a great and pious writer, which must for ever continue to perplex mankind, as long as we were allowed to see only in part. But there was not only the wish that suffering universally should, if possible, be less than it was, but there was a duty, he was ready to admit, upon man, (the only animal, it was to be observed, that took cognizance of others pain,) to conform himself to that wish, in the little sphere to which his influence extended. Morality itself might perhaps be defined, 'a desire rationally conducted to promote general happiness,' and consequently to diminish general pain; and he was far from contending, that the operation of that principle (so glorious to man, the only animal that partook of it) should not be made to embrace in its effects the whole of animal life. Let the duty be as strongly enforced, as far as precept and persuasion could go, and the feeling as largely indulged, as its most eager advocates could wish. He had no objection to any sacrifices, which any one might be disposed to make in his own person, for sparing the pain or promoting the enjoyment of others of his fellow-creatures, whether men or inferior animals. The more lively the sympathy, within certain limits, and the greater the sacrifice, the more would be the amiableness and the merit. Within certain limits he had said, because theoretically, certainly, there were limits, which those feelings could not pass, without defeating instead of promoting the ends of Providence, which must be presumed to have intended them as the means of increasing the quantum of happiness. Sympathy was necessary to the production of virtue, and for the procuring mutual aid in case of distress. But were every one to feel with equal sensibility the pains of others as his own, the world must become one unvaried scene of suffering, in which the woes of all would be accumulated upon each, and every man be charged with a weight of calamity beyond what his individual powers of endurance were calculated to support. There was little danger, however, of this excess. One might safely lay down the rule, that the more any one should feel for the suffering of others, the more virtuous they should be accounted; and that they were at liberty, in this respect, to give a full loose to their feelings.

But the very same considerations would make it dangerous to allow of systems, in which men were to become virtuous at others' expence, and to enforce upon others what might be wanting in themselves. It was not sufficient to state of any thing that it was matter of obligation, to justify an attempt to enforce it by law. Laws were almost universally restrictive. They restrained acts which were injurious to the community, and were such moreover as could be clearly defined. There were whole classes of duties, known to writers on morals under the name of Imperfect Obligations, which no one ever thought of enforcing by law, not because they were, in point of moral duty, less obligatory than others, but because they were of a nature that, to exist at all, must be spontaneous, or such as that law could not be made to apply to them. What idea co any one have of a law, to enforce chari gratitude, benevolence, or innumera others of the Christian virtues? If man with thousands in his coffers, which he made no use, should suffe fellow creature whose case was fu known to him, to perish in the next st for the want of a few shillings, you mi inveigh against him for his want humanity; but would you ever thi that there ought to be a law to pun him? The same might be said of ca that occurred, he feared, too freque ly under the influence of the poor-la where paupers at the point of dea and women expecting at every moment be seized with the pangs of labour, w turned out into the streets or roads, soon than by the death in one case or the bi in the other, a burthen should be broug upon the parish. The poor-laws were example of an attempt to force charit and fine encouragement they gave to su attempts! But after all that they h done, unfortunately done, how much w left, which the law did not attempt to reac

It would not be difficult to show, th the case was much the same in respect the objects now meant to be provided f The measure sets out with a preamb containing a lofty maxim of morality theology, too grand to be correct, too su lime to be seen distinctly, and most lu crously disproportioned to the enactme that follow, wherein it is declared th God has *subdued* various classes of anima to the use and benefit of man: and fro thence it seems to be inferred, not ve consequentially, that we ought to tre them with humanity. That we ought treat them with humanity, that is, that ought, in all we did respecting them, have a consideration of their pains an pleasures, was a maxim which he was n at all disposed to controvert; but it d not seem immediately inferable from th permission before recited. If humani indeed were carried to its utmost exten it would rather run counter to that pe mission, and lead us, like the Gentoos, least to abstain from eating the anima thus consigned to us, if not from usin them in any way that should not be pr ductive to them of more gratification tha suffering. The humanity, however, th is now recommended, is not meant, seems, to go that length. We may de stroy them for the purposes of food, that of appetite and luxury, to whatever amou

whatever ways those purposes re-
Another class of us likewise,
ly the rich, may destroy them, in
modes, however lingering and cruel.
are necessary for the purposes of sport
iversion. Even independently of the
which these striking exceptions
e, we may ask reasonably, what hu-
y is? Is it any thing capable of
defined by precise limits? or is it
e question of degree, and something
quently which is not capable of
set forth in words, but must be left
e decision of some living tribunal,
g its judgment upon each particular

re we come back to the first and
mental objection to legislating upon
and various similar subjects. You
pains and penalties, upon con-
ss which no man is able previously
ertain. You require men to live by
known rule. You make the condi-
f life uncertain, by exposing men
e operation of a law, which they
t know till it visits them in the
of punishment. What is humanity?
generally the having a consideration
e sufferings of others, (men or other
nt beings) as compared with pains
tifications of our own. But what the
rtion was, necessary to be observed
en our own and others pain, or, (as
ftener the case in the subject then
consideration,) what the proportion
etween others pain and our pleasure or
st, no mortal attempted to ascertain:
as it one and the same, but as various
ere were various men, and various
nstances and subjects to which it
pplied, and what was of not less con-
nce, varied as men were judging in
own case, or in that of their neighbours.
not only not the same in any two
but not the same in the same man
lf an hour together, but changed,
ding as he applied it to one case or
er, or was in one humour or another,
bove all, was judging in the case of
or of himself. This was no exag-
d representation. As a proof, let
man go through the instances where
umanity has been shocked, at one
and where at others it has remained
tly in repose. The instances of ill
ent of animals, which most fre-
ly occurred, (and were most in the
of the advocates of this bill,) were
which arose from passion; a coach-
whipping his coach-horses, a carman beating his cart-horse. The undisturbed spectator, who knows nothing of the causes that have led to this, and who, as Swift says of men bearing others misfortunes, can bear the provocations, which have inflamed another, 'perfectly like a Christian,' is full of virtuous ire, and inveighs hotly against the man who can thus go into a senseless passion with his horse; but he does not consider that the irritability here shewn may have come upon a man wearied by long labour, and soured by some recent vexation, and have been excited withal by something in the horse, which he has been led, foolishly for the most part, to consider as perverseness; nor does the blamer recollect, how, he himself the day before, when he was riding comfortably to get an appetite for his dinner, spurred his horse most unmercifully, (as violently as his fears would let him), because the animal had been guilty of starting or stumbling. Here was an instance of that different standard of humanity, which men have in their breasts for themselves or others, for their cooler moments and for their passionate ones; and we might thence see what flagrant and scandalous injustice would be done, under a criterion subject to such variation. It was no answer to say, that the judgment was not unjust, because the judge might have been guilty of the same offence: and that as he punished others, others might punish him. The judge, we knew, would not be punished. Few would inform against his worship the squire because he had rode his hunter to death, or unmercifully whipped, or in a fit of anger shot, his pointer. The scandal therefore in the general administration of the law would remain, even though those who were convicted, were punished justly. But it was not true, that passion would not be mixed even in the judgment itself. Passion might be suspected to mix itself, and did in fact continually mix itself, in all judgments carried on by close and summary jurisdictions, and by persons who were little likely to be made responsible for their conduct. Such jurisdictions must of necessity exist in many cases; but they were not on that account the less to be deprecated. But there was one general passion applicable to the present case, and which would not fail to operate in every part of the process; in the judgment often, but still more frequently in the information; and which would form a complete answer to that childish plea in favour of the bill, viz.

that as no reward was given, no temptation would be held out to informers. The passion here alluded to was one of great account in human nature, though not so often noted as it ought to be, namely, the love of tormenting. There was a book written some years ago, commonly ascribed to a sister of the author of Tom Jones, but really the work of a lady of the name of Collyer, which treated of this passion, under the title of 'The Art of ingeniously Tormenting,' and after illustrating, with great acuteness and much nice observation of character and manners, its operation in various relations of domestic life, as, how to torment an humble companion, how a wife should torment her husband, and a husband his wife, concluded with a chapter, entitled 'General Rules how to torment 'all your Acquaintance.' It would be found by any one who perused this book, how much there was of this principle continually in operation, of which he had often witnessed the effects, without at the time having understood or attended to the cause. But frequent as these instances were, as seen and described by the author referred to, they were nothing in extent and amount to those which were carried on, under a new and more enlarged head, which did not come within the scheme of her work, nor fall, possibly, within the scope of her contemplation, viz. the art of tormenting people in the name of the public good, an art which seemed to have been gaining ground considerably in our days, and to have had a larger share in the acts of the legislature, as well as to have produced more annoyance in society, than people were commonly aware. Here the trade of course was wholesale, and carried on upon a large scale. And it was not to be told how eager the passion was, when animated and sanctioned by the auxiliary motive of supposed zeal for the public service. It was childish for people to ask What pleasure can any one have in tormenting others? None in the mere pain inflicted, but the greatest possible in the various effects that may accompany it, in the parade of virtue and in the exercise of power. A man cannot torment another without a considerable exercise of power—in itself a pretty strong and general passion. But if he can at once exercise his power and make a parade of his virtue, (which will eminently be the case in the powers to be exercised under this law) the combination of the two forms a motive, which we might fairly say, flesh and blood cou not withstand. Young's 'universal passio had not a wider range, nor a stronger i fluence, than the union of these two fee ings.

In what a state then should we put t lower orders of people in this country (f it was they only who would be affecte when for the sake of punishing some ra and hardly-heard-of enormities, (the na row but only rational object of the measur we should let loose upon them a princip of action like that above described, arm with such a weapon as this bill wou put into its hands? All the fanatical vie and feelings, all the little bustling spi of regulation, all the private enmities a quarrels would be at work, in addition those more general passions before state and men be daily punished by summa jurisdiction, or left to wait in gaol for t meeting of a more regular tribunal, f offences, which were incapable of bei defined, and which must be left therefo to the arbitrary and fluctuating standa which the judge in either case happen to carry in his breast. The bill, instead being called A Bill for preventing Cruel to Animals, should be entitled, A Bill f harrassing and oppressing certain class among the lower orders of the people.

The manner in which it would be throw upon them, and the scandalous injusti with which it would be attended, mig be exemplified by one of the instanc set forth by the authors of the bill them selves. The cruelties suffered by pos horses was a favourite topic. But on who was the punishment to fall? on the po boy or on the traveller? On the post bo who was the only person who would seen inflicting these severities? or on th traveller, who sat snug in the chaise, ha ing only hinted to the post boy, that meant to dine at the next stage, and th if he should not bring him in in time would never go to his master's house agai nor give him any thing for himself.

This case of post horses belonged also another head, to which he would no proceed; namely, the objections to the b on the score that it was doing that by la which if people were sincere in the feelings, might be done by other metho Laws never ought to be called in b where other powers fail. Upon whom w the whole force of this bill to be di charged? what were the instances whi were uppermost in every one's min which had been first cited as proofs of th

sity of such a measure, and in which
d the bill either would or was in-
d to act? Why, the cruelties in-
on horses by grooms, coach-men,
boys, carmen, servants in husbandry,
ers, to whom such animals were en-
d. But whose property were these?
the property of persons, who had
(generally great,) power respectively
he several classes of persons above
erated? Why do not these masters
wners exert themselves in earnest, in
ning such offences whenever they
within their cognizance, or are even
n to them in a way which, though
ent for them to act, would not au-
e a legal process? But, no; they
ten the direct parties, the parties in-
ed in, and the parties instigating, the
cruelties or severities which they af-
o decry. One of the favourite in-
es in the fashionable female circles,
y are called, of this town, and who
r by the bye to have been very di-
ly canvassed, are the cases with which
have been continually shocked, of
men whipping their horses in public
: an instance by the way by no
of magnitude enough to call for
nterference of the legislature. But
magnitude what it will, why must
gislature be called in? are there not
(sufficient probably for punishing
fence adequately in each instance,
ertainly for preventing the practice,)
power possessed by masters and
sses? But apply to any of these
, and satisfy them, after much diffi-
that their coachman was the most
and the most in the wrong, in the
le, which caused so much disturb-
at the last Opera, and the answer
bly would be, 'Oh! to be sure; it is
hocking; but then John is so clever
rowd! the other night at Lady Such-
s, when all the world was perishing
passage, waiting for their carriages,
was up in an instant, and we were
rs. Such-a-one's half an hour before
ne else. We should not know what
, if we were to part with him.' Was
coachman here who most deserved
ment? or was it for the parties
described to call for a law, which
lay the foundation of a new era of
tion, and to operate with great se-
and most flagrant injustice upon
classes of people? A similar in-
would be found in the case just al-
to of the traveller and the post horses. Whose fault was it, in nineteen cases out of twenty, that these sufferings were incurred? the traveller drives up in haste, his servant having half killed one post-horse in riding forward to announce his approach; the horses are brought out; they are weak, spavined, galled, hardly dry from their last stage. What is the dialogue that ensues? does the traveller ever offer to stop on his journey, or even to wait till the horses can be refreshed? such a thought never enters his head; he swears at the landlord, and threatens never to come again to his house, because he expects to go only seven miles an hour, when he had hoped to go nine; but when the landlord has assured him, that the horses, however bad in their appearance, will carry his honour very well, and has directed the post boys to 'make the best of their way,' the traveller's humanity is satisfied, and he hears with perfect composure and complacency the cracking whips of the postillions, only intimating to them, by-the-bye, that if they do not bring him in in time, they shall not receive a farthing. What revolting and disgusting hypocrisy was it in persons daily witnessing without remonstrance, or acting in such scenes, who would not sacrifice the smallest particle of their convenience in consideration of any pain that was to result from it, to be inveighing with such exaggerated sensibility against the cruelties practised on the brute creation, and calling for a law to punish them; much of that cruelty being incurred in their service, and under their own immediate inspection and orders! Where was the justice of punishing the inn-keeper here? who, if he refused his horses, lost his customers, and his means of livelihood; or the post-boy, who when once employed must perform the task assigned him by such means as he had, and must ply his whip till the pain or threat overcome the pain of the effort, which the horses had to make in order to go through their stage?

Such were the proofs of the injustice of the law, and such the proofs that no law, just or unjust, was necessary, even in the cases to which it applied. But what should be said of the flagrant and horrid injustice, of withdrawing from its operation and cognizance, a whole class of cases, which, if such a bill was to pass, could not, one should think, be allowed to stand an instant, as being more than any others in the very line and point-blank aim of the statute, and having nothing to protect them, but that which ought in justice and decency to be the strongest reason against them, namely that they were the mere sports of the rich? Was it to be endured or believed, that a legislature setting about the great and original work of enacting laws to prevent the sufferings of the brute creation, should still reserve to themselves, and that too by a most invidious and oppressive code, the privilege of killing animals by a cruel and lingering death, in mere sport and wantonness? The reason assigned for this extraordinary omission, by the author of the bill, might be suspected as having been intended in mere mockery. It was said that being *feræ naturæ* (a learned distinction, but never before, surely, applied to such a purpose) they were not entitled to the protection of man? But why, because they did not ask his protection, were they to be liable in consequence to be persecuted and tormented by him? On the contrary, if he did nothing for their good, he ought the rather to be required to do nothing for their harm. They would perish, it was said, if left to themselves, often by a cruel death. But what was the animal, man not excepted, that was not liable so to perish? If this argument was good for any thing, it might justify, in pure kindness, our killing one another. Another danger was, that they would become so numerous as to overrun the earth. But this danger, formidable as it might be in respect to other animals, certainly did not apply to one great class, with which notwithstanding we made pretty free, namely the fishes. After all, when humanity was the question, what connection was there between the necessity of destroying those animals and the right which we claimed of being ourselves the destroyers? It was very disinterested, no doubt, in all the higher orders of people to offer themselves gratuitously as vermin killers to the rest of the community; but it was an odd choice for them, as men of humanity; particularly as it was found, that these vermin were encouraged and protected for the sake of being afterwards killed, and certainly by a mode of destruction in many instances, not capable of being exceeded in cruelty by any to which they could naturally be liable. Even in the case of sheep and oxen, which must, it is admitted, be killed, and might be killed possibly by a gentleman with as little pain as by the butcher, we should think it an odd taste in any one, to be desirous literally to kill his own mutton,

and to beg of his butcher that he might b
allowed on the next slaughter day to tak
his place. It was in vain therefore by suc
wretched evasions and subterfuges to a
tempt to disguise the fact, that if with suc
a preamble on our statutes, and with act
passed in consequence to punish the lowe
classes for any cruelty inflicted upon an
mals, we continued to practise and to re
serve in great measure to ourselves th
sports of hunting, shooting, and fishing, w
must exhibit ourselves as the most hard
ened and unblushing hypocrites th
ever shocked the feelings of mankind
He did not know any thing, that could s
justly call for a measure, which he had a
ways been among the first to resist, a pa
liamentary reform. Strongly as he ha
always declared against such a measur
as wholly uncalled for by any thing in th
practice of parliament as now constituted
he must fairly confess, that if it shoul
appear in any instance that so scandalou
a distinction could be made between th
interests of high and low, rich and poo
he should be not a little shaken in his op
position, and must be driven in a grea
measure from that argument, which, a
long as it could be maintained, was con
clusive against every such proposal, name
ly, that there was no class in the communit
whose interests, even as parliament was a
present constituted, were not upon th
whole fairly taken care of. What a prett
figure must we make in the world, if i
one column of the newspapers we shoul
read a string of instances of men com
mitted under 'the Cruelty Bill,' some t
the county gaol to wait for trial at the as
sizes, some by summary process to th
house of correction; and in another par
an article of 'Sporting Intelligence,' se
ting forth the exploits of my lord Such-a
one's hounds, how the hounds threw off a
such a cover; that bold Reynard went o
in a gallant stile, &c., and was not kille
till after a chace of ten hours; that o
fifty horsemen who were out at the be
ginning not above five were in at the *death*
that three horses *died* in the field, and *se*
veral it was thought would never *recover*
and that upon the whole it was the mos
glorious day's *sport*, ever remembered sinc
the pack was first set up! Was it possi
ble that men could stand the shame of suc
statements? that this house which tolerate
such sports, nay, which claimed them, a
the peculiar privilege of the class to whic
it belonged, a house of hunters and shoot
ers, should, while they left these untouched

ffecting to take the brute creation
r their protection; and be passing
for the punishment of every carter or
r, whom an angry passenger should
e of chastising his horse with over
ity? He begged not to be under-
, as condemning the sports, to which
ad been alluding, and much less, as
ging with cruelty all those who took
ht in them, cruel as the acts them-
s undoubtedly were. He would not
te with his friend, the hon. mover
Ch. Bunbury) what the *quantum* of
ty was in horse racing, whether the
was always as much spared as he
osed, or whether when it was, the
arance proceeded from humanity, or
an opinion that more would be lost,
e horse's swerving and the rider's seat
rendered unsteady than would be
d by the pain. Though no sports-
himself, he should lament the day, if
it should happen in this country, that
false refinement and mistaken huma-
they should be abolished or fall into
. So far from arraigning those who
ved them, his doctrine had ever been,
odd as it might seem, cruel sports did
make cruel people: and he would
for this the great body of the English
ry gentlemen, now and in all former
. But as long as, upon that ground,
for wise and salutary purposes, such
ices, cruel as they were, were per-
d, and even upheld, he could not
it, that the house should go off into
wild career of humanity, that was
sed by the present bill. He denied,
ally speaking, the existence of the
s complained of. He denied at least
crease of them, and that the treat-
of animals now was worse than in
r times, or with us than in other
ries. There was in general, no
, a very coarse and harsh treatment
m, such as might be expected from
oarseness of the people to whom the
gement of them was for the most part
sted; but which was often founded
in ignorance and unskilfulness, than
lice or ferocity. Many of these in-
es were moreover falsely estimated, by
who allowed their sensibilities, (al-
ready in their application to others,)
trun their judgment. He himself
had as many squabbles as others,
carmen and drivers of different de-
ions for ill-treating their horses: but
d more than once had reason after-
to think himself in the wrong, and that his complaints had been ill-founded, or were at least exaggerated. Instances were however unquestionably to be met with, of shocking and atrocious cruelty, which every one must wish to have the means of punishing. A case of this sort known or related, instantly inflamed men's minds, and disposed them, without further consideration, to call out for a law. But a law was a serious thing, and ought not to be adopted, merely upon such impulses. There had grown up in the country, of late years, a habit of far too great facility in passing laws. The immediate object only was looked to; some marked cases were selected, in which its operation coincided with the general feeling: but no account was taken of the silent depredations which it would make in numerous instances, on the peace and happiness of individuals, of the manner in which it would embitter the general comfort and security of life, particularly among the lower-classes. It was always a question, whether the good effects of a law were, in a few rare instances, a compensation for the general constraint imposed by it, and the instances in which it would operate unjustly. Nor was it true, that in the very cases that would be cited on behalf of the present bill, the crime would go, (or at least need go,) unpunished, even though there were no law specially provided for the purpose. What would be the number of instances for example, in which the animal ill-treated, was not the property of some one, who, if his zeal for humanity was what the calls of many for this bill would indicate, might surely, either by himself, or with the aid of others, inflict ample punishment on the offender, on the score of pecuniary injury? But even where means for that purpose could not be had, or an injury of that description could not be pleaded, the mere publication of the fact, which might be the work of any one, with the steps that might be taken to turn upon it the public attention and indignation, would produce in the end consequences as severe as any that the case required, or that could be hoped from a law. If there was not virtue or humanity enough in the country to make the commission of such outrages ruinous to the party even in point of fortune and circumstances, to hunt down such offenders by a general exclusion from all the benefits of intercourse, and by marking them out as objects of general detestation, it might well be doubted, what the effect of law would be, and whether among those who

called for a law, there was not more of a fondness for persecution, and lust of power, than of real concern for the interests of humanity.

It must at all events be more by manners than by laws that any good could be done upon this subject. Animals used in the service of man were left unavoidably so entirely at his mercy, were exposed so much to clandestine mischief, and could so little make known their own injuries, that it would always be a question, whether an attempt to protect them with vindictive justice, would not subject them to more ill treatment than it was likely to guard them from. If manners could not protect them, miserable indeed must be their condition, in spite of all that law could do for them. It was not possible, in the nature of things, that law could with so much precision define the duty as to be able to ensure the performance of it. It was a duty evidently of that sort which are called imperfect obligations; of which the definition is, that though equally binding in conscience with other duties, they are not capable of being inforced by law. They must in consequence be left to morals. Let them be inculcated upon that footing in every possible way, from the pulpit, from the press, by precept, by exhortation, by example. But let us not run counter to the nature of things, by attempting, what, as the authors themselves of the bill tell us, never yet was attempted; and above all things let us not bring in such a bill as the present, which, without contributing possibly in the smallest degree to the very object in view, will let loose the most dreadful scourge upon the lower orders of the people, will commit the most flagrant injustice in the manner in which the bill will be executed, and constitute a general charge of injustice against the house, such as it has never before been exposed to, and from which it will be impossible to vindicate it.

The objections to the bill were indeed so numerous, and of such a nature, that he was satisfied it would never have passed, so as to be now a subject of discussion in this house, if those who were really adverse to it would fairly have stood by their opinion, and had not been awed by the apprehension, that in opposing a bill, introduced with such a preamble, they should be considered as the abettors of cruelty. He had no doubt that such would be the charge made against him. But for that he should care very little, compared with the object of opposing a bill so objectionable, as he thought this to be, in every view in which it could be contemplated He should have no fear in trusting hi justification to the reasons he had already given (much as they fell short o what might be urged upon the subject, i he was not unwilling to trespass further o the attention of the house). But whatever had been wanting on his part woul be amply supplied by an admirable pape in one of the late Volumes of the Edinburgh Review, the 20th he believed, i which would be found much masterly discussion upon this subject, considered in point of view in which he had abstaine from speaking of it, namely, in its connection with the Society for the Suppre sion of Vice. As well with a view to tha Society as to the present subject, and t the connection between the two, he ea nestly recommended to gentlemen th perusal of the paper.—He should no propose to negative the motion for th Speaker's leaving the Chair, with a view moving afterwards that the Bill be committed to this day three months.

Mr. *Stephen* was ready to do justice the ingenuity and talents of the right ho gentleman, but begged, when he talked the humanity claimed by others, to as whether that right hon. gent, and tho who thought with him, did not affect to b above vulgar prejudices? He denied, th this was a new era, as had been stated, legislation, because humanity had ever bee a characteristic of British jurisprudenc It was the duty of that house to prote useful animals from wanton and malicio cruelties; and he contended that if any the cases alluded to by the right hon. gen should come within that description, th persons concerned would be within th operation of the act. The bill was i tended to prevent practices specifical mentioned, and all the objections of th right hon. gent. went only to the enac ments of the bill, and might be remov in the Committee.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* had hoped that th able and convicting speech of the rig hon. gent. opposite, would have produc an unanimous vote against the bill in th house. He was an enemy to the bill o the grounds stated by the right hon. gen as well as because it did not draw an definite line to mark the offence, an would consequently lead to arbitrary d cisions.

Mr. *Wilberforce* felt surprised at the re- ition of a measure coming recommended this did from so respectable a quarter, d expressed his regret that such distin- ished talents should be employed in op- sition to it. He possessed a letter, ich, if he read, he was sure would eate in the breast of the right hon. gent., ntiments congenial to his own. If the ll had been more general, it would be gued that it went too far, and now that it s confined to distinct offences it was d it did not go far enough. By raising e estimation of the animal creation the minds of the ignorant, this bill uld create a sum of sensitive happiness most impossible to calculate.

Mr. *Frankland* thought that a bill so vel in its nature as the present required ore time for its due consideration. He l not credit many of the facts which d been stated and called for evidence to produced at the bar. He then mention- that he himself saw a man once striking horse on the head with the butt end of whip, in a manner that appeared to m most cruel and brutal. He interfered; t the man, with a most good-humoured untenance, assured him that it was ne- ssary to frighten the horse by striking m on the head, that if he had struck m with the small end of the whip, it ould have put the animal to greater pain.

Mr. *Jekyll* professed himself a warm end to the bill, which was founded on oral principle. He had many years ce considered this subject of cruelty to imals, together with his noble frend (lord skine) the mover of it.

Sir *Robert Williams* mentioned a case, here he himself had met a man beating d spurring his horse most cruelly, and threatened to take him before a magis- te. The man defied him, and said the rse was his own, and he would treat him he pleased.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was ready give full credit to the intentions of the ble mover of this bill, but thought that was a subject which required great con- deration. If such cases as that stated his hon. and learned friend (Mr. kyll) were intended to be included der the general words of wantonly and aliciously abusing those animals, he uld not readily bring his mind to assent it: for who was to judge exactly of the antity of food which ought to be given, of the quantity of punishment or of urring which was necessary to oblige a horse to make the exertion that was necessary? Who was to judge of the exertion that was necessary? Suppose the man who had been met by the hon. baronet was riding to get a physician for a sick wife, was to be made liable to be stopped in his journey, and taken before a magistrate, if any person passing thought he beat or spurred his horse too severely? He thought that it would be much safer not to adopt a measure of this nature, at the very close of the session; and that if the noble lord who had been so long considering the subject, had not made his bill complete, they might well despair of their powers of mending it with so little time for consideration.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* could not allow that there was any thing in this bill so vague and indefinite as had been stated by the right hon. gent. The words of the bill were "wantonly and maliciously abusing." These were not words of vague and indefinite signification, but such as magistrates and juries on other occasions conceived sufficient for their direction. As to the quantity of punishment or severity, the crime was entirely in the degree of it. Thus, where a man had dominion over his fellow creatures, such as a master over his apprentice, or a father over his child, they could never be accountable for that ordinary severity, which may be necessary, or be conceived to be necessary with respect to those whom it was their duty to govern. There was no one, however, would say that there were not degrees of cruelty in the exercise of this power which our laws very properly punished, and which juries and magistrates did not find it difficult to determine. But in this bill the words "wantonly and maliciously" being introduced, it would be still harder for the juries to mistake the proper line. He did not see how there could be any doubt; and he thought it would be a strange thing, indeed, if the legislature were to forbear from making laws, merely on the statement that magistrates and juries would not understand them, and would determine in a manner that the law never intended. This was also supposing magistrates and juries to be absolutely void of common sense, and incapable of finding out what should be conceived wanton cruelty to an animal, although they are allowed to be perfectly capable of judging of what was unreasonable cruelty to a child, or an apprentice. He differed very much with the right hon. gent., (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) in his opinion of the case that had been stated. Could any body doubt, but that if a man were to bring a number of horses, or any other sensitive animals, and keep them in a confined place, famishing to such a degree as to prey upon each other, that this was a wanton and malicious abuse of his dominion over those animals? (Hear, hear! from many members.) An hon. gent. (Mr. Frankland) had expressed some doubts of the existence of this cruelty; he should therefore cite a case from Leach's Crown Law, which was a pretty recent one, in confirmation of the fact. A man of the name of John Shaw was indicted on the black act, in the year 1798, at the Old Bailey, for the following offence. His master had refused to lend him a particular horse, and he was seen shortly after beating that horse on the head with the butt-end of a whip which he held in one hand, while with the other he had hold of the horse's tongue. The horse was the same day found dead near the spot, with the tongue almost torn from its head. The man was acquitted, because hitherto no degree of cruelty to animals could be punished, unless it was proved to proceed from express malice to the master. There was no doubt at all but that the cruel act which he mentioned had been done, but hitherto the laws with respect to cruelty to animals only referred to the injury of the property of the owners of them. There was another point of view in which this bill might be of great political importance. It was a great public interest that the people of this country should not be depraved, and it was well known that cruelty to animals generally led the way to cruelty to our fellow-creatures. This was well described by our inimitable artist Hogarth, who traced the cruel murderer from the early tormentor of animals. He really believed this bill might be considered in a great degree as a bill for the prevention of cruel murders.

Mr. *Morris* defended the principle of the measure.

Lord *Porchester* declared himself friendly to the bill. The evil which it went to correct called for some interposition, and he could see no force in the objection that it came not within a legislative remedy.

The *Solicitor General* expressed an anxious desire that this measure, which exacted a new penal statute, and was avowed to be an æra in legislation, should be delayed until the house would be enabled to view the nature and extent of its provisions in their respective bearings.

After a few words from Mr. W. Smith and Mr. Windham, the house divided.

For going into the Committee 40.—Against it 27.

The house then went into the Committee —A conversation of considerable length took place, on the point whether the offence should or should not be deemed misdemeanor, triable before a jury. Mr D. Giddy, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. R. Dundas thought it ough not to be such a misdemeanor, but that a all events the Committee should not at tha time proceed further. Mr. Windham an Mr. W. Smith thought the chairman shoul report progress. Mr. Stephen though the clause might stand, by adding a few words. Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Morris wer of opinion the offence should be a misdemeanor. Mr. Lockhart observed, that a so much diversity of opinion prevailed a that late hour, he thought it right to mov that the Committee be counted. A cr from the opposition side of No; No. Th Speaker said, that as an hon. member ha moved that the house be counted—th rule of the house must be strictly complied with, and it was not in the power o the chairman of a Committee, or of th Speaker in the chair of the house, to pu any other question after that motion wa made. The house was accordingly counted, and there not being more than eightee members present, the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 15.

[Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill.] Upo the order of the day being read,

The Earl of *Liverpool* spoke to the following purport:—My lords, I rise for th purpose of proposing that your lordship should go into a committee of the whol house upon this bill, which has been introduced for the preservation of purity i election, and the prevention of sales o Seats in Parliament, by corrupt traffi Before I proceed, my lords, to declar those general sentiments which induce m to admit the propriety of this measure, an before I state those grounds, which, in m opinion, render it necessary, and before describe what the bill is, I shall, in th first place, pronounce what the bill is no This measure does not in the least partak of the nature of what has been denominated Parliamentary Reform. It does not in fere with, or profess to disturb, parliantary representation. There is no per in this country, who has turned his attion to that species of reform, who has re than myself considered the dangeconsequences of such a system, if ried into effect. From long, delibe e and mature consideration, I am con ced that the disfranchisement of the allest borough, would lead to conse ences of a most pernicious nature, and uld eventually destroy the constitution. t the bill before you has no such tenncy to interfere with the representation the people; for sorry should I be to see t system altered—sorry should I be to the representation of this country so anged, that the whole of our elections ould be similar to those of Middlesex d Westminster. Look, my lords, to ose elections, and you will perceive the ll of such a representation! Every no e lord who now hears me has had an oprtunity there of observing how perjury, bornation of perjury, and all the vices ich are consequent thereon, abound on ose occasions, and tend to degrade and sgrace the community. Having thus r, my lords, applied these observations, the purpose of shewing what the bill not, I shall now state what I conceive to its principle, and those grounds upon hich I consider it entitled to my support. he introduction of this measure is found upon the existence of certain abuses. has been acknowledged, that a practice s long existed, whereby seats in parliaent have been sold and purchased. This actice has long been known to exist; w it sprang up, I believe those most quainted with the history of the constition would find it difficult to determine; d if it were traced back to more cient periods of our parliament, I beeve it would be equally difficult to ascern its commencement. Most probay it had its origin at a time when was exercised to a very small ex nt, and has been gradually increasg through the succession of later peods. At length it has grown to such n enormous degree, that its existence, for e first time, has been openly declared nd avowed, and parliament has been calld upon to interpose its legislative interrence. Under such considerations, my rds, I certainly do not perceive how our lordships can reject going into the ommittee. It may be alledged, that this an offence at common law, but I am inclined to believe, not only from the exercise of my own judgment, but from the opinion which greater authorities have pronounced upon the subject, that such a practice is not punishable at common law. But supposing it be doubtful whether the buying and selling of seats in parliament is or is not an offence punishable by common law, yet, my lords, I cannot hesitate a moment to assert, that, according to all analogy of law, and according to the true principles of the constitution, it is an offence which ought to be punished. Therefore, parliament, when the question has once been brought before them, is bound to give their decision. They must determine either that it is legal or fit to be legal, or else they must determine it is illegal, or fit to be made illegal. The practice being once acknowledged and avowed, parliament, for the first time, are called upon to declare the law, and if it has not hitherto extended to the punishment of this offence, your lordships, by rejecting the bill, would, for the first time, give a sanction to its legality. Then, my lords, it now lies for your consideration to prevent a known and avowed abuse; and the analogy of law, together with the pure principles of the constitution, call for legislative interference. The law has imposed a severe penalty on the man who receives five guineas for his vote, and yet the same law has imposed no punishment upon the man who receives five thousand for an offence of the same description. With respect, my lords, to the particular provisions of the bill, as they fall more appropriately under discussion when we go into the committee, I shall defer my observations to that stage of our proceedings. There was on a former day a remark made by a noble earl opposite (Grosvenor), that this bill has completely altered its shape from what it was in its original state, and that the principle has been so far changed, that it can no longer be deemed the same bill which was first introduced in another place. I rejoice, my lords the bill has undergone those alterations. For, in its original state as introduced by an hon. member (Mr. Curwen), who unquestionably was actuated by the purest motives, it was liable to very serious objection, and upon consideration was generally admitted to be so by almost every man in the house; and even that hon. gent. with his usual candour, gave way to the propriety of the objections. That every abuse ought to be remedied, admits of no doubt, and that influence corruptly exercised, ought to be prevented, we all agree is necessary; and so far the bill, after being subjected to certain alterations, most wisely provides; but I never can admit that it would be for the interests of the country to destroy the natural preponderance which the influence of property will ever preserve in the representation of the people. It is the course of things; and make twenty bills if you please against it, property will always possess a great degree of influence; and when you have made laws against that influence being corruptly exercised, you will have done all in your power, and all that is necessary and beneficial, for the purity of the constitution.

Earl *Grosvenor*. It gives me great satisfaction, my lords, that the noble secretary deferred the discussion of this bill to its present stage of proceeding. Thereby an opportunity has been afforded for a fuller attendance of your lordships; for I did not think it perfectly decorous, nor would it have been quite decent, that such an important measure should have been debated in a thin house; besides, another advantage has accrued—that of giving more time for its due consideration. With regard to the greater part of the noble Secretary's speech, I most readily subscribe to many of those sentiments which have been delivered, but there are parts of that speech, containing sentiments to which I find it impossible to subscribe. It has been stated, that this measure does not partake of the nature of reform, as generally understood; but, my lords, disguise the name as you please, it still remains the same, and is really a species of reform. Neither, my lords, is it less deserving of our approbation; because, if abuses are admitted and avowed, it is our duty to redress them. Glad should I have been, if the provisions of this bill had been in unison with its title, which certainly recommends itself to our approbation and respect. Still, whatever the measure may be called, and however deficient in its extent, it is a part of that system of reform, which I rejoice has some time commenced, and which, for the interests of the nation, is not likely to cease. The first step in this progressive reformation of abuse began by the introduction of a bill for the prevention of granting certain Places in Reversion, which, though not at that time, was ultimately successful. The bill which lately passed for preventing the Sale of Offices was another measure for the reform of abuses, and would have been entitled to my hearty approbation, if it had not been for certain exceptions, which incurred my dissent. It has also been publicly known, that other abuses have lately existed, and the present bill was introduced for the purpose of extending that principle, which parliament have already recognized in the two measures which preceded it. But my lords, under whatever name it may be disguised, I see, with joy, that it is a part of that system of reform which has commenced, and which, for the good of the country and the preservation of the constitution, will not, and ought not to cease. There is another observation made by the noble Secretary, with which I cannot accord; I consider myself bound to look at the provisions of this bill, before I can accede to the propriety of going into the committee. For with whatever pleasure I peruse the title and preamble, I feel considerably disappointed in directing my attention to the provisions. That part of the bill which is intended to prevent the disposal of seats in parliament, for money, meets with so much of my approbation, as to raise in my mind more astonishment at the clause which relates to corrupt influence, exercised through the disposal of offices. No man can doubt but the influence, exercised directly or indirectly, in the one case, is equally corrupt with that exercised in the other. But the bill before your lordships leaves the patronage of the crown unaffected, and his majesty's ministers, while they are anxious to abrogate corrupt influence by money, leave their own influence a greater latitude of being corruptly exercised. When, my lords, I look at this gilded title and emblazoned preamble, with which it is intended to deceive us, and consider how much they are at variance with the provisions which are presented as the means of accomplishing the object, it reminds me of some of those romances or novels of the present day, which are printed on fine paper, bound in beautiful red morocco, and elegantly gilt, yet within contain principles of a most pernicious nature, subversive of good morals and destructive to virtue. This, my lords, I consider a very appropriate description of the bill upon your lordship's table. It pretends to remedy abuse in one instance, and proceeds to sanction it in another. His majesty's ministers have altered the measure completely from what it was originally, and under colour of so plausible a title, now empt to deceive the nation. But, I st, the time is not far distant, when we all witness a temperate reform of every use, and a gradual completion of what s fortunately commenced. But unfor- ately for the government and the untry, the present bill, by the introduc- n of the word "express" has trans- red the power of corruption to his ma- ty's ministers, to be exercised by them thout controul. On this account, the l must incur my opposition. They y suppose they have deceived the peo- , but they will eventually find they ve deceived themselves. They may oice they have outwitted the hon. gent. o introduced the measure, and have oped up his heels; but let them recol- t they will not outwit the nation, nor o up the heels of the country.

Viscount *Sidmouth;*—My lords, every e must bear testimony to the honest tives and sincerity with which the no- lord, who has just sat down, has in- riably declared his sentiments, as an in- pendent peer of parliament. As much I am disposed in general to concur with opinions of my noble friend, there nnot be the same unanimity on the pre- t occasion. It has been stated by the ble Secretary, that, for the first time, it s been acknowledged and avowed in rliament, that abuses, such as those ich the bill professes to remedy, do ac- lly exist. It has also, my lords, been ted, that considerable doubt remains on this subject; and the noble Secre- y referred to other authorities than his rn, though his own must be allowed to of considerable weight, to prove that e selling and purchasing seats in parlia- ent fall under the cognizance of the mmon law; and, if so, I do think we e now called upon, in the most solemn anner, to declare what the law is as it ects the present question. By rejecting e bill before you, my lords, we should directly sanction this corrupt practice, d assent to its legality. Still, as the mmon law now stands, I would appeal my noble and learned friend on the oolsack, whether, as the guardian of e property of others, he himself, or e Master of the Rolls, or any of the asters in Chancery, would consider any fluence attached to property belonging a minor, or other person under the noble d learned lord's care, as a species of in- rest, legally accountable for in the hands those who exercised it, and, as such, requiring that it should be disposed of to the best advantage? Why, my lords, in that case the noble and learned lord would, in his high official situation, be bound to consider, not whether a seat in parliament were disposed of to an able and virtuous character, but whether it were disposed of to the greatest possible pecuniary advantage? My lords, the common law has not sanctioned any such corrupt practices; on the contrary, it has in all its principles, declared the same to be illegal. Still, there is no provision adequate to the prevention of so great an abuse, and when that abuse is admitted and avowed to exist it is necessary to remedy it by some legislative interference. Not only, my lords, do I consider the abuses to which this practice has led, but I am bound to reflect upon those to which it may be applied. It has sometimes probably happened, that some of the most enlightened, able, and virtuous men, have sought this mode, in preference to all others of obtaining a seat in parliament. They have sought with anxiety a place in the great and honourable assembly of the legislature, and having acquired it by these means, have gloried in the patriotic and disinterested exertions of their talents, without fear of being controuled, while they were conscientiously serving the cause of their country. But although such may have been some of the consequences of this system of influence, yet we are bound to consider it contrary to the principles of the English constitution; and as legislators, our duty directs us to inquire to what improper and base purposes such corrupt influence is capable of being applied. If we consider the laws which have been thought expedient to prevent corruption in the electors, we shall see that a man is punishable for giving five guineas for the purpose of influencing a vote, and that the disposal of a seat in parliament, for five thousand pounds, is left without any legislative measure for its prevention. What is this, my lords, but a prohibition of corruption by retail, and an encouragement of it by wholesale? I certainly agree with what was stated by the noble earl who spoke last, that, in the provisions of this bill, considerable alteration has been made, and, in the second part of it, which regards corrupt influence, arising from offices, all the effective terms of the former part have been omitted, and by the admission of the word "express," the whole provision has been deprived of its salutary consequences; neither does it in any way correspond with the expectation necessarily arising out of its admirable title and preamble. There are sentiments expressed in the preamble, which furnish good ground for a more noble superstructure. On that account, more than any other, it meets with my approbation; and nothing would induce me to accede to the least alteration in that part of the bill. Those sentiments will pass into a statute, and become a part of the law of the land, from whence they never can be expunged. I am ready to admit, that the bill will do a great deal, but it does not do enough: and I would submit to your lordships' consideration, how much more easy it will be to make the measure more efficient, than it will be to introduce another bill to amend this under the present discussion? One word on the subject of Reform: It is in my opinion, very fit, that the monied interest should partake in the representation, and that all the variety of interests should have their due share in the legislature.

The Earl of *Carysfort* in very strong and forcible terms, expressed his opposition to the bill.

Lord *Boringdon* defended the bill, and contended that if the word "express" had not been introduced, it would have been scarcely possible to make even the most innocent use of the patronage of the crown, and it might even have happened under the bill, as it would then have stood, that persons might have been called upon to prove a negative.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* commented upon several parts of the bill, for the purpose of shewing the futility of its enactments as they now stood, particularly with respect to one of its professed objects, that of preventing the abuse of the patronage of the crown. There was not near the same moral guilt in trafficking seats for money, as in trafficking for them the patronage of the crown, and yet the difference in the enactments with respect to the two objects, was peculiarly marked. In the former case broad and general words were used, but in the latter, by inserting the word "express" it was scarcely possible that they could reach any case of abuse, unless where the parties were insane enough to make an express agreement.

The Earl of *Selkirk* also condemned the bill as now worded, and contended that it was a mere trick and deception on the country.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* though that by enacting the principle of this bil and recording it on the statute book, th best answer would be given to the violen reformers, as it would shew that an abus was no sooner discovered than a remed was applied; and it was remarkable tha those who were loudest in calling for reform, seemed to consider the measure i this point of view, as they opposed it th moment it was introduced. He could hav wished that it had been rendered mo efficient; but he thought it of great importance to enact the principle, and fro that other enactments might follow.

Lord *Mulgrave* contended, that there wa a clear distinction between trafficking sea for money and using the patronage of th crown; it being in the former case entirely gratuitous, whilst in the latter th patronage might be used with innoce and honourable motives, although in i effect it might have an influence in pr curing a return. It was necessary, ther fore, to guard against rendering crimin the innocent use of patronage; and we it not for the insertion of the word "e press," it would scarcely be possible to u that patronage in any way without bei liable to the charge of making an implie agreement with respect to some election

The house then went into a Committe

Earl *Grosvenor* after a few observation moved, 'That the word 'express,' shou be omitted.'

The *Lord Chancellor* opposed the m tion; he said that if the implication w triable at common law, the bill, even as stood, would add to the punishments; it was not, it would create punishment meet the offence. With respect to th question of parliamentary reform, his lor ship expressed himself decidedly again the measure. He stated, that, havin come into parliament in the year 178 and being attached to the politics of great man, now no more, he was not in clined even to go along with that gre character in the support of such a doctrin

The house then divided—

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The bill was ordered to be read a thir time to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 15.

[Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Par-
amentary Reform.] Sir *Francis Burdett*
se and spoke as follows:

Sir; I rise to offer to the attention of the
use a Plan of Reform, not for its imme-
ate adoption, but for its future consider-
on—to state my opinion to the house,
d the public, upon this subject, and to
pose to the house to come to a Reso-
ion (according to a frequent custom at
e close of a session), the object of which
to hold out an assurance to the country,
at the house will, at an early period in
e next session, take into its considera-
n the necessity of a Reform in the State
the Representation.

This course I am urged, amongst other
asons, to adopt, in order to get rid of
e misrepresentation (unintentional I am
lling to believe) which has been so long,
d so actively propagated, with regard to
y views and opinions on this momentous
int: the mischievous tendency of which
srepresentations, as affecting myself per-
nally, would alone have very little in-
ence upon my mind; but it has much,
mbined with the public interest. As
volved in this most essential question, I
erefore feel it a duty to myself and the
blic to relieve this subject from all mis-
presentation, ambiguity, and miscon-
ption: and in now proposing for dis-
ssion, but not for immediate adoption,
e outline of a specific Plan, I am answer-
g those repeated calls which have been
ade upon me in this house, to state to
is house, and to the public, definitely
d precisely, what my views are upon
e subject (perpetually agitated) of Par-
amentary Reform, that henceforward it
ay be fully and clearly understood, how
I do really mean to go, and at what
int I mean to stop.

This is a subject which has long en-
aged my most anxious attention; and
ough I very early stated my opinion
specting it, that opinion was not thought-
ssly formed, or rashly hazarded; but
ter the most diligent inquiry, and minute
vestigation. If I did not then offer it
the public attention without due re-
ection, still less did it originate in those
ews and mischievous motives, to which
has been falsely ascribed—a desire to
cite discontent, and to agitate the pub-
mind by exaggerated statements of
ndefined grievances, beyond the reach
practical constitutional redress. I am
ady to admit, if such were the case, that
y conduct would be as culpable as those who most misrepresent it, would wish it to be considered; and I am willing to confess, that to excite discontent in the public mind by fixing its eye upon necessary and unavoidable evils, beyond the power of remedy, would be as exceptionable and dishonest a proceeding, as to mislead them from their true remedy, and obstinately to withhold that easy redress which the Constitution so clearly points out, and so amply affords.

In this case, I shall cautiously abstain from any exaggeration of public grievance, or any expression calculated to excite in any gentlemen, or set of gentlemen, the slightest irritation, or asperity of feeling; it being my wish, that the question should stand on its own merits, that it should be coolly and candidly considered, and that it should be the subject, not of angry contention, but of fair discussion. At the same time, there are some doctrines and opinions which have been recently promulgated in this house, of so misleading and mischievous a tendency, that I cannot allow myself to pass them over altogether without some animadversion.

The course I have prescribed for myself is to state the Evils arising out of the defective state of the Representation, and then to point out the Remedy, which is simple, and perfectly practicable, not only consistent with the habits and interests of the people, and in unison with the laws and constitution of the country, but is (as I think I can shew) *the Constitution itself*:—Let others deal in whimsical speculations, in undefined mysterious notions of a Constitution, which eludes the grasp, and soars above the conception of ordinary minds, let them amuse themselves with intricate theories and fine-spun metaphysics, whilst I shall hold fast by that plain and substantial Constitution, adapted to the contemplation of common understandings, *to be found in the Statute Book, and recognized by the Common Law of the Land.*—If it can be shown that the principles on which I proceed are erroneous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the ancient, fundamental laws of England, I shall stand corrected, and willingly abandon my proposition; but if, on the contrary, I shall be able to demonstrate, that the present system is the creature of innovation, and a departure from the old, established, *unrepealed* laws of the country, and that a recurrence to the practice of these laws, is an easy and adequate remedy for the evil, though I may not indulge a hope of the concurrence of this house, yet I may hope for the approbation of the public, and, at all events, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that I have performed an essential duty, both to the people and myself, in bringing forward the present inquiry.

Before I proceed to the consideration of the subject more immediately before the house, I think proper to make some remarks upon those very extraordinary doctrines to which I have before alluded.—It has been asserted, that Corruption is not only a part of our Constitution—that it was not only necessary and to be tolerated, but (as it should seem) that the Constitution was to be tolerated for the sake of the Corruption. We have heard it seriously alledged, that without the auxiliary of Corruption in this house the Constitution would be insecure, that the Government could not be carried on. It has been described as "growing with our growth, and "strengthening with our strength:" it had been more consolatory to have been informed, that it decayed with our decay and diminished with our decrease. One can hardly conceive a more unhappy quotation for the purposes of those who have made the allusion. What is it the poet speaks of, when he says it

> "Grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength?"

It is a state of disease necessarily terminating in final dissolution.

> "The young *disease*, which must subdue at length
> "Grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength."

It applies strongly, indeed, in favour of those who call for some Remedy to arrest the progress of destruction, for some stimulus to re-invigorate the Constitution and save it from decay, by extirpating the vile and loathsome canker of Corruption, which preying upon the vitals, palsies the energies, and consumes the substance, of the country.—The various and contradictory arguments by which this Corruption has been attempted to be defended challenge particular observation: at one time it has been alledged to be so trifling as to be unworthy of our notice, it is represented *then* as "mere cheese-parings and candle-"ends." It may, however, be worth remarking (by the bye) an old English proverb to be found in Ray's Collection, which says "all the King's cheese goes in parings," and if a cheese is cut straight through the middle it is all parings; whilst at other time these cheese-parings assume a shape so formidable as to render any attempt to diminish them fruitless and unavailing; so that, inconsistent in argument, consistent in principle, the defenders of Corruption, as it suits their purpose, either represent it as a pigmy beneath notice; or a giant not to be contended with: from which alternate modes of defence we are forced to infer, that in the minds of some gentlemen, Corruption, be it small or be it great, is not only not to be checked or controuled, but to be fostered and encouraged! We are to hug our disease, and doat on dissolution: But so very opposite is my ideas upon this subject, that I say, be Corruption small or great, let it assume what form or shape it may, it is an intolerable evil in the first stage of it I would have said, "*Principiis obsta:*" at our high tide of it I will exclaim, "*Ne plus ultra,*" that delay is death. The question now is, How the career of this Destroyer is to be arrested? In my opinion there is no way of doing this with effect, but *a Reform of this House.*

Another doctrine equally mischievous as the former, which it was triumphantly said no human creature could contradict; was that of all men acting from *Mixed Motives.* This may be a convenient doctrine for public men, but, I trust, will appear as unfounded and indefensible as the arguments just alluded to in support of Corruption, either on account of its supposed insignificance or real magnitude: its object and bearing is, in fact, to cut up all morality by the very roots; there could be no rational ground for confidence or esteem were such a doctrine once admitted; if all men are supposed to act from *Mixed Motives,* how can any man's character be known? How ascertain the proportion (upon which all depends) of good and bad in the mixture? How discover from what motive any action springs, or whether it be attributed to it praise or censure?—From the confidence and boldness with which this extraordinary doctrine has been advanced, it may seem hazardous to risk a refutation of it; I shall nevertheless attempt to shew that the reverse is the fact; and that, so far from men acting generally from mixed motives, they never act so at all; and however metaphysical may be the notions of some gentlemen, I defy them, with all their refinement and subtlety, to produce a mixture of motives in their own minds. Motives are as impossible to mix as parallel lines to meet. Many motives, it is true, may concur to impel a man to one act, as many roads ay lead to one town ; many rivers direct eir courses to one sea, but they are not that account mixed. Avarice, ambi- on, love of country, may conduce to one d ; though one of these passions may pre- minate, the motives remain unmixed ; t when put in opposition one to the her, the impossibility of mixing them comes apparent, the strongest motive ercomes the rest.—The position is ite unphilosophical, and the idea of xed motives altogether absurd. Surely, one will call in question the doctrine of ruling passion, strong even in death, to nich we see and daily hear of men offer- g themselves up willing victims. As r senses, though they may be affected all gether, are still distinct ; in like manner r minds, though they may be affected one and the same time by more motives an one, yet do they remain unmixed. t there may be a great convenience in opting this doctrine of Mixed Motives, milar to that experienced some time since keeping *mixed accounts* ; such *mixture* rving to create confusion and avert de- ction. I defy any man, however, to ew that such a doctrine is reconcile- le either with morality or logic.

There is one other doctrine, which nnot be passed over without animadver- on, equally dangerous, in my mind, with e foregoing ones. It has been held, that hilst *the forms* of the Constitution remain- there was something so excellent in e *mere forms*, that not only was the possession of them of the highest value, but hope was thereby justified of an ame- oration of the state of the country. My inion is directly the reverse of this, in hich I am supported by the authority the greatest historians and writers upon litical subjects; who have uniformly laid down, that of all tyrannies a legislative ranny exercised *under the forms* of a free overnment, is the most tremendous and tal ; because without hope of remedy.

Tacitus, whose penetration and ability ill not be disputed, depicting the melan- oly condition of the Roman Empire, der that relentless tyrant Tiberius, de- ribes it as most deplorable, not only on count of flagitious acts proceeding from pocrisy and despotism united, but still ore so on account of its hopeless condi- on, whilst under the mask of freedom, ncontroulable power was exercised, be- use that cruel tyranny was carried on *der the forms of the ancient constitution.* here was still *a Senate debating*, Consuls appointed, and tribunes of the people, *and all the Forms* of the ancient republic studiously preserved ; and by how much the more those forms served as a cloke to hide the odious features of despotic power, by so much the more was it terrible, irresistible and severe : "*Quantoque majore,*" says Tacitus, "*libertatis imaginæ tegebantur, tanto* "*irruptura ad infentius servitium;*" therefore, I am not all disposed to be satisfied with *the forms*, when *the spirit and essence* of the Constitution have fled.—We have been reminded of the old fable of the Stag and the Horse, introduced with the view, as it should seem, of warning the people against throwing themselves into the arms of one power, in order to avoid falling into those of another. The application of this fable could not be mistaken ; it meant, that the People should not seek to ally themselves with the Crown, in order to rid themselves of the grievance of a corrupt House of Commons. To that warning I cannot lend an ear, having no dread of the Prerogative of the Crown ; which I know forms part of the law of the land, and is material and necessary to maintain the Constitution. *My only apprehension is, from the usurpation of the legitimate Prerogative, by the Borough Monger Faction, and the consequent abuse of it by the agents of that Faction ; untruly stiling themselves Ministers of the King, Servants of the Crown, through the medium of this House falsely denominating itself the Representative of the People.*—My desire, therefore, is to erect a barrier against such usurpation and abuse, by a restoration of the fair balance of the Constitution, by giving to each branch its lawful right : thus providing at once for the defence of the Prerogative of the Crown and the protection of the undoubted unalienable Rights of the People : and I think there is no difficulty in showing that they go well together, that one is in trust for the protection of the other, and that in consequence of their having been separated, contrary to the principles and in violation of the ancient usage of our Constitution, those abuses of which the people now complain first crept in, and being once admitted have made such rapid and tremendous strides towards our destruction; in the midst of which, *all the specious forms* of our Constitution have been studiously observed.—Thus, as in Rome, *the observance of forms*, instead of being valuable, as securing any benefit, or justifying any hope, serves only to aggravate the mischief, by adding hypocrisy to despotism, and to embitter the sufferings by deluding and mocking the people.—I must not be misunderstood—no person is more anxious than myself, for the retention and maintenance of those forms; my wish is, to have *the substance also,* that the people may not be any longer duped by appearances which serve only *to perpetuate the cheat.*

A charge has been made by the abettors of Corruption against those who wish for Reform, as *innovators* and subverters of the Constitution of the country, whereas, the sole object of us Reformers is, *to rescue the country from the effects of the innovation that has been introduced.* Those who speak so much of innovation seem to forget what the great Lord Bacon has said, that "of "all innovators time is the greatest." Will you, then, while all things are changing around you, determine to stand still? Will you still cling to a Rotten-borough System, the creature of innovation, nursed by usurpation, and matured by corruption? for such shall I shew it to be. Is it reasonable that sovereignty should be attached to particular spots and places, and to convert into *Private Property,* that which the Constitution has declared to be a *Public Trust*--to permit an usurped local sovereignty, independent of the King, independent of the People, and destructive to both.—The Prerogative of the Crown, had it been maintained free from encroachments, would never have suffered this anomaly, this ill-shaped monster, this Rotten-borough System, at once formidable and contemptible, to have undermined the Constitution. During the whole course of our history, from the time of William the Conqueror to that of William the Third, down to which the legitimate prerogative of the crown was exercised by the King, no such absurdity was conceived as a Rotten-borough Parliament.—That part of the Prerogative to issue Writs to such places as were judged from time to time, according to their importance, most fit to send proper and discreet persons to the Common Council of the nation, was a most wise and salutary provision in the code of the Constitution, and well calculated to prevent the occurrence of those evils of which, so loudly and with so great reason, we at this day complain.—Can we suppose that any King in the possession of his just Prerogative, would have thought of addressing a Writ, when he was exercising that great function of his prerogative, the assembling the Great Council of the nation, to Rotten-boroughs? or that it would have been endured if he had? The King's writs run, "*ad Proceres et Dominos et Communes Reg* "*ni,*" under which description no Rotten borough could be included. Can it b imagined that St. Mawes, the posts of Ga ton, or the stones of Midhurst, would hav been required to send wise and discre burgesses to assist with their advice in th Great Council of the Nation? James th First, on his accession to the throne, upo summoning the parliament, wisely exer cised this prerogative by issuing a Procla mation, forbidding the sending writs t decayed boroughs*; nor was it till the pre rogatives of the Crown were encroache upon at the era of the Revolution, whe the seeds of this Rotten-borough Syste which have since grown so luxuriantly ar have produced such poisonous effects, th baneful influence of which we now so sen sibly feel, were with woeful prodigalit first scattered over the land, that th Country was deprived of that correctiv wisely lodged in the hands of the Crow by the Constitution, for its preservatio against the unavoidable innovations time, whilst the people, artfully led to a cribe all the evils of the two former reig to Prerogative alone, willingly acquiesce in its retrenchment; in which they ma a fatal mistake, a mistake originating the idea that they extended their own L berties in proportion as they curtailed th Prerogative of the Crown; an ingredie in the Constitution as essential to its exis ence, as is an uncorrupt, full and fair R presentation of the People in this House

Had the constitutional power of th Crown remained undiminished, this Hou would not now be in its present contam nated state, the just and great prerogati of the Crown would have been exercise beneficially, and given the King his pr per weight in the administration of nation affairs, whilst the People would have shield—and a shield and not a sword is the people expect, in an uncorrupted an fairly elected House of Commons.—Th I take to be the Constitution of Englan but out of this usurpation upon the crow

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* "Next, that all the Sheriffs be charg "that they do not direct any Precept "electing and returning of any Burgess "to or for any ancient Borough with "their Counties, being so utterly ruin "and decayed, that there are not sufficie "resyantes to make such choice, and "whom lawful election may be made See Cobbett's Parliamentary History, vo i. p. 969.

nspiring with the innovations of time, a
rd power has arisen, that of the *Borough-*
ngers—the creature of innovation, the
rm of corruption, always unknown to
r laws, now become greater than the
ws, equally hostile to King and People,
srepresenting one to the other, filling the
nd of one with jealousy, the ears of the
er with alarm, which, by perpetuating
cord, reigns sole arbiter of the strife,
d establishes its ignominious dominion
er both.—My first object, therefore, is,
reunite the King and the People by the con-
tutional bond of Allegiance on the one-hand,
d Protection on the other.

" The wisdom of our laws," says Lord
ke, " is most apparent in this, that any
departure from their established princi-
ples, although at the time wearing the
specious appearance of advantage, never
fails to bring along with it, such a train
of unforeseen inconveniences, as to de-
monstrate their excellence and the ne-
cessity of again having recurrence to
them." And how strikingly that ob-
rvation is exemplified in the consequences
hich have followed the departure from
e principles of the Constitution, which
as led to the establishment of this griev-
s Borough-monger System: the incon-
tency of which with the principles of
r laws and institutions, so glaring in the
rms of the Writs of Elections, as in every
her point of view, no one can dispute.
e simple principle upon which, as upon
pivot, the whole of this subject of Repre-
ntation turns, is this; that the free sub-
cts of this kingdom have a Right of
roperty in their own goods; in other
ords, that the people of England cannot
e legally and constitutionally taxed with-
t their own consent.—I suppose this will
t be denied; and yet it is equally in-
sputable, that this principle is absolutely
nihilated by the present frame of the
epresentation of this House, to which a
etition on your table offers to prove, that
e hundred and fifty-seven individuals
ve the power of returning a majority;
that the whole property of the free sub-
cts of this kingdom is, in violation of this
st and plain principle, at the disposal of
57 Borough-mongers, or in other words,
57 Borough-mongers have usurped, and
ld as private property, the sovereignty
England; and can we be satisfied with
is miserable, pitiful substitution for the
ing and Constitution?—Can the People
emain contented with the legislation of
ch a power?—Impossible. Believe me, Sir, the discontent that exists in this country, arises principally from the certain knowledge the People now have of the corrupt state of this House, and their exclusion from that share in the Constitution to which they are by law intitled, that they are not fairly, nor indeed at all represented,—in fact, that the interests of this House are not identified with, but opposite to theirs—remove this defect, repair this great injury, and the advantages will be immediate and important; the People will then believe, that all that is practicable for their benefit will be done, and from that conviction they will naturally be reconciled to those evils, which they would see a disposition to alleviate, and a mutual interest to redress.

Every part of the Empire will feel the benefit of the Reform; but no where will the great advantages of the measure be likely to prove more salutary than in that most interesting part of the empire—IRELAND. From the deep interest I take in the concerns of that country, from my idea of its mighty importance, have I reserved the mention of it till last; though the consideration of the manner in which I could devote my best service to it has never been out of my mind, never till now did it mature any practicable plan, calculated to give universal satisfaction to that generous, that insulted people, with perfect security to the state. If Reform is necessary here, it applies much more forcibly there; indeed, the peculiar situation of that country makes it a measure of imperious necessity.—On the subject of Ireland I can hardly speak, from the fear of trespassing on the rule I had laid down for my conduct upon this occasion. I dare not venture to trust myself with the grievances of Ireland. It is a subject I cannot discuss without a more considerable degree of warmth, than is consistent with that dispassionate line of conduct I am upon this occasion particularly anxious to maintain. My desire is to have Ireland united with this country upon terms, however, very different from those which at present exist. I should wish to see there a perfect equality of advantage, and no exclusions. Of the present Union, so called, I shall speak but little at this time: suffice it to say, that it was a measure contrary to the wishes, repugnant to the interest, revolting to the feelings of that nation; and effected by means the most flagitious, if the most unblushing corruption on the part of the agents, and the breach of every solemn assurance to the great body of that people, not only implied but expressed by the government of that country, deserve the appellation. Instead of that parchment Union, I shall propose a real Union of heart and affection, founded on the broad basis of the Constitution, of equal rights, and reciprocal interests.—Away with that crooked policy, that narrow-minded bigotry of legislation, that intolerable intolerance, which keeps alive perpetual heart-burnings, hatred and revenge. I wish not to dwell upon this system; it is high time to put an end to it.—Is it to be any longer endured, that four millions of Irishmen should be aliens and outlaws in their native land? Is it safe to have four millions of the people thrust out of the pale of the Constitution? Is it consistent with reason, with common sense, putting justice out of the question, any longer to tolerate such a system? By the adoption of Reform, the government will have the fairest opportunity of removing the principal grounds of dissatisfaction in Ireland; now will be the time to do every thing without yielding any thing, to legislate upon enlarged principles, knowing nothing of particular parties, sects, or factions: keeping alive no distinctions of Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian, Tory, Whig, or Jacobin; alarming no prejudice, insulting no party, they may now include the whole within one bond of union of the Constitution, embracing and ensuring the safety and tranquillity of the empire at large.—We shall then, and not till then, have an United Kingdom—one King—one People.—We shall by this recurrence to the Constitution, not only seat the Chief Magistrate upon his throne, and fix the Crown upon his head, but we shall place within his hand the sceptre and legitimate power of the King, in despite of those 157 Borough-mongers, who have TRAITEROUSLY usurped all but the pageantry and outward shew and forms of Royalty.

What is the condition of the King under this Faction? Instead of taking advantage of the elevation of his situation, where the Constitution had placed him, as the eye of the nation, for the purpose of taking extensive views for the advantage of the national interests, beyond the contracted horizon of ordinary men, his whole time is employed, his whole skill directed, not towards the duties of his high office, but in trying to keep his balance, in endeavouring to conciliate the support of such and such a Borough-monger, in order to obtain his permission to allow the Government to go on.—In truth, the Boroug Faction have such power, that he is mor like a Rope Dancer, than a King; as the make it necessary for him to be perpetually upon the alert to balance himsel on his slippery elevation, whilst the utmost he can do is to keep his place. Suc is the state to which he is reduced unde the influence of this ignominious system instead of having his throne fixed on th rock of the Constitution, and bound to th hearts of a whole people. This is not th situation in which the Laws and Constitution have placed the King, nor that whic his dignity requires, and the best interest of the people demand.

The System, of which I have now give but a short sketch, which was introduce at the Revolution, and grew out of th encroachments on the Prerogative of th King, aided by the innovations of time, ha already cost this nation nearly Eigh Hundred Millions of Debt; for though has been wittily said, that one half of thi enormous Debt has been incurred in resisting the perfidy and restless ambitio of the house of Bourbon, the other ha in striving to replace it on the throne o France, this is not true: the fact is, th whole has been incurred in the prosecution of the scheme of corrupting thi House.

This question is so completely decide by Magna Charta, "which," as Lor Coke says, "is such a fellow that he wi "bear no equal," so strongly fortified b all our constitutional laws, that no inferior authority can be required; but, were I s disposed, I could cite a host of legal an constitutional Writers; and all those members of this house, who have from time t time expressed their sentiments in suppor of this measure, whose arguments wer never confuted, and whose talents, thoug successful on all other occasions, were unavailing when exerted in support of Reform. This problem, however, is easil solved, when we consider that the appea is made to the Borough-mongers themselves, whose interest is opposite to th measure. Their interest is different from that of the people.

Having taken the Laws and the Constitution for my guide, in preparing the measure I shall have to propose, I at the same time examined attentively all those Plan for carrying the same principle into execution, which have at different times bee proposed; and having avoided all thos icacies which I considered as so many ediments in the way, have reduced it hat plain and simple form, the express ge of the Constitution itself.—My Plan sists in a very few, and very simple, ulations; and as the Disease we now our under has been caused by the dis- on of Property and Political Right, ch reason, and the Constitution, say uld never be separated, the Remedy I l propose will consist in re-uniting them in.

For this purpose I shall propose:—

hat Freeholders, Householders, and others, subject to direct Taxation in support of the Poor, the Church, and the State, be required to elect Members to serve in Parliament.

That each County be subdivided according to its taxed male Population, and each subdivision required to elect one Representative.

That the Votes be taken in each Parish by the Parish Officers; and all the Elections finished in one and the same day.

That the Parish Officers make the Returns to the Sheriff's Court to be held for that purpose at stated periods.

And, That Parliaments be brought back to a Constitutional Duration.

The simplicity of this Plan appears m its being the true Constitution of gland, which has already prepared all means ready to our hands of carrying nto immediate effect; and I make no itation in delivering it as my well- ested opinion, that under the operation this Reform, it would be attended with ch less difficulty to return a whole Par- ment, than to settle a dispute at a vestry ut a parish pauper. By the adoption this Plan of Reform, those disgrace- practices, which now attend even unty Elections, would be put a stop to. bribery, perjury, drunkenness, nor ; no "Wealthy Brewer," as was hu- urously described, who, disappointed of ob, takes, in consequence, "the inde- endent line, and bawls out against orruption:" no opportunity would re- in for such mock Patriotism:—no ding Attornies galloping about the ntry, lying, cheating, and stirring up worst passions amongst the worst peo- :—no ill blood engendered between ends and relations—setting families at iance, and making each county a per- ual depository of election feuds and quarrels:—No Demagogueing.—If I *am* a Demagogue, I am as complete a *felo de se* as can well be imagined—this puts an end to the occupation:—There would be an end to all odious and fanciful distinctions of persons and property—all would be simple and uniform; their weight and influence proportioned to their *intrinsic* value—no qualifications nor disqualifications—no invidious exclusions by reason of any office, from the highest to the lowest, either in the Elector or the Elected—no variable, fantastical, litigious rights of voting—no possibility of false votes—no treating—no carrying out voters—no charges of any kind—no expense, legal or illegal—no contested elections.—The people would have a choice without a contest, instead of a contest without a choice;—no sham remedies worse than the disease pretended to be cured—No Grenville Act; here I speak feelingly; I have undergone this *remedy*.—It is the remedy of a toad under a harrow.—"*Haud ignara malis,* "*miseris succurere disco.*" That Act, which has been so highly extolled, was itself called a *reform*;—as all the acts aggravating the mischief, which have been substituted for the Constitution, are called in this House.

Under the operation of that Act, I have suffered a greater pecuniary penalty, than any which the law would have inflicted for any crime I could have committed; this *remedy* is a luxury, a man must be very rich, indeed, to indulge himself in. I could not afford it a second time, and preferred abandoning my seat after having been returned, to undergoing another operation of the Grenville Act. One great object I have in view is to relieve other Gentlemen from the like benefits, by preventing the necessity of having recourse to *such remedies* in future—by getting rid of all disputes, and contested elections: this good consequence will result from the adoption of this Plan, besides preventing endless litigation, ruinous expense, perjury, ill blood, and periodical uproar and confusion, this house will be saved one-third of its time in Election Committees; and the Statute Book will be relieved from the shameful burden of one hundred and thirteen confused and intricate laws, all pitiful substitutes for the Constitution.

There may be some Gentlemen who think we should not get a better assembly within this house by this or any other Plan of Reform.—Even supposing, but by no means admitting, such should unaccountably be the case, the positive evils we should get rid of are sufficient recommendations to its adoption. It must also give rise to other important results—those who complain of popular clamour—of persons allying themselves with the people against the sentiments and decisions of this House, would cease to have any room for complaint. In the event of such a Reform no such clamour could exist, no such alliance could be formed; for then the sense of the people would be truly and fairly collected within these walls.

The benefits that would immediately follow the adoption of this Reform are incalculable. Though I am not one of those who would apply a sponge to the Debt of the Nation, yet am I firmly persuaded, that a Reformed House of Commons would introduce such a system of economy, both in the collection and expenditure of the Public Revenue, as would give instant ease to the subject, and finally, and that at no very distant period, by a due application of national resources to national objects, *and to them alone*, free the people from that enormous load of debt and consequent taxation, under which the nation is weighed down.

Three descriptions of persons, I will admit, would have great cause to complain of this Reform: The Borough-mongers—the Lawyers—and the King's Printer. The whole of the question then is, Which is to be preferred, The interest of the whole Empire, or the interest of the Borough-mongers—the Lawyers—and the King's Printer?

At all events, I hope this consequence will follow, that after this night it will not be asserted nor insinuated, that I have any concealed purpose, that I shrink from speaking my sentiments frankly, that I decline to act an open part, or that I have any designs beyond those I avow: notwithstanding what I have urged, I beg leave to repeat, that I am open to conviction; that I am still ready to listen to all fair reasoning on the subject; that I have nothing to bias my mind; nor any other view than the public good. It will, at the same time, be naturally understood, that having devoted so much of my time and reflection to this subject of vital importance, my opinions cannot easily be shaken, nor affected by slight and common-place arguments.

I have stated fully and dispassionately, and I hope clearly and satisfactorily, to this house and to the public, the Remedy
for all our Grievances, which I have been s
often called upon to produce. I have obeye
that call: in that at least I hope I have give
satisfaction.—The Remedy I have pro
posed is simple, constitutional, practicabl
and safe, calculated to give satisfaction t
the People, to preserve the Rights of th
Crown, and to restore the balance of th
Constitution. These have been the object
of my pursuit—to these have I always di
rected my attention—*higher I do not as*
pire, lower I cannot descend. I conjur
this house to consider the necessity
doing something to satisfy the rational ex
pectations of the public, that we shoul
not go back to our respective parts of th
country in our present acknowledge
contaminated condition, without holdin
out some reasonable hope to the countr
for its peace and tranquillity, that a R
form adequate to the removal of the eno
mous and multiplied Abuses and Corru
tion now known to exist, and which I co
tend can only be effected by a House
Commons fairly chosen by the peopl
will early in the next session be ente
tained with good faith, and taken into o
most serious consideration.—I wou
have the timid bear in mind, who stand
much in dread of Innovation, that the sim
ple Remedy now proposed is but a recu
rence to those Laws and that Constitutio
the departure from which has been th
sole cause of that accumulation of evi
which we now endure—that in man
cases timidity is no less fatal than ras
ness—and "That the omission to
"what is necessary, seals a commission
"a blank of danger."—I shall now co
clude with moving, "That this house wi
"early in the next session of parliamen
"take into consideration the necessity
"a Reform in the Representation."

Mr. Madocks seconded the motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thoug
it incumbent upon him to trouble t
house with a few observations, after wh
had fallen from the hon. baronet; and th
would be but a few. The object of t
hon. baronet appeared to be, that t
house should give a pledge that it woul
early in the next session, go into a Co
mittee on the State of the Representatio
He saw no reason whatever for enteri
upon the question of reform at all, a
therefore could not agree to vote for a
such pledge. In many of the propos
tions stated by the hon. baronet, he w
unable to follow him. Among oth
things, he assumed it as a fact, that t

eople were in general desirous of a rerm. This he absolutely denied; and firmed, that on the contrary, they were ore united against reform than almost pon any other question—because they ought reform unnecessary. He aditted that the hon. baronet was acustomed to associate with a certain deription of persons who were desirous of form, and who would willingly pass ch resolutions on the subject as he roposed to them. But it did not at all folw from that circumstance, that the enerality of the people were favourable reform. He really was at a loss exctly to know what the hon. baronet proosed himself. The hon. baronet said, at all he wanted was to be found upon e statute law of the land. What could find there that could destroy the orinary practice of the constitution? he statutes indeed were explicit on the bject of the representation; but someing more than this was to be found in e practice of the constitution with reard to that house. What did the hon. aronet propose to do with respect to the rivileges of that house? The right of riginating taxation belonged to that house present, by the practice of the constition, although not confirmed by an exress statute. Was the hon. baronet conent to get rid of this too among other hings? The lords, certainly, had never iven any express assent to this privilege, nd would the hon. baronet rank it mongst those abuses which had grown p in opposition to the prerogative? But his was not all. The hon. baronet aintained, that 113 statutes would be ot rid of; that if his plan should be dopted, it would overthrow bribery, coruption, tumult, &c. Now how was this be effected? Would no contest take lace for the representation of the hon. aronet's districts? If contests should ake place, then there must be canvassing; nd all those temptations to bribery, orruption, and perjury would prevail in pite of the hon. baronet's regulations, to e full as much as they prevailed in the ctual state of things. Yet these were he hopes which he held out to those who were disposed to listen to his propoitions; but how these hopes were to be ealized from his plan, he was at a loss to onceive. But the hon. baronet would urther annihilate the regulation with repect to the 40 shilling freeholds, and all hat the law had done on the subject to this day; and would divide the country into districts, in which all should have a vote who paid direct taxes to the state, or the church, or the poor. [Sir F. Burdett—"No; those who pay to them all."] Well, taking it so, there might still be doubts as to what should be considered as direct taxes. The property tax, the taxes for the poor, and the assessed taxes, were direct; but to settle this point completely, there must at least be one pretty large statute instead of the 113 of which we were to get rid. Was this the way in which the hon. baronet proposed to do away the necessity of employing so many lawyers? (Hear, hear!) The hon. baronet talked of the advantage of getting rid of the Grenville act, and of all the statutes against bribery, corruption, &c. But why should perjury be more difficult under his plan than it was at present? In his districts, a man who had already voted, might come under another court and swear that he had not voted before, just as easily as the thing could now be done in a county. (Hear, hear!) He saw no reason whatever to suppose that any good could arise from the plan in this respect. The truth was, that such a plan could never produce the expected effects, unless the hon. baronet could alter not only the constitution but the frame of the human mind—unless he could at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions. This much he thought it necessary to say; and he did not think that there was any occasion for his going further. As to the hon. baronet's proposition, that the house had admitted that some reform was necessary, he never understood that any such admission had been made. He did not believe that the house would allow that it had ever made any such admission; and the manner in which the hon. baronet's proposition had been received, convinced him that he was correct in his opinion. It would be really raising the plan of the hon. baronet into an importance which it did not deserve, to dwell upon it at any great length. The house, he observed, was ready to come to a decision; and all that he could say, in addition to the remarks he had already made, would only serve to create embarrassment and delay, in a matter which was already sufficiently clear.

Mr. *Madocks* could not listen without feelings of indignation at the levity with which the right hon. gent. chose to treat the motion of his hon. friend. The real question now before the house, was one of grave importance; no less, than whether the country was to be amused with the pretence of a representation, or possess what was its undoubted right, the reality of one. After all that had lately passed in that house on this subject, after the novel and alarming situation in which the house had stood since the 12th of May last, after the just, the able, and the solemn comment from the Chair, on the unprecedented proceedings of that day, was it to be endured, that the motion of his hon. friend was to be treated as a matter of light and trivial importance, to be evaded by the trick of debate, or stifled without discussion by the mandate of ministerial authority. The right hon. gent. had through the course of his speech assumed, that the plan which the hon. baronet stated to be the one he should be inclined to prefer, was that, which would be ultimately insisted upon, and adopted in every particular. No such pledge was demanded or expected of the house. All that was required, all that the house was called upon to do, was to engage to entertain the subject seriously and sincerely in the ensuing session: called upon to do so, not only by the general merits of the question, resting as it did upon argument, reason, and authority, but called upon also in the most imperious manner by recent events, disclosures, and declarations in that house, which appalled all those, who unfeignedly valued the existence of the constitution, the prosperity of the country, and the character of parliament. This was what was required of the house, and if the voice of the people, so generally expressed of late throughout the kingdom, was attended to, this was what the people did expect, and had a right to demand. Mr. Madocks proceeded to state that his hon. friend, the worthy baronet, had been so often wilfully misrepresented, that nothing could be more decorous to this house, and serviceable to the interests of truth, than to explain in this stage of the consideration, the first principles on which he should be induced to wish a Reform in parliament to be framed and adopted. And in the consideration of this plan, where were the leading points, which were jointly subject to the levity, and attempt at sarcastic ridicule, in which the right hon. gent. was so disposed to indulge. Had he condescended to argue those points, he would indeed have found it the tough and difficult matter which no doubt his acuteness had apprised him of, and his shrewdness recommended him to avoid. Confining his open hostility to a few of the minor and subordinate points, which related chiefly to matters of regulation, he indulged in an excellent sham fight, and attempted to retreat amidst the confusion he created, from the great objects, with which he feared to grapple. Let the right hon. gent. answer these few plain questions. What was the basis of the plans proposed by lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Grey, and all the former authorities on this subject? Did not they propose to extinguish the rotten Boroughs and to reinforce the counties and the landed representation? Did they not propose to extend the franchise to all great towns, who from a change of circumstances had risen into commercial opulence, and to admit copyholders and certain leaseholders to a share in the representation? and did they not in imparting the franchise to new voters, resort to that truly constitutional, wholesome, and saf principle, so ably maintained by his hon friend, namely, to vest the right of votin in the resident householder? The simplicity and safety of this qualification solves all the difficulties which can offer themselves to fair and unprejudiced minds and while it admits to their due share in legislation, those classes, which bear the principal burthens of the state, it gives every requisite efficiency to the great dictum of the constitution, that " No man shall be taxed without his own consent." Mr. Madocks said, he would take the liberty of here reading an admirable passage from a work on this subject, particularly applicable to the point in question

" The species of property which constitutes this qualification has the advantage of being open, ostensible, and incapable of being disputed. It indicates a real residence, and implies a stationary interest in the place for which the vote is given and the representative chosen. But beside the possession of a competent property, o which the occupation of a house paying taxes is a sufficient presumption, a householder has other qualities which ought t recommend him to a favourable distinction and particularly to the trust in question He is necessarily the master, and probabl the father of a family. In the first character he has a personal credit and respect t maintain: in the second he has given hostages to society. He is the natural guardian and virtual representative, not onl of his family and servants, but of all thos who depend upon him for support, protection, or employment. Such a station deserves confidence, and should be made respectable, that all men may be prompted and encouraged to rise to it. The relations and duties that belong to it are antecedent to positive institutions, and constitute at once the basis and security of civil society!"

Upon this important point of the plan, as indeed upon most other topics of any weight, the right honourable gentleman had cautiously avoided any attempt at an answer. With respect to property, which a right hon. gent. below, and many others on former occasions, had so strongly insisted on as the true basis of representation, undoubtedly he (Mr. Madocks) admitted, or rather was as anxious as any man to assert, that property was the only true and legitimate basis of representation, and it was because that property was not the basis of representation at present, that he wished the present system to be altered. What right had Old Sarum, Midhurst, Gatton, &c. to send representatives to parliament upon that principle? And how monstrous that the few private fortunes that possessed them, can send three times as many votes to tax the people, as all the landed property of Yorkshire (Hear! hear!). He wished distinctly to state, that nothing in his opinion was so absurd, as the notion of universal suffrage; an idea he believed universally exploded, unless indeed he found it in full practice at Old Sarum, and some other places, where the right of voting resided in an old wall, or 25 stones in a field.—That indeed appeared to him to be universal suffrage with a vengeance! (Hear! hear!) What can be so ridiculous, in what a curious predicament do those persons stand, who would deny a copyholder or a leaseholder of 1,000*l.* a year, a vote for a representative in parliament, when they allow a similar privilege to a stock or a stone (Hear! hear!). The bill which had lately passed in that house (Mr. Curwen's) had only made matters worse, by throwing a monopoly of the market for seats into the hands of the Treasury. These partial remedies could be of no use where the system was fundamentally wrong. The resolution of 1779 had often been appealed to in vain; and where then was the use of new enactments, the intended effect of which the system necessarily prevented? There was another point to which he was desirous of calling the attention of the house, as he had been mispresented respecting it, or, at least, as inferences had been drawn from it which were not warranted by the facts. He alluded to the representation which he had made respecting the bargain with the Treasury for the borough of Cashel. That part of the charge which stated, that lord Castlereagh *suggested to* Mr. Dick the propriety of resigning his seat if he could not vote in favour of the duke of York, had been denied. But it ought to be observed, that the denial was confined to these words alone, that lord Castlereagh did not *suggest to* Mr. Dick. The fair inference then is, that all the rest of the charges, which was not in any degree denied, and which was by far the most important, was positively true (Hear! hear!). If the right hon. gent. opposite was disposed to dispute this point, all he had to do was to grant a committee to investigate the facts; and he, Mr. Madocks, was ready to prove that 5,000*l.* had been paid to the Treasury, for the Seat, with the privity and concurrence of the right honourable gentleman and the noble lord opposite, and that Mr. Dick had been induced to vacate, upon a difference arising between him and the ministry as to his vote on the question respecting the Conduct of the Duke of York. This was the important part of the charge, which no one had attempted to deny. Under all these circumstances there was the strongest ground for giving a pledge to the nation, that the house would take the subject into consideration. The plan now offered corresponded in its great and leading features with those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grey, who were sometimes supported by great divisions, and once the question was lost only by a majority of 20 or 25. In the year 1784 the king had in his Speech recommended the subject to the consideration of the house. Under all these circumstances, and recollecting it had been the invariable practice in every reign from the time of Edward I. to that of Charles II., to alter the state of the representation with respect to boroughs, he gave his most hearty concurrence to the motion of his hon. friend, and thought that to give the pledge required, was necessary, after what had recently passed, to the character of parliament, and the salvation of the state. The gentlemen on the other side, had lately signalized themselves by observing the anniversary of the birth of their immortal leader, the late

Mr. Pitt. He would not enter into any recapitulation of the losses, which liberty sustained during his lifetime, but he would earnestly entreat the house to remember, that the day on which he was addressing them, was the anniversary of the birth of our liberties, Magna Charta, and he hoped that the house, in justice to the memory of our ancestors, would commemorate the occasion, by pledging themselves to restore the independence of parliament.

Sir *R. Williams* was averse from the imputing of bad motives to any one, and certainly he imputed none to the hon. baronet. But he doubted whether he might not be influenced by those whose views might be less pure. One of the greatest objections which he had to the proceedings of the hon. baronet was, that he did not propose to carry on his plan of reform in that house, but endeavoured to effect his object by means from without. The hon. baronet was reported in Cobbett's Register to have said, that the house of commons was the only spot where the opinions of Englishmen were treated with contempt. He would have a much higher opinion of the hon. baronet, if we saw in him a disposition to effect his object through that house, instead of a desire to lower it in the opinion of the public.

Sir *James Hall* observed, that the hon. baronet, though often accused of obscurity, was now plain and explicit. He had stated in pretty strong terms that the house did not deserve the confidence of the country; and yet he came forward in that very house with his Plan of Reform. The motives of the hon. baronet might be good, but his conduct, he thought, extremely dangerous. The plan which he had stated amounted to complete and radical revolution. The first savage in the world would certainly have thought an attempt to cut down the tree which afforded him protection from the weather a great insult. It would be the ruin of a ship if you took away her ballast. The ballast of the British state vessel might sometimes be too heavy, but upon the whole, she proceeded very well in her course: and even the rotten boroughs might ultimately do a great deal of good. These inappreciable cases produced what was called chance. But as men of wit alone were often lucky in their *bon mots*, so the British constitution clearly appeared to have been the work of sensible men. That constitution ought to be defended without a very narrow or minute examination; for many things which appeared ridiculous at first might be good in their ultimate effect. Since he became a member of that house, he had studied the motives of men a good deal, not only in their public speeches, but in their private conversation, and the result was a conviction that he had got into better company than he at one time imagined. He affirmed, that its votes were almost always satisfactory to the nation. He adverted, as a proof, to the late vote respecting an improper military appointment and affirmed that the conduct of the house on the business of the Duke of York would have been equally satisfactory, had no undue means been taken to produce a contrary impression. He himself, however, was one of the minority of 125, though his name had not appeared in the published lists. He could not assent to the motion of the hon. baronet; but he highly complimented col. Wardle, who had so well conducted himself in adversity. He hoped he would be enabled to bear prosperity with equal magnanimity and not suffer his brain to be turned by the intoxicating influence of three times three.

Mr. *Hutchinson* would not suffer the question to go to a division, without replying to some of the observations and objections which had been made to it. From what he had heard of the hon. baronet's speech, one more constitutional, more calculated to entitle him to the respectful attention of the house and to the confidence of the public, or containing stronger professions of a wish to conciliate, he had never heard in parliament. It was directed to the judgment, not to the passions and certainly did not, in the smallest degree, justify the tone of scoff and ridicule in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had replied to it. Its object was to insure the attention of parliament to the great question of reform at an early period of the next sessions. Called upon as the hon. baronet had been, taunted as it were, and provoked to speak out—misconceived by some—misrepresented by others—he had on that night put the house in full possession of his thoughts, and although not likely on slight grounds to change his opinion, he had nevertheless declared, that being disposed to yield to reason and sound argument, he was anxious to learn the sentiments which others entertained. The subject of reform was not a new one, nor now for the first time introduced;

ne of the ablest statesmen had consider- it worthy of parliamentary inquiry. t it had been objected that the hon. ronet was not a fit person to bring it ward. Would it be seriously contend- that with the stake which he possessed the country, with a property such as l fallen to the lot of few, greater than n that of almost any other member of house? Would it be urged that a man his rank, of a highly cultivated mind, l of reflective habits, was not qualified ring forward such a subject? Was this ection taken in downright earnestness? t were, Mr. Hutchinson would be glad be informed who was qualified for such ask? The hon. baronet appeared to have sidered the subject with great soli- ude, and he had presented it as one, ich, if acted upon as he suggested, he tered himself would strengthen the ereign in the affections of his subjects, mote the welfare and happiness of the ple, compose jarring interests, and ntually uphold the state. Such at least re the result which the hon. baronet ected from the measure. Another st extraordinary objection had been de, that he sought to change the con- ution of parliament, not by the assist- ce of the house of commons, but by the erference of the people. The gentle- n who had urged this last objection med to have been strangely inattentive the question before the house, and to concluding motion of the hon. baronet, nely "that the house would, early in next session, take into consideration state of the representation in parlia- nt." Yet the hon. baronet, who has s directly appealed to the parliament to the parliament alone, is unaccount- y accused of having made that appeal he people. This objection was no more erstood, since the hon. baronet had ex- ssly declared that he sought not to in- ate, but to restore. Mr. Hutchinson ht perhaps to apologize for noticing imputation which doubtless the hon. onet had listened to with becoming in- ference, but feeling that the character every member was as it were the pro- ty of the house, Mr. Hutchinson could refrain from saying that the treatment erienced by the hon. baronet was not t which at least on the present oc- ion he was entitled to. Mr. Hutchin- in supporting the motion did not pledge nself to the plan submitted, nor to any cific plan, but merely to the principle. He was not ignorant of the objections to which any such measure was liable, and he knew that he hazarded much when he professed himself a friend to reform. However concerned as he should be, that the motives which influenced his vote should be generally misconceived, he was prepared for incurring the suspicions, perhaps the direct censure, of many. In a state which secures to the subject so many privileges and blessings, there is a national jealousy, there is an inherent hostility to any measure that by possibility may injure establishments not more venerable from their antiquity than valuable by reason of their intrinsic worth; but this sentiment, laudable as in itself it may be, frequently is carried too far; particularly where it renders us incapable of discriminating between the individuals who are guided by the light of reason, by the sole desire of altering in order to preserve, and those who are influenced by the most treasonable and base designs. The fate of other nations, which have fallen victims either to the treachery or ignorance of their political leaders, or have been overwhelmed by their blind, unbridled passions, adds not a little to the prevailing disinclination and distrust. The honest zeal of the reformer is set at nought; the very excrescences are too sacred to be touched; even the rust of time is to be respected, lest we should injure or deface. But in contemplating the fall of other states, we ought not to forget, that they refused to reform, while reformation was yet possible and safe; neither should we confound with the leveller and revolutionist, those who are only desirous of doing away the abuses and imperfections arising from the operation of time, to which every government and all human institutions are more or less liable. The revolutionist would destroy, the reformer would preserve. It is only the ignorant and superstitious who fancy that that which was originally good, perhaps approaching to perfection, is not subject to corruption and decay—"corruptio optime pessimo." He had no doubt that the foundation and main pillars of the constitution were sound; and while he admitted the theory of the composition of parliament to be admirable, it was impossible not to observe that the people were imperfectly represented, at the present period, in the house of commons. It was his duty to speak respectfully of the decisions of the house, although he had differed from many of those of the present sessions; but he could not doubt, that had the house been otherwise constituted, the result of their deliberations would have been far different. Had the voice and wishes of the people possessed more influence, the appeals of the members for Oakhampton, Morpeth, Lanerkshire, Boston, Waterford, and Queen's county, could not have been made in vain; nor in the few instances in which ministers were defeated, had there been a different representation, would there have been found a set of men, hardy enough to have defended the measures which were arraigned, and by the vote of the house condemned. For instance, the motion of the member for Hull could not have met with opposition; nor could a moment's resistance have been offered to that of the worthy member for Waterford, who objected to a clause indemnifying from the operation of the law an entire class of his majesty's subjects, which clause was defended by ministers on the extraordinary and disgusting plea of general and incorrigible corruptness; a plea which contained a libel against the people of Ireland, and under the influence of which, an indecent attempt had been made to prevail on the house of commons to screen from punishment those who had corruptly violated the law. When the member for Carlisle, prompted by the purest zeal for the public interest, introduced a bill for "securing the independence and purity of parliament," had the house been differently constituted, no minister would have ventured so to trifle with the feelings and interests of the people as to have converted that bill into one of a directly opposite tendency, a bill which he was one of those who thought ought rather to have been entitled "a bill for more effectually preventing the sale of seats in parliament for money, and for promoting a monopoly thereof to the Treasury by the means of patronage." It originally had his support, but that support he was reluctantly obliged to withdraw, being of opinion that under the all-blything hand of ministers, it soon lost its primitive purity and value; for, by the enactments as they came out of the Committee, it had become a bill calculated to increase the very evil it professed to remedy, and very alarmingly to add to the already too preponderating influence of the crown in the house of commons. There surely must be something radically wrong at this moment, when members in their places have unblushingly declared, that seats in that house were procured by money. The avowal in othe times of this practice would not have bee tolerated! At the present day it has bee made, not only without compunction, bu with such effrontery, as to have rendere this great and crying public scandal in itself sufficient to justify a unanimous cal for reform. The right hon. gent. (th Speaker), by his impressive and constitutional speech, had exerted himself to assert the dignity, and maintain the hono of the house. That speech should be e tered on the journals, that, at a future p riod, when these debates shall be allude to, the exposition of the statute law, an of the law of parliament, under the hig authority of the Speaker of the house commons, may appear on record as th fullest condemnation of this fraud on th constitution of parliament. Above all, was impossible for him to consider th house of commons otherwise than most d fectively composed, when he recollect that the seventh session since the Unio had nearly closed, and no attempt made render that measure beneficial to the Iri people, all inquiry into their conditio having been obstinately, not to say syst matically, repelled, and pledges the mo solemn violated with a levity unexampl between nations! never tolerated by m from man! even the letter of the Uni not respected! What else was the "Pr hibition Bill" than a direct infringement one of the most positive and explicit pr visions of that act! Was Ireland thus tre ed because she happened to be the weak party? Had she not sufficiently suffer by the surrender of her national right Was this embargo on the export of h spirits to England (perhaps the only ben fit, commercial or other, which she h derived from the Union) intended as a fo taste of what she may yet expect? the whole, judging of the house by th late measures, by that which they ha done, and by what they have failed doing; looking to the formidably prep derating influence of the crown in t house of commons, and in the country, had no hesitation in repeating his opini that a reform of the house of commo had become a measure of absolute nec sity, and one which he was convinc would not too soon be effected.

Mr. *Western* said he should give his sent to the motion of the hon. baron But he wished to be understood by means to pledge himself to support t iticular plan suggested by the hon. wer in the course of his speech. He l been a constant friend to Parlia- ntary Reform. He voted for the mo- n which was brought forward in the ar 1793 upon the subject, and again in 7, and he certainly was of opinion that eform in the representation was not less essary at the present moment than it s at that period; and he was satisfied times were more favourable to the con- eration of such a measure than at the iods alluded to. He thought it essen- lly necessary to give an assurance to public, that the house would take the stion into consideration early in the uing session.

Mr. *Barham* was averse from the pledge, ause he was not convinced that the erality of the people were anxious for eform. But at the same time he agreed t the hon. baronet had been unkindly ated. No speech was ever more distin- shed for its candour and moderation, or s calculated to irritate the passions, than t of the hon. baronet. He wished gen- men would explain a little what they ant by the restoration of the constitu- n to its original purity. He could not l, in the course of his reading, any e when the people had greater weight he constitution, than at present.

Sir *Thomas Turton* asked, whether the stitution in ancient times depended so ch upon the borough system? In this pect it might be purified. In ancient es the representation was a represen- on of property. These boroughs were e places of great wealth and property, l upon that ground sent members to liament. But circumstances being al- ed, the representation ought to be va- d accordingly. In former times, none e free except freeholders; but now yholders were equally free and secure, d might therefore partake of the free- ders' privileges. As to the personal ections thrown out against the hon. onet, any one conscious of the purity his motives might easily despise these, l in truth, it was always a proof of a d cause on the side of those who resorted such means of defence. As to the par- ular plan of the hon. baronet, he saw y great objections to it in many points view. But he understood the hon. onet to require no more than a pledge m the house, that it would consider the ject. He was not over fond of pledges, concurring in the principle, he would vote for it if pushed to a division. The gentlemen opposite were averse to any consideration of the subject; they would have nothing reformed, and resembled squire Western in Tom Jones, who in one of his disputes with his sister, exclaimed, "that he would be d——d if he went to church if the liturgy was amended."

Mr. *H. Tracey* declared himself friendly to the question of reform, and would vote for entertaining it without pledging himself to the particular plan. The right hon. gent. opposite said, that the generality of the people were not disposed for reform. How did the right hon. gent. ascertain this? The people in their public meetings had, from one end of the kingdom to the other, expressed themselves in favour of reform; and how could their sentiments be collected, except in their public meetings? It had also been said, that the people scarcely ever complained of the decisions of that house. How could that be known? There might be many decisions with which the nation was highly displeased, though its sentiments were not openly expressed. The decision in the case of the Duke of York might have been passed over in this manner, had it not been for some peculiar circumstances in that case which roused the people to a loud and almost universal declaration of their disapprobation. The people had only to become familiar with Reform to see its propriety, and even necessity. It was only by connecting it with the French Revolution, with "no popery," &c. that it had for a time been rendered unpopular. All this, however, was now over. The people would judge coolly and temperately, without allowing themselves to be distracted by such artifices as these. He did not at all pledge himself to the support of the plan now proposed; but as nothing more was required by this Resolution than that the house should take the subject into consideration early in the next session, he would certainly give his voice in its favour.

On a division, the numbers were

For sir Francis Burdett's motion	15
Against it	74
Majority against the motion	59

List of the Minority.

Adams, Charles
Burdett, sir Francis
Campbell, general
Combe, Harvey
Cuthbert, J. R,
Hutchinson, C.
Knapp, G.
Lefevre, C. S.
Madocks, W. A.
Maxwell, W.

Moore, Peter
Thornton, Henry
Tracey, Hanbury
Turton, sir Thomas
Wardle, G. L.
Western, C. C.
Wharton, John

Lord Cochrane was, accidentally, out of the house at the time of the division, and the hon. Mr. Lyttleton paired off.

[Cruelty to Animals' Bill.] Sir *C. Bunbury* moved, that the house should go into a Committee on this bill.

Mr. *Windham* moved as an Amendment, that the bill be committed this day three months.

On the question that the house should now go into a Committee on the said bill, the numbers were

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - - 27
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 37
Majority against the bill - - —10

The bill was of course thrown out.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 19.

[Recal of East India Cadets and Writers.] Sir *Thomas Turton* rose to bring forward his promised motion respecting the determination formed by the Court of East India Directors, to the peremptory recal of those persons whose appointments to India as Cadets and Writers were procured by corrupt or clandestine influence. The hon. bart. argued at length on what he termed the cruelty and injustice of not only recalling those persons from India, after years of faithful service, but totally ruining their future prospects, by declaring them incapable of being again employed in the East India Company's service; to the preparation for which, the whole education and study of their youth had been devoted. Some of the persons who now became subject to this harsh sentence were young men of first-rate talents, who had carried out with them certificates of being the most accomplished proficients in the Eastern languages ever sent out from England. If any charge of criminality was fairly incurred in these cases, it was not by the parties doomed to be the victims, but by their friends who negotiated, and the Directors who procured their appointments; the persons themselves were not apprized that any risk was attached to these appointments, or that circumstances in the mode of their attainment might render them nugatory; of which it would have been no more than justice to apprize them, in order that they might have been induced to make minute and cautious inquiry before they undertook the troub and expence of a voyage to India, and d voted some of the best years of the youth to pursuits from which they mu now be cut off, for facts of which the would receive the first intimation with t order for their recal. This determinatio he said, was founded upon a Resolution a Report so long since as 1796. But eve if the parties then injured were apprize of any law which made the places liab to forfeiture that were obtained by pu chase or corrupt influence, it was not ve natural for them to conceive the Compa seriously intended the rigorous inforc ment of such a law, when they every d saw advertisements in the public prin for the open sale and purchase of such a pointments, without any public or avow discountenance from the Court of Directo The hon. bart. concluded by moving, "Th this house do not concur with the determin tion on the part of the Court in the Repo of the Committee appointed to inquire in the Abuse of East-India Patronage, as f as it related to the immediate necessity recalling, and declaring incapable of hol ing any future situations, those perso who, though either innocent or ignorant the means by which their situations we procured, would be thus visited by a me sure of severity equally repugnant to B tish justice and the rights of humanity."

Mr. *R. Dundas* vindicated the condu of the Court of Directors in the determin tion they had felt it their duty to ado however painful to their private feelin but to which they were bound by eve sense of official obligation. The hon. b ronet was in an error when he stated th this determination of the Directors w founded upon an obsolete Resolution 1796: for the Directors had long sin resolved to pass over in amnesty all t appointments improperly obtained p viously to that date. Equally errone was the hon. baronet's statement, that t public were not sufficiently apprized of t determination of the Directors upon th subject, or that any person could fai plead ignorance in excuse; for not on had a positive act of parliament pass upon the subject, authorizing the court directors to recal any of their servants India whom they might see cause to reca but so lately as the year 1806, they a nounced in the London Gazette, and in the London and British provincial new papers, the determination to annul eve appointment in their service, which shou appear to be obtained by clandestine or surreptitious means. But if, at the first moment that the Court of Directors, after a long and diligent inquiry, were enabled to discover the appointments thus improperly obtained, parliament was to interfere and prevent them from carrying into effect their resolution; and the offence was to pass with impunity in the only quarter where it could be punished with exemplary effect, it would be in vain for the Directors to pass any resolution, or lay down any law for the prevention of such abuses. For these reasons, not seeing the house of Commons in any degree bound to adopt the proposition, he would, out of respect to the hon. baronet, rather than oppose him by a direct negative, move the previous question.

Mr. *Bankes* spoke in favour of the Report of the Committee, and thought that the house should pause before they would interfere with the Court of Directors. He called upon the house to recollect, that the act invested in the Court those powers which the present Resolution went to interfere with. He said that it was quite futile to make the provisions which had been made, if they were to be frittered away by excepting the sons of the persons who had purchased those situations. As, therefore, the motion appeared to him to have a tendency to interfere with the Court of Directors and the Act of Parliament, he should vote against the motion.

Mr. *Windham* said that he could not help adverting to that subject upon which, on a former night, he had occasion to make some observations. He meant that sort of outrageous virtue, that, while it laid claim to immaculate purity for itself, went beyond all bounds in venting its vengeance against the alledged criminality of others. This was too much the principle in the present case. In this way of overdoing justice, gentlemen seemed to argue in the same way the great king of Prussia did; who, when a soldier in a fresh breeze had his hat blown off, had the soldier severely punished for this accident: and it certainly was observed afterwards, that whether the man was innocent or not, fewer hats fell off afterwards. He, however, was not for arguing in this manner in order to justify the punishing the innocent, which he took to be impossible. And indeed, before any such absurd principle was resorted to, *cuncta prius tentanda.* Every means should be tried to get at the end desired, before they should adopt so harsh and unjust a mode as was suggested by the Report of the Committee. He should vote for the original motion.

Mr. *Wallace* objected to the Resolution, because he could see no good to arise from it. The substantial object of the motion was to be relieved from the Resolution of the Directors, which the house could not effect by such a measure; and it would be most unconstitutional to attempt, by a Resolution of that house, to overawe the Directors in the due discharge of the duty vested solely in them by act of Parliament. It would, in fact, be to do away, by one branch of the legislature, what had been enacted by all the three branches, who had left the whole power of sending out and recalling their servants, entirely to the discretion of the Directors of the East India Company. The hon. baronet thought the Resolution of the Directors should at present be only prospective, but if that were to be the case, how could they, after what had passed, suppose that it would be more effectual than it had been on former occasions? He should therefore give it his negative.

Mr. *Stephen* spoke in favour of the motion. He said, that when this matter of the traffic in East India Patronage first came accidentally before the house, he had given it as his opinion, that the house, in appointing a Committee, went out of its province, and had no more business to interfere than they had with the conduct of the clerks of the Bank of England; but having once so far interfered, and the Committee, from feelings of a proper indignation, having expressed a strong opinion on the transaction, he thought it would be but fair and reasonable in the house now to give their opinion on that part of the Report of the Committee, in order to neutralize the matter, and that the house might leave the question where they found it, and that the Directors might be at liberty to act as they thought proper after it. He coincided in opinion with Mr. Windham, and thought the Resolution of the hon. baronet not only an act of humanity, but of strict justice. He dwelt with considerable feeling on the hardship of ruining young men who had suffered the unspeakable torment of having torn themselves from their nearest and dearest relatives, friends, and from their native country, for the purpose of rising in the world; whose prospects would perhaps be just beginning to brighten upon them, when they would receive their recal, for an act done by their father or guardian, to which they were no parties, but altogether ignorant of any thing having been done amiss. Was it to the father who gave the money they were to be brought back? Alas! no—the father might be dead before their return, and it might be to the sorrowing arms of a widowed mother, who looked to him as the prop of her old age; or to those of destitute sisters, who would behold in him an object of beggary and ruin. He was a total stranger to all the parties who could be affected by the resolution of the Directors; but, from the circumstances he had mentioned, he could not refuse his support to the present motion.

Mr. *Grant* (the Chairman of the East India Company) went into an historical account of the proceedings of the Court of Directors since the year 1798, in which he enumerated the various reasons for entering into the Resolutions in 1799 and 1806, respecting the sale and traffic of East India Patronage, and said the Directors thought themselves bound to adhere to the letter as well as spirit of them. The power had been invested in them by the Committee, and if taken out of their hands it must weaken, and in the end destroy, the establishment. When the matter of there having been improper practices first came out before the house, it was very warmly taken up; a Committee was appointed to inquire into the business, and the daily papers teemed with comments and reflections, to the tendency of which the Directors could not be insensible. The learned gent. who spoke last had said, that he supported the motion because the Resolution proposed by it would neutralize the report of the Committee. He for his own part could not, however, see how it was so to operate; because the Directors did not form their Resolution on that Report, but from a conviction in their own minds that it was absolutely necessary. He had no authority from the Court to express their sentiments; but he could say for himself, that unless the opinion of the house should be peremptory and expressed as a kind of command on the Directors, he, for his own part, having acted from conscientious motives, and done what he thought the welfare and best interest of the Company required, could not alter his opinion on the subject. As to the argument of inhumanity, it certainly applied to the parents of the young men who are gone out, who knew they were acting wrong in giving money for such places, and by no means to the Court of Directors. He should therefore oppose the motion.

Mr. *Fremantle* said the Resolution was not meant to be imperative; it was no mandate, but merely the opinion of the house on the Report of one of its Committees. He thought the Resolution a very proper one, and called for not only as an act of humanity, but of strict justice, and as such it should have his vote.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the motion, as worded, clearly told the Directors they had acted contrary not only to the principles of British justice, but also contrary to the common rights of humanity. He thought if the house adopted the Resolution, they ought to go further, and tell the Directors, that they have not only acted wrong, but must rescind their Resolution and blot it out of their book. The hon. baronet must, surely, mean that or else, master as he had often proved himself to be of language, he would never have worded the motion as he had done. The hon. baronet, and all those who supported the motion, had advanced the same arguments; had all contended there was not sufficient notice. He insisted on the contrary, that the Resolutions of 1799 and 1806, published as they had been in the Gazette, provincial papers, and in all the instructions of the Court of Directors, were fully sufficient. It had been said the house did not want to interfere with the powers of the Directors, but only to neutralize them. He thought the house could do no such thing, but that the effect must be what he had stated. The Directors had, in his opinion, fairly drawn the line; they had confined themselves to the facts last brought to light, and no one would suffer by the resolution but those who had used those illegal practices since 1806, which was not great length of time. For one, he thought the house ought not to interfere with the Directors, who had acted only in a responsible situation, in such a manner as to prevent the patronage of the Company from being abused. He must therefore oppose the motion.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* saw no impropriety in that house coming to any Resolution upon a Report of their Committee; but he saw great injustice in the mode of procedure recommended for the recall of those gentlemen, whom they could not put into the same places here, of which they deprived them in India, though avowedly innocent of the offence they wished to put a pp to. Not to dwell upon the sacrifice health, friends, and connections, which ey had submitted to, the injustice itself as sufficiently flagrant without dwelling oon any other consideration; what would ey say of those legislators who should act the punishment of the children of ose offenders who had fled their coun-y, in order to avoid the consequence of eir crimes? The cases were parallel, r in the present instace they were going punish the children for the offences of e father. But he confessed, he did not ow how well to account for the great splay of austere justice; gentlemen on e other side seemed so ambitious to ake, and in that house, too, in their places parliament, and above all in that very ssion of parliament—a session in the urse of which those austere notions of stice had been so softened down and commodated to existing circumstances—session in which there had been so much generous allowance and clemency, and here such abundant room was made for e *locus penitentiæ!* [Hear! hear!] The fenders, to be sure, were rather of a gher order than that of a humble Cadet. ut, surely such rigorous proceedings did t become that house in that instance ainst those avowedly innocent, when in case in which a Secretary of State was e accused, they thought it right to go farther in it, because it was possible at as he did not complete the crime, he ight have haply repented before he ould have completed it. If in that and her instances they thought it better to ok rather to the future than the past, why ould they think differently now? When en in the case of Mr. Beauchamp Hill, ho was charged with receiving bribes, connive at frauds in the revenue, they ad thought it best to overlook what was one by, upon what principle of consist-cy could they now adopt a course of ch implacable severity towards the in-ocent.

The *Attorney General* said, he could not t think the opinion just given by his arned friend, had been adopted merely introduce the observations he hadmade. e restated the arguments of the Chan-ellor of the Exchequer, and said, the nly question was, whether the house ould by the Resolution, intimate to the irectors that they ought to rescind their esolution. If this motion was adopted, must have that effect; and he should erefore oppose it.

Mr. *Peter Moore* spoke shortly in favour of the motion. He said three Writerships had been disposed of. Who gave these Writerships? Mr. Thellusson. Who sold them? Mr. Woodford, his relation, to whom he gave them. Mr. Woodford had been obliged to leave the country, and Mr. Thellusson was turned out of the Direction. The Directors had punished those who were guilty, and they had done enough. Any thing more would be to visit the sins of the fathers on the children, and he should therefore vote for the motion.

Mr. *Lushington* was so confident that the Cadets would suffer no injustice from the Court of Directors, that he would vote for the previous question.

Mr. *Hutchinson* paid a tribute to sir Samuel Romilly, and commented on the happy applications of that learned gentleman's great abilities, to the proceedings of that house during the present sessions.

Mr. *H. Smith* was for the previous question.

Mr. *N. Vansittart* expressed a wish that the Court of Directors would reconsider their determination.

Mr. *H. Thornton* said, though the rule might in strictness be thought a harsh one, still as under the controul of the Directors it would experience relaxation, he thought the motion was unnecessary.

Sir *T. Turton* then replied. He said, that it was admitted that the rule ought to be relaxed, but if it was so harsh a one, why should it not rather be given up altogether? He denied that his Resolution had any tendency to interfere with the powers of the Court of Directors or with the acts of parliament. It was a Resolution upon a passage in a Report of their Committee, and it was every way competent for them to discuss and decide upon it.

The house then divided, when the Resolution of sir Thomas Turton was negatived, the numbers being,

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 35
Noes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 77

Majority against it - - - - - - 42

[Public Economy.]—Mr. Wardle rose and spoke nearly as follows:

Sir; Had I not been so loudly called upon, on a recent occasion, to explain a statement I at that time made, I should not at this moment have thought it necessary to trouble the house upon the subject; but being so called upon, Sir, I think I have a peculiar claim to the indulgence of the house.

In the first place, Sir, I beg to state what it was I did assert upon the occasion alluded to. I said, Sir, "That on the event of an efficient Reform in Parliament, such a reform as would insure to the people in their representatives, active supporters of their rights, and faithful guardians of their purse, I did not hesitate to say, that I was of opinion that the amount of the Income Tax might be done away."

Had no preceding declarations of a similar nature been made by others, I should not have been surprised at the insinuations that were thrown out, or at the clamour that was raised against me in consequence of such observation; but I confess I am not a little surprised at such insinuations and such clamours, when I have discovered that language similar in its tendency, though much stronger in itself, had been used by a statesman, so peculiarly respected by the gentlemen opposite; I mean Mr. Pitt, who, in 1782, said, "If there always had been a house of commons who were the faithful stewards of the interests of the country, the diligent checks of the administration of the finances, the constitutional advisers of the executive branch of the legislature, the steady and unqualified friends of the people, I ask, if the burthens which the constituents of the house were now doomed to endure, would have been incurred?" Surely, Sir, this is far stronger language than I used. Mr. Pitt tells you, that under such a house of commons the people would not have been taxed at all: the extent of my assertion was, that a given proportion of their enormous burdens might be done away. On that particular occasion to which I allude, and indeed on several other occasions, I was accused, together with those gentlemen with whom I am most in the habit of acting, of systematically attacking the characters of public men. I solemnly deny the charge; and I do declare, that I do not recollect a single instance in which directly or indirectly I had aimed an insinuation against an individual. That I have attacked a system of corruption, that I have attacked the parties acting upon and defending that system of corruption, I am free to confess; but as to attacking an individual in any other shape than that of a direct and specific charge, I positively deny; if I had done so, it would have been contrary to every principle by which my public and private life have been regulated. But to that system of corruption, which from my soul I deprecate, I shall eve oppose myself; and in so doing I am again supported by the conduct of Mr Pitt in 1782. He then declared, tha "The defect of representation is the national disease; and unless you apply remedy immediately to that disease, yo must inevitably take the consequence wit which it is pregnant. Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunge into new wars. Without a Parliamentar Reform you cannot be safe against ba ministers, nor can even good ministers of use to you. No honest man can, according to the present system, continu minister." So much, Sir, for the system corruption. And after these quotations trust that the clamour that has bee raised by the friends of this statesman wil cease to exist.

Without further preface, I shall procee to state the reasons on which I founde the opinion I ventured to give, makin only one preliminary remark. That suc a house of commons as I described woul ever keep in view two points: the one whether the thing was necessary; th other, (if found necessary,) that it ough to be carried into effect in the cheapes possible manner consistent with efficiency

The first thing that gave rise to that inquiry, that established in my mind th opinion I delivered, was my observing i the Finance Reports that there was a regular and great increase in the expenditure of each successive year. That in th year ending 5th January 1808, wa 71,989,000*l.* that of the year ending 5t January 1809, 79,391,000*l.* being an increase of 7,400,000*l.* in one year of th public expenditure; this circumstanc did much astonish me, and I have no closely gone into the subject. The resul of my investigation I beg to communicate and I shall begin with the Army. An the first point to which I beg to call th attention of the house, and one in which considerable saving may be made, is tha of the Household Troops. These househol troops, independent of the guards, consist of two regiments of horse guards 831 strong; and of the Blues (or king' own,) 654 strong. The two regiments o horse guards cost the country 73,317 per annum, besides the expence attendan on the horse appointments, &c. The whole of this expence might be saved th country, as the Blues, 650 strong, were quite sufficient for all parade duty; an

s a well known fact, that the two regi-
nts of horse guards never were em-
yed on service, and therefore, for the
son I have stated, a perfectly unneces-
y expence.

Our Cavalry force at home (independent
t the household troops;) of dragoon
rds and light dragoons, amounted to
499. I believe it will not be denied by
se military men who are competent to
ge upon the subject, and upon whose opi-
ns implicit reliance might be placed, that
n under existing circumstances, with
continent open to us, that a force of
000 horse would be completely suffi-
nt for any thing that could be wanted,
ides the regiments of volunteer and
manry cavalry, and our dragoons in
East Indies. I then hold it unques-
nable, that the regular dragoon esta-
shment at home might be reduced to
000 men and 15,000 horses. The
sent expence of these dragoon regi-
nts (exclusive of the expence of horse
ointments, &c.) is 1,277,610*l.* per an-
m; by this proposed reduction, the
ing would be 340,000*l.* per annum.

The next point of our military esta-
shment to which I shall advert, is that
the Foreign Corps. This establish-
nt is 24,572 strong; 3,470 of which
mber are cavalry, and 579 artillery.
e expence attending it, besides con-
gencies, is 1,008,017*l.* per annum. I
ll boldly maintain, that a house of
mmons, such as that I have described,
uld never vote one shilling for the
port of a force perfectly unconstitu-
nal, and, in my mind worse than use-
s, extremely dangerous. That illus-
ous character lord Chatham, in 1757,
the midst of a war, when the bugbear
invasion was held out to alarm the peo-
, thought it his duty to send all the
eign troops out of the country: and
ly I am persuaded, that if the voice of
people was heard within these walls,
h would be the case at this period. It
ar from my wish to reflect upon any
ly of men; but if gentlemen would re-
lect the conduct of these foreign mer-
aries at Quiberon, at Malta, &c. they
st in necessity admit, that although
me of these foreign regiments might
e distinguished themselves, still that
ing into consideration their good and
d conduct, the conclusion must be, that
ey are not to be depended upon, and
refore ought not to be continued. It
a well known fact, that in Hanover
they deserted to the enemy, even with their horses and appointments; and that the British troops were employed to watch over them, and eventually to see them once more embarked aboard our ships. Nor when we consider the mode of levying them, can this be wondered at. Has it not been proved to this house, that numbers of them were taken out of our gaols, and at a bounty too, by M. Charmilly and others of that description. Nay, more than this, I know, and can prove, that from the Spanish gaols they were also enlisted at a bounty, and thus was part of Dupont's army received into onr ranks. If this, Sir, is the sort of force that Englishmen would wish to have connected with their native army, I am strangely deceived: but, Sir, my opinion upon this subject stands confirmed by those of officers high in the confidence of his majesty's government. I allude to sir R. Wilson and the hon. general Stuart: the former, Sir, condemns the sort of force being connected with our establishment; and general Stuart, in his pamphlet, thus expresses himself, "The sooner, however, that foreign troops are removed from our service probably the better, they are as expensive as our own levies; and Great Britain is, of all nations, that which neither requires nor ought to have foreign mercenaries." But on this point, as I have before stated, I have the high sanction of the great lord Chatham. I have, I am persuaded, still higher authority with me, the feelings and judgment of the people of England. And under this conviction, painful is the reflection to me, that above a million of the public money should be expended upon them. Another and a very strong objection to these foreign troops is that the general and field officers belonging to them had in some instances their commissions ante-dated, so as to put them in command over the British officer. This I know to be a fact, and it is a reason in itself sufficiently strong to induce me to say, they ought not to be suffered to remain in the country.

The next corps to which I shall speak, is one of a different complexion. It is an establishment of late years, the Royal Staff Corps. I can find no other estimate of the expence of this corps than one of 20,000*l.* a year; but I am aware that the establishment is a very expensive one. This Royal Staff Corps is neither more nor less than a branch growing out of the Engineers, and formed for the purpose of patronage, our great and eternal bane; the numbers of the engineers might, if that had been necessary, have been increased, and this would have been done at a light expence to the country.

The next topic is that of the Militia, and I trust I may throw out a consideration that may be deemed worthy the attention of the house. The Militia of the United kingdom amounts to 109,070 men, the annual expence attending it is 3,000,000*l.* If one half of the men were allowed to be absent the three harvest months, which would be infinitely serviceable to the agricultural interests of the country, the annual saving thereby effected would be 300,000*l.* and on the score of discipline, little injury can be apprehended, as this formed part of the system of the great Frederick of Prussia. A further saving in the militia expenditure might be effected, by incorporating some of the small corps, and forming them into battalions of a thousand each.—Fifteen of the regiments, chiefly Welsh, would form five regiments of the strength I have mentioned, and would give a saving to the people of at least 20,000*l.* a year.

In the next place, I shall advert to a new establishment, that of the Local Militia, and one that has been marked by a most profligate and wanton expenditure; an establishment, that in my mind is not of that description that ought to have been resorted to, in such times as these, when it is clear that the battle for our rights and liberties against our foreign foes, if fought at all upon English ground, must depend upon that invincible force, the armed population of the kingdom. By the Estimates on the table it appears, that there had already been voted on this account,

	£
For pay, - - - - - -	458,532
For the Staff, (on account, when not embodied,) - -	306,960
Clothing - - - - - -	417,831
Contingencies, - - - - -	36,480
	£. 1,219,803

And in addition to this it appeared, that no less a sum than 240,000*l.* had been paid to the volunteers, for changing from one home service into another. Of all the profligate public expenditures that I know of, this, Sir, appears to me the most profligate. And let me ask, whether such a house of commons as I have described, would thus have voted away the money

of the people ? Let the staff of this esta
blishment first be considered, 306,960
the expence attending it, for that peri
when the militias were not embodie
Can any thing be more monstrous tha
this ; does any one that hears me, b
lieve that any good can arise from suc
extravagance ! If the defence of the cou
try was the object, if the discipline of th
local militias was the object, nothing
this sort would have been resorted t
All this might have been effected witho
any expence of the kind. An adjuta
and serjeant major attached to each
these regiments would have been enoug
the old militias of the different counti
sending in a sufficient number of the
steadiest men, to act as lance-serjean
and corporals, during the month of exe
cise ; thus would this enormous expe
diture for the other eleven months ha
been spared to the country, and eve
possible end, or rather every good en
of the establishment been attained. L
the clothing be next considered. It is
fact, Sir, that in many instances the ne
clothing has rather been an incumbran
than otherwise, for several of the cor
filled from the volunteer ranks, were pe
fectly well clothed and appointed befor
But I argue further, that if any clothin
at all was necessary, the voting such e
pensive clothing, was highly imprope
I understand, that now given to them co
3*l.* per man, but I contend that for hal
guinea per man a jacket and trowse
are quite sufficient for the sort of servic
might have been supplied to them ; a
I am strangely deceived if they wou
fight the enemy with greater gallantry
the one clothing than the other, and that
my opinion is the object that ought to
kept in view. On a due considerati
of all the circumstances, I feel persuad
that here a saving of 700,000*l.* a year mig
be made !

From this subject it is an easy transiti
to that of the Volunteers. I find the es
mate of the expences of the voluntee
exceeds a million of money for this yea
a circumstance that appears extraordinar
as I have just shewn, that no less a su
than 240,000*l.* has been paid to the volu
teers for exchanging their service to th
local militia, and the total expence of th
establishment last year 1,094,379*l.* so
seems a determined point, that though th
numbers are lessened, the expenditu
should continue the same. But, Sir, I a
of opinion that the million of money mig

aved to the people, for why should we resort to that system, that answered ell a few years ago, and which with- a doubt might still be resorted to with effect. In the year 1780, the volun- s of Ireland served their country with- either pay or clothing, and I believe it on all hands, be acknowledged, that efficient volunteers never had been blished. That the same system should be pursued, is not only my opinion, that also of officers high in the confi- ce of the government, I particularly de to sir Robert Wilson, and beg leave ead an extract from his work. Upon subject, he says, "Every householder ld be obliged to provide, and keep a d of arms in good order. Every man he empire should be instructed in the of them, and in short time the humblest vidual would be ashamed, if he did know the necessary exercise. Mili- ardour is very readily inspired, but pursuit must not be attended with great nvenience or expence." He adds "mi- y clothing is not necessary for such rce. The eye may not be equally ified, but appearance is not worthy a ment's attention. With the prepara- for a contest which ought not to last weeks, what has the attire to do? What ntage does a splendid dress offer to state? Where are the funds for supply- this expensive equipment?" These, are the sentiments of a British officer, upon by his majesty's government, establishing a force of the sort at this od, in Portugal. I most cordially e with him, and in agreeing with him, mmend the saving a million of money the burthens of the people.

he next establishment to which I shall the attention of the house, is that of Royal Waggon Train. By the papers he table it appears, that besides the a expenditure, which I understand to great indeed, the annual expence of corps is 48,993*l.* and yet I am per- ed that all disinterested persons ac- nted with this establishment, would are it to be as useless as it is expen- The waggons had been found fit for home service, where they were wanted; the absurdity of the system fully ascertained in the expeditions to enhagen, Spain, and Hanover; where as proved to be perfectly inefficient. er this impression, I have no hesitation ying, that this establishment ought to bolished; the extent of saving by its being done away, further than the 48,993*l.* a year, I have no documents to shew. This waggon train had been formerly attached to the ordnance, and it would, I believe, be difficult to give the house a satisfactory reason for its being removed from it.

The next corps on which I shall have to remark, is one that never has, as I am informed, either done or offered to do any service whatever. I mean the corps of Manx fencibles; it costs the people 24,184*l.* a year; and is stationary in the Isle of Man, where volunteers are also established; to comment upon such an expenditure as this, must indeed be unnecessary. I claim the whole as a saving.

The Staff of the army I shall now proceed to comment upon. The general annual sum it costs the country now, amounts to no less than 449,649*l.* the expence of the home staff according to the papers on the table is 255,590*l.* a year, that for Great Britain, I believe, in the year 1793, was only 38,929*l.* Any thing more flagrant than this could not readily be conceived, without dwelling upon a point that speaks for itself. I will at once pledge myself to shew, that 200,000*l.* a year ought to be saved to the country.

I beg now to call the attention of the house, to the recruiting staff, bounties to recruits, and the levies. The recruiting staff costs the country 34,939*l.* The extent of bounties given to recruits is known to the house, and above all the profligate expenditure that has existed under the head of levies, is fully ascertained. The expence that has attended this vile system is enormous, and I do not hesitate to say, that if a stop were put to it, and if that wise, just, and honourable plan of the right honourable gentleman near me, was acted upon, that a saving of 200,000*l.* a year might be made, and the service materially benefited.

The next subject, is that of Army Agency, 61,075*l.* was now annually expended, and I will take upon myself to prove that 51,075*l.* may be saved, and the business as effectually carried on, by the addition of 10,000*l.* a year to the general agency office already established.

I have before this period stated, that the business of the War Office might be effectually done for 30,000*l.* a year, which would save 24,000*l.* I repeat that assertion, and I beg to add, that a like saving might be made at the Pay-Office, giving to the country on both 48,000*l.* a year.

I shall now take into consideration the

Ordnance department, where I find the expenditure to be in the year ending 5th January, 1807, 4,511,064*l.*
1808, 4,190,748*l.*
1809, 5,108,900*l.*
an increase in the last year, of near a million of money. But, Sir, without detaining the house one moment unnecessarily, I shall proceed to particulars. And first as to three establishments, bearing in some degree on each other. The horse artillery, consisting of twelve troops, which cost annually, independent of great contingent expences of which I have no return, 113,000*l.* The corps of artillery drivers 229,000*l.* besides enormous contingent expences. The contract horses 239,083*l.* The latter sum I have no fear to say, might certainly be saved to the country, for I have it from an authority I cannot doubt, that the horse artillery, with the corps of artillery drivers, was more than could be wanted under any possible circumstances. The artillery drivers are at present entirely attached to the guns, and part of their duty is performed by the contract horses, and this too at a moment when the horses belonging to the corps of artillery drivers were actually suffering from over-feed and idleness. If any gentleman doubted the fact, if he would only go as far as Woolwich, he would be convinced that such was the system of the ordnance, and that too at the very place, where we might have hoped, such flagrant abuses could not have existed.

The next subject, and one to which I think the attention of the house should be particularly directed, is that of our Fortifications at home. Particularly, Sir, as it is not many years ago, that after a long and able discussion it was declared to be the opinion of the house, that a stop should be put to what was then deemed an useless expenditure of the public money, and a more useless expenditure could not in my mind be readily discovered. By the papers on the table it appears, that about 700,000*l.* has been expended in the last year, on the building and repairs of fortifications at home. This was highly unjustifiable, and would appear the more so, when the mode in which it was applied was considered. A more conclusive specimen of the waste of the public wealth, can no where be found better than on Romney Marsh, where for the protection of our shores as we are told, a great number of Martello Towers and batteries have been erected. It was intended that these towers should each carry a long gun a a howitzer; after they were all finishe it was discovered that the dimensions h been mistaken, and that they would on carry the long gun, and this gun cann be brought to bear upon any object with 250 yards of the tower, leaving of cour that proportion of dead parts; but th mistake is not the only one, the foundat was upon a par with the upper work and in November last, there was no sm degree of alarm for the safety of the towers, in consequence of there being sev ral feet of water in them; four out of t number are built upon quicksands; b still a more extraordinary part of this sy tem of defence, is that six miles of sh beyond the last of these towers, (rath more commodious for landing than th part that has been fortified), is left op to the enemy, without even one solita tower or battery; there remains then o thing yet to be done, to persuade t enemy to allow the English Pilots to bri their ships within the range of our fortifi tions.

The Royal Military Canal is anoth specimen of folly and of wanton waste the public money. This canal is intend as a line of defence; it begins on Ro ney Marsh, and is continued for abo twenty miles. As a military work, rivals the fortifications I have just me tioned; if possible, surpasses them: for is so constructed, that the fire of the s diers within the parapet cannot be broug to bear upon the canal, so that the bo of the enemy might cover it unmolest particularly as the canal has not a sin flanking position. These blunders, li those of the Martello Towers, were so discovered after the work was finished, a now I hear it is a matter of dispute, how further sum of money should be laid o whether in flanking positions, or buildi towers for its defence. Thus was the pu lic money wasted! and this too after t subject had been so fully discussed a decided in the house of commons. For fications are not wanted in this countr the people of England can defend th own shores! I would ask, what were t use of the enormous fortifications build on the heights of Dover? To man th fortifications, together with Dover Cast would take twenty thousand men. And there any one mad enough to suppose, th Buonaparté would attempt to land in t face of ten thousand British soldiers, wi out any fortifications whatever; but h

s double that number of our troops to
locked up and incapacitated from serv-
in the field. Under all these circum-
ices, I do not doubt but that 500,000*l.*
of the 700,000*l.* annually expended,
ght be saved to the country, the remain-
200,000*l.* appears to me a larger sum
n ought to be appropriated to any such
rposes. I have further to observe, that
fortifications erected in Essex are now
ing rapidly into decay; and that whilst
famous military road in Surrey is
ughing up, it must be a satisfaction to
public to know, that another is forming
Scotland; and that probably when that
gain ploughed up, that one may possi-
be constructed in Wales.

shall next proceed to consider the
mmissariat. Of this department too
ch has been heard, too much is known
entitle it to any respect. The evidence
lately given upon this subject by sir
thur Wellesley was quite sufficient to
mp its character; and I understand that
s gallant officer, whose judgment and
curacy no man would doubt, was no bet-
pleased with his present commissariat,
n he had been with the one that pre-
led it. The papers on the table would
w, that from the army extraordinaries
ne no less a sum had been expended in
foreign commissariat than 1,542,705*l.*
the expence of the commissariat at
ne there was no account; but that of
land deserved particular attention.
e establishment in that kingdom is stated
cost 95,903*l.* a year, the amount of the
ply issued to the troops 159,231*l.* so
t about 75*l.* per cent. is paid for the
ivery. Whether the same economical
tem is pursued in the foreign and Eng-
n departments I know not; but this I
ow, that the profligate expenditure of
commissariat is proverbial, and that a
ing of at least 500,000*l.* a year might
made without difficulty.

The next item of our military establish-
nt, and one that keeps pace in wanton
l excessive expenditure, is the Barrack
partment. The barracks of Great
tain and Ireland cost the country last
ar 764,942*l.* To prove this a most
meful expenditure, there would be no
ficulty; for amongst other things it is a
t, that at the time 100,000*l.* is granted
the building of new barracks, several
racks, long ready for the reception of
ops, remain unoccupied, as do many for
ich annual rents are paid. In the coun-
of Wicklow, I believe there are no less than three excellent barracks unoccupied, notwithstanding which the job goes on, and new ones are now building, and this at a moment when timber is advanced from 50*s.* to 25*l.* per ton! add to this the abuses detailed in the Reports, and many of which exist in full force, and there can be little doubt but that 350,000*l.* might be annually saved from this monstrous expenditure.

Upon the Medical department of the army I have already given my sentiments in this house; I have now only to repeat what I before stated, that I believe 100,000*l.* a year might be saved to the country, independent of the heavy pecuniary loss we sustain in the numbers of our troops that fall victims to the maladies that so dreadfully prevail in the West Indies, and other such climates which medical men of ability, and acquainted with the subject immediately before us, calculated at much more than 100,000*l.* a year.

To the next subject, I have also before called the attention of parliament, I mean the Cloathing of the Army. Whenever I have an opportunity of renewing that discussion, I shall be ready to shew that nine shillings a man may be saved to the public, if open competition instead of private bargain is resorted to. Gen. Stuart in his pamphlet thus writes upon this subject. He says, "The clothing and accoutring of regiments ought to be undertaken by government, and not by colonels, who as inspectors of the contracts of others, will do the soldiers as much justice as by the present system; it is conjectured that a much smaller fund than is as at present raised by stoppages might suffice, if the method pursued in clothing the Austrian army was pursued in our own." Now, Sir, in confirmation of this doctrine, I learn that Mr. Courtney, the army clothier, has at this time 5*s.* 6*d.* a man by open contract less than Messrs. Pearse have by private bargain, on the clothing alone; and I maintain, if the accoutrements were also supplied by open competition, that the nine shillings would be saved, amounting upon 300,000 men to 135,000*l.* a year. The clothiers under private contract were also, by their own confession, in the habit of charging at the rate of ten per cent. a year in consequence of not being paid under six months. Now, without much calculation, it is clear that the borrowing the money even at five per cent. and making prompt payments, would give an additional saving of 35,000*l.* a year, supposing the amount of the clothing only to reach 700,000*l.* a year. But here we are cutting with a two-edged sword; for in other departments I can shew, that money by impress bills is paid in advance to contractors and others (who ought not to be so paid), and our army clothiers are charging us at the rate of ten per cent. because that money is given to the contractors, and not applied to that purpose which would be of advantage and a great saving to the country. Another considerable saving, to the amount of 20,000*l.* a year, may be made on the packing and insurance of the clothing to foreign stations. And in this year's extra clothing to Spain, &c. added to the colonial corps, if open competition had been resorted to, 100,000*l.* might also have been saved, making the amount of saving on this year's clothing expenditure 270,000*l.*

I shall now, Sir, conclude the consideration of the military department, with a statement of what the general expenditure has been for the last four years.

In the year ending,
5th Jan. 1806 - - - 17,314,023 *l.*
1807 - - - 15,275,859
1808 - - - 15,596,539
1809 - - - 17,490,111

In justice to those gentlemen who never were in the habit of sparing me, but to whom I do not feel the less disposed to do justice, I must observe, that during the two years that they were in office, the military expenditure of the country was two millions less than what it had been under the management of their predecessors, or than what it was under the management of his majesty's present ministers.

Having done, Sir, with the military part of the subject, I shall now proceed to the civil. It appears to me, that a very material saving may be made in the expence that now attends the Collection of the Revenue. And first, with regard to the post-office; by reports that have been on the table, it was proved that within the four last years, immediately following the event of Mr. Palmer quitting the post-office, there was an increased expence in that establishment of above 180,000 *l.* Under Mr. Palmer's management, the expenditure did not exceed 200,000 *l.* a year, it was now 400,000 *l.* Why this increase had occurred, or rather why it had been suffered to occur, I know not, but I feel perfectly convinced, that no satisfactory reason can be given for it.

I have obtained much information with respect to the Collection of the Customs, and as to the patronage of that departme
of the revenue. Amongst other things,
find that before the erection of the East I
dia, West India, and London docks, th
landing surveyors had considerable dif
culties to encounter from the extent of th
wharfs over which they had preside
When those docks were built, and th
sphere of their labours was consequentl
commodiously contracted, it was fairly
have been expected, that their numbe
would have been decreased, on the co
trary three additional ones were appoin
ed, and the public have ever since had
pay, ten instead of seven. Similar abus
of patronage in that and other departmen
has come to my knowledge, but the one i
stance sufficiently proves the system, and
will not, I am persuaded, eventually
found that I have not strong ground for a
serting that a very material public savi
may be made here. In the stamp-office, th
annual charge would be found 130,00
per annum; a decided waste of the publ
treasure was apparent here: this expe
diture I could shew, might be greatly r
duced indeed. For the collection of th
window light duties in Scotland, the char
was 20 per cent. for that of the old ma
duty, 16 per cent.; for that on candl
12 per cent. Would any one be bo
enough to say, that these were prop
charges? I think not, and I hope to pro
hereafter, that they ought greatly to
lowered. I shall next advert to the r
ceivers general, who are, I understand, a
lowed 1½d. in the pound, and that upon s
millions of money annually, besides b
lances allowed to remain in their han
to the amount of 410,000 *l.* the loss of i
terest upon this to the public, is abo
20,000 *l.* a year; but the fact is, as the a
counts at the end of the year will she
that instead of 410,000 *l.* balances, to t
amount of near a million will be found
their hands and in those of the coll
tors. Why such a practice as this sho
be tolerated, instead of those balanc
being paid immediately into the bank
England, I am at a loss to conceive.

I shall next take a comparative view
the expences attendant on the collecti
of the revenues in England, and Scotlan
I find it to stand thus. The expence
collection of the

Customs, England, 6*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*
Scotland, 8*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*
Excess in Scotland, 1*l.* 11*s.* 3
Excise, England, 2*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*
Scotland, 6*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

Excess in Scotland, 3*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.*
nps, England, 3*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*
Scotland, 4*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*
Excess in Scotland, 1*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

s difference appears to me very extra-
nary, and I am persuaded, that the ex-
ce of collecting these revenues in
land, may at least be reduced to the
now charged in England. The land
assessed taxes in Scotland, are collect-
t 2*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* per cent. when the col-
on in England costs 3*l.* 12*s* 9*d.*—an
ess of 12*s.* 10d. per cent. in England.
ould ask in what does this originate?
gross receipt of the revenue of Great
ain, for the year ending 5th January
9, amounts to 64,734,272*l.* the charges
nanagement upon this sum, amounted
2,816,568*l.* being at the rate of
12*s.* 9*d.* per cent. by reducing this
rge to 3*l.* per cent. of the practicability
vhich, for reasons already stated, and
ers equally strong, I have not in my
d the most distant doubt, the annual
ng to the public would be 1,051,930.
, according to the system now pursued
expence of collecting the revenues in-
ases annually: for the year ending
Jan. 1807, it was, 4*l.* 5*s.* 0. per cent.
Do. 1808, 4*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* do.
Do. 1809, 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* do.
y was this? As the revenue increases,
rates of collection increases, when in
, they ought proportionably to dimi-
. I will again, Sir, do the late minis-
the justice to observe, that during
r continuance in office, it was, that the
enues were collected at the lower rates,
indeed, since the year 1807, when
y quitted office, the charge for collec-
ion has increased 7*s.* 9*d.* per cent.
ing a difference to the people of no
a sum than 205,252*l.* per ann. I think
ave now, sir, shewn sufficient ground for
opinion, that above a million a year may
saved in the collection of the revenues
Great Britain. I shall now proceed to
nment on the rate of collection in Ire-
d, and I trust, when I am speaking of
savings that may be made, in this part
e United Kingdom, that it will be borne
mind that England pays in a proportion
fteen-seventeenths to two, and therefore
benefit precisely in that ratio, by the
ing that is made. As to the irregulari-
in the collecting the revenues in Ire-
d, the house has lately had so marked
ecimen, attended with such a serious
to the country, about a million and a
f, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell one moment upon that point. The gross receipt of the revenue in Ireland, 5th Jan. 1808, is 5,554,669*l.*; on this the charge of management was no less than 528,663*l.*, which is at the rate of 9*l.* 10*s.* per cent. If this were reduced to the rate, (excessive as it is), at which the Revenue of Great Britain is at present collected, namely, 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* per cent. the annual saving would be 284,519*l.* but in the present year, the charge of management has been increased to 11*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent. an annual saving therefore of 388,367*l.* might be obtained, if that charge was only reduced to the rate of that at present existing in Great Britain, and that this might be effected, I am perfectly convinced. The charges on the management of the post-office in Ireland, was a strong feature of the extensive reforms that might be established; the charge per cent. on the gross post-office revenue in Ireland, for management, was 46*l.* per cent. when that of Scotland was about 12*l.* cent., and why was this? to give patronage, for no other possible reason. Put it on the same footing as that of Scotland, and the saving will be enormous, and I should be glad to hear a reason offered, why that ought not to be done! Another expenditure of minor consideration, connected with that department, though paid in England, is that of a constant express between the two countries, which has been kept up, ever since the rebellion in Ireland, at an expence of 7000*l.* a year; now though this express when established might certainly have been necessary, still I believe the chief benefit now arising from this expenditure of 7000*l.* a year, is the advantage the lord lieutenant derives, by having his newspapers, a few hours earlier than he would have them by the mail: on what authority this establishment exists, I know not, but this I know, that it has already cost the country 63,000*l.* and ought to be abolished. Having detained the house very long, I shall not trespass further upon their time, by entering more particularly into the savings that may be made in Ireland, but proceed to speak of the commissioners and auditors of public accounts. Now, Sir, though I am ready to admit, that auditors of public accounts, may not only be useful, but necessary, still, I do not feel disposed to say as much of the different bodies of commissioners, that have from time to time been appointed—To do what? to rectify the abuses that have arisen, from the

ton was taken by sir W. Pepperill, it appears that France employed 28,000 men in the fishery, and gained a million of money a year by it. It is clear, then, what our loss must be from bad and negligent management; but patronage seems the great object we have in view; as an example of which, let us look at the expence of the civil establishment in Sierra Leone, amounting to no less than 16,000*l.* a year; and as to the expence of the military establishment, that certainly keeps pace with it; for in one item, that of building and repairing forts, you have no less a sum than 23,000*l.* If we go into the accounts of Gibraltar, Ceylon, Canada, the Prince of Wales's Island, New South Wales, &c. &c. we shall find nothing wanting in patronage or profligate expenditure. I therefore claim at least 500,000*l.* a year, as the saving that ought to be made immediately.

I have yet to make an observation or two respecting the military establishment in Ireland; and I beg once more to observe, that England subscribes to all this expenditure in the ratio of fifteen seventeenths, according to the act of union between the two countries.

In the last four years of the American war, the average expenditure, to the 25th March, 1783, was 449,266*l.*: the average of the four years, to March 25, 1799, 2,659,664*l.*: expenditure of the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, is 4,226,421*l.* It appears, then, since the year 1799, the army expenditure has been nearly doubled. And why, I would ask, has this been the case? Merely because we prefer keeping in check, by coercion, a gallant people, who pant for nothing more than the enjoyment of those rights and liberties that are secured to us, and which, when granted, would so endear them to the United Kingdom, as to render it at once strong and invincible. I would further ask, whether such a house of commons as that I have described, putting right and justice out of the question, would think it good policy to expend at least two millions in attempting to effect that, which conciliation alone can establish on a safe and permanent ground. I cannot quit the subject of Ireland without observing, that the total Irish expenditure in the year ending 25th March, 1793, was 1,735,267*l.*: in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, it was 9,563,727*l.*

The debt of Ireland, 25th March, 1793, - - -	£.2,422,890
The debt of Ireland, 5th Jan. 1802, - - - -	76,110,856
The loan for this year, -	4,000,000

The present debt of Ireland, 80,110,85 And having stated this, Sir, I will ask whether something ought not to be done to ward off ruin from that country?

I believe, Sir, I have already shewn sufficient ground to justify the opinion I gave, that if the people were represente in the manner I have described, that the amount of the income tax might be saved But, Sir, there yet remains for me to cal the attention of the house to one othe establishment, I mean that of the Navy And here, Sir, under the high authoritie I speak, it would be arrogance in m to offer any opinion of my own. A gallant admiral (Markham) in his plac in this house, on the 1st March, 1805 said, "He could state, and the report on the table would bear out his statement that one third of the naval expences o the country would be saved by an hones and upright discharge of the duties o the offices employed in their administra tion." The victualling office, and th sick and wounded office, he had no hesi tation in stating to be the most corrupt o all.

So much for the naval expenditure i 1805. I now, Sir, must call the attentio of the house to another statement made i this house upon the subject, no longer ag than last February, when the hon. gen opposite to me, the secretary of the ad miralty (Mr. Wellesley Pole), in speakin of the victualling department, where th expenditure amounts to 5,313,901*l.* de clared "the system carried on to be mos vicious and faulty; and that, in order t abolish it, those at the head must be re moved." In addition to these statements which it is not with me, or indeed wit any one to doubt, I have only to say, tha if confirmation had been wanting, the re sult of the inquiries I have made afford that confirmation. I find, Sir, and ca shew, that in the purchase of timber ther is a great loss to the country. I find, too that the inspector of canvas is concerne in the supplying the canvas, and that con sequently what is delivered is of an infa mously bad quality. I find too, Sir, tha instead of the different contracts bein open to competition at the expiration of th year and half, that they are kept shut fo years; and thus, for the sake of patronage the public suffer most heavily. The hon gentleman opposite (Mr. Wellesley Pol

ms to deny the fact. I will ask him,
n, whether Mr. Pinkerton's contract
the West Indies has not been shut for
r or five years. Whether Mr. Grant
not had a like advantage in the Yar-
uth contract; and I would ask him
her, whether a person at Deptford has
been allowed to amass a considerable
tune by the article of grains alone, at
public brewery there; that contract
indeed at last been opened, and the
ce per quarter immediately advanced
m 1*s.* 10*d.* to 2*s.* 10*d.* and I fancy it
l bear no inconsiderable further ad-
ice, as I understand the fortune in ques-
n was made by retailing them out im-
diately at 4*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

In the Transport Department I shall
ve no difficulty in shewing great waste
the public money, and no where do we
fer more, I believe, from favouritism.
ith these facts before me, and under the
h authorities that I have quoted, it is not,
m sure, with me to doubt that the saving
ted may be made. I have only, Sir, to
serve, that in the year 1804, to which
gallant admiral's remarks attached,
expenditure was 11,759,350*l.* and
t at this period, when we have the
timents of the hon. Secretary of the
miralty on the subject, the expendi-
ure is 17,467,892*l.* an increase of
00,000*l.* I am sorry, Sir, to have de-
ned the house so long; but what I
ed to my country and my own cha-
ter rendered it necessary. I feel much
liged by the patience with which I
ve been heard upon which I shall only
spass a few minutes longer.

I think, Sir, that the national accounts
ht to be reduced into such form and
er as would enable every member
the house to see whether or not the
ney of his constituents was properly
l economically expended; and this, Sir,
an object I have much at heart, for I
feel most fully persuaded, that an
ormous sum is annually lost to the
ntry in consequence of the utter con-
ion in which the accounts have remained
years, a confusion that never prevailed
re than at this moment. Admit, Sir,
t only 20,000,000*l.* annually remains
accounted for, and I am sure I am much
thin compass, when I say that at a very
derate computation we must lose, in
nsequence of this confusion and non-
tlement of the accounts, at least one
entieth part; does any gentlemen who
ars me doubt that the public lose at least a million a year for the want of such a settlement; if any one does doubt the fact, let me refer him to his own private concerns, and let me ask whether he believes any individual who neglects year after year to look into the accounts of the expenditure of his property, and to strike a balance with his different agents, escapes with the loss of only a twentieth part? I am sure he would be infinitely a greater loser under such a system, and I am also sure that we do not escape with a loss of a million under that system so decidedly ruinous either to the individual or public body. Upon this subject I shall beg to read the statement and remarks of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (lord Henry Petty.) In the year 1806, the noble lord stated to the house, that the enormous sum of four hundred and fifty-five millions of public money was unaccounted for. He then goes on to observe, "That it was unnecessary for him to urge how much the public necessities called for the most serious attention and investigation; that he need not state what were the evils which led to these inquiries, or what were the dangers of leaving accounts open for twenty years when the death of the parties may prevent the recovery of the public money, or grossest frauds destroy the revenue of the country, great as it is, and divert it to purposes of individual profit."

Recapitulation of saving on

Household troops, two regiments - - - -	£.73,317	0	0
Dragoon guards, dragoons, and light ditto	340,000	0	0
Foreign corps - - -	1,005,017	0	0
Subsidy annually paid Count Meuron for continuing his regiment in his majesty's service - - - - -	3,000	0	0
Militia of the united kingdom - - - -	300,000	0	0
Staff of fifteen small militia corps reduced -	10,000	0	0
Local militia - - -	700,000	0	0
Volunteers of the united kingdom - - - -	1,000,000	0	0
Royal waggon train -	48,993	0	0
Manx fencibles - - -	24,184	0	0
Staff of the army - -	200,000	0	0
Recruiting staff, levies and bounties - - -	200,000	0	0
Army agency - - -	51,075	0	0
War office - - - -	24,000	0	0
Pay office - - - -	24,000	0	0

Contract horses - - - -	299,083	0	0
Fortifications and repairs at home - - - -	500,000	0	0
Medical department and annual loss of men -	200,000	0	0
Commissariat - - - -	500,000	0	0
Barracks - - - -	350,000	0	0
Army clothing - - -	270,000	0	0
On the collection of the revenue in Great Britain - - - - - -	1,051,930	0	0
On ditto ditto in Ireland - - -	388,367	0	0
Commissioners and auditors of public accounts - - - - -	70,000	0	0
Bank, the sum charged for the management of the national debt -	210,594	0	0
Pensions and offices executed by deputy - -	200,000	0	0
Bounties - - - - -	150,000	0	0
Colonies - - - - -	500,000	0	0
Catholic emancipation -	2,000,000	0	0
	10,693,663	0	0
Expenditure of the navy for the year ending January 5, 1809, 17,467,892*l.* one-third of which is - - -	5,822,530	13	4
Total Savings -	16,516,193	13	4

Having once more, Sir, thanked the house for the indulgence I have experienced, I shall proceed to move for such papers as, if granted, will enable me to go further into detail early in the next session. I move, Sir, That there be laid before this House.

1. " An Account of the particulars of the total annual expence incurred by the Royal Staff Corps for 3 years, up to the 5th of Jan. 1809; distinguishing the numbers employed at home and abroad, and where employed.

2. " An Account of the particulars of all Expences incurred by the Local Militia up to the present time.

3. " An Account of the particulars of the Expences incurred by the Royal Waggon Train in the 3 years ending 5th Jan. 1809.

4. " An Account of the particulars of the Expences incurred by the Regiment of the Manx Fencibles from its establishment to the present time: together with a Statement shewing the Services which it has performed.

5. " An Account of the particulars
the sum of 97,248*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* paid by th
Paymaster General in the year 1808 f
Public Offices.

6. " An Account of the particulars
the sum of 285,685*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* paid by th
Paymaster-General for barracks in th
year 1808 in Great Britain, and of th
sum of 381,364*l.* 13*s.* 8¾*d.* paid in the sam
period in Ireland.

7. " An Account of the particulars
the sum of 131,818*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* paid by th
Paymaster General in Great Britain in th
year 1808 for Staff and Garrison, and
the sum of 70,335*l.* paid in the same perio
in Ireland.

8. " An Account of the particulars
the Expence incurred by recruiting th
Army from the commencement of th
present war to the 5th of Jan. 1809.

9. " An Account of the particulars
the Expence incurred for Clothing th
Army in the 3 years ending 5th Ja
1809.

10. " An Account of the particulars
the sum of 5,108,900*l.* paid by the Offic
of Ordnance in 1808, for services at hom
and abroad, so far as the same can
made up.

11. " An Account of the particulars
the Expence incurred since the commence
ment of the present war, in building, r
pairing, and making Fortifications, Ma
tello Towers, the Military Canal, and th
purchase of lands connected with th
aforesaid matters, throughout the Unite
Kingdom, to 5th Jan. 1809.

12. " An Account of the particula
of the Expence incurred in building
new Mint, and providing Machinery f
the same; together with an Estimate
the sum wanting to complete it.

13. " An Account of the Establishme
of His Majesty's Mint, shewing the amou
of the salaries and perquisites paid an
belonging to each officer.

14. " An Account of the particulars
the amount of Monies paid for Naval Se
vices in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, ex
cepting so much as was paid for wages
officers and seamen, and to persons employ
ed in his majesty's Dock Yards.

15. " An Account of the particulars
the Expence incurred in the present sessio
for Printing and Stationary for both house
of parliament.

16. " An Account of the Expence in
curred by the Military College, from i
first institution to the 5th Jan. 1809.

17. " An Account of the particulars

Expence incurred in the year ending
Jan. 1809, for confining, maintaining,
d employing Convicts at home.

18. " An Account of the sums paid to
erican Loyalists since the year 1783,
d of the expence incurred in investi-
ting their claims.

19. " An Account of the establishment
the Commissariat Department of the
ited Kingdom ; shewing the salaries
d to the several persons belonging to it,
d particulars of the rents paid, and to
om, for houses, offices, and stores- be-
ging to the department, and also shew-
every expenditure thereof, in the 3
rs ending 5th Jan. 1809.

20. " An Account of the particulars of
payment of 418,230*l.* 7*s.* 10½*d.* in the
ar ending 5th Jan. 1809, out of the Vote
Credit for Ireland for that year.

21. " An Account of all sums advanced
der any head out of the Public Fund to
support of the British colonies.

22. " An Account of the expences in-
rred by the corps of Royal Artillery,
nners and Drivers, for three years, end-
5th Jan. 1809 ; also an Account of
numbers of that corps that have been
Foreign Service during those years ;
d also an Account of all sums of money
d for the purchase, hire, and keep of
tract horses by the Board of Ordnance
ring that period.

24. " An Account of all Monies paid as
munerations to Commissioners, whether
pointed by the crown or parliament, for
enquiries into Public Expenditure, from
year 1780 to the present time ; dis-
guishing each Commission."

On the question being put, upon the
st motion :

Mr. *Huskisson* rose and said ; Mr. Speak-
With whatever feelings of surprize
d regret I may have witnessed the con-
ct of the hon. gent., on the occasion of
first broaching, in another place, the
ject which he has now at last brought
der the consideration of the house, those
lings have by no means been awakened,
her by the explanation which the hon.
nt. has just given of the motives by
ich he has been actuated, or by the
tement which he has submitted to
house in support of his proposition,
in the first instance, I observed, with
onishment, a member of this house, one
the guardians of the public purse, and
too who professes to watch over the
lic expenditure with more than an ordi-
ry degree of jealousy and anxiety, seeking an opportunity, not during the recess of parliament, but in the middle of a session, not in this house, but at a public meeting, stating that he could point out a plan by which eleven millions a year might be saved to the country; that astonishment was, if possible, increased, when I saw the hon. gent. attending, day after day, in his place here without giving the house any intimation of the means by which this most desirable object might be effected. The hon. gent. could not be ignorant, that, on the one hand, such a declaration was calculated to make a strong impression out of doors; that from the character of the meeting at which it was made, it would be disseminated through the public with a mischievous activity; and on the other, that it was only in this house that the plan could be discussed with a view to any beneficial result, or that any practical measure could be taken for attaining its professed object; and yet, Sir, the hon. gent. has just informed us, that it was not his intention to have brought forward any part of this notable scheme in the present session. In a tone, almost of anger and complaint, he tells you that he has been goaded and challenged by the frequent calls made upon him here; that yielding to such importunity, and not to any sense of his public duty, he, on this last day of the session, condescends to point out the means of relieving the public from the pressure of the Property Tax. What, Sir, is the light in which the hon. gent. places his own conduct by his statement of this evening? Two months ago he had ascertained, to the entire satisfaction, I presume, of his own mind, that a tax producing upwards of eleven millions a year could be taken off without any detriment to the public service; he had, at that time, so completely matured the measures of reform by which this saving could be effected, as publicly to record his opinion: and to-night he tells you that it never was his intention, in this session to follow up that opinion by any proposition in this house! In the view of the hon. gent., then, the saving of eleven millions is a matter of such little moment, that the means of enacting it being delivered by him in his middle of one session, it consists with his sense of public duty, to postpone the application of those means till the next. But it also consists with this same sense of duty, in the mind of the hon. gent., to send forth the assertion to the public, under such circumstances, and cou-

pled such sentiments, as appeared to the meeting, where it was first uttered, best calculated to create an impression, that the blame of the continuance of this tax is solely to be ascribed to the corruption of this house. The blame, if blame there be, of not having investigated the hon. gent.'s plan of economy in this session must fall entirely upon himself. The mischief likewise, if mischief ensue, from his indiscreet assertions, must be laid entirely at his door. The delusion and the disappointment are equally of his own creating. That the hon. gent.'s plan will end in the disappointment of those who gave credit to his assertions, must, I think, be obvious to every member of this house, who has listened to the details brought forward by the hon. gent. I shall not attempt to follow him through all these details. If, indeed, they had been supported by any thing like reasoning or proof, I might have found it necessary to trespass upon the indulgence of the house, with such statements as the arguments of the hon. gent. might have appeared to me to require? but when the hon. gent. brings forward nothing but a string of bare assertions, it would be a waste of time to meet them in detail by other assertions of an opposite nature. Indeed, sir, from the manner in which the hon. gent. treats this subject, I am at a loss to understand why he should confine his savings to eleven millions. With the same facility, and by the same process, he might produce a saving of twenty; and certainly there are other reformers, out of doors, with a degree of self-confidence, equal to that of the hon. gent., who do not scruple to tell the public that twenty millions might be saved without any detriment to the public service. Their assertions, I make no doubt, are made with the same sincerity, proclaimed with the same patriotic views, and calculated to produce the same beneficial purposes as those of the hon. gent. He, however, is only bound by the minor pledge; but having been the first to start, his anxiety to redeem that pledge, may, perhaps, have been quickened, this evening, by the bolder strides of those who have since followed him in this mighty career.

The first idea of this saving appears to have suggested itself to the hon. gent.'s mind in consequence of a discovery he made in the annual accounts, that the total expenditure of Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1808, was seventy-one millions, and that in the year ending the 5th of January, 1809, it wa seventy-nine millions. The hon. gen finds an increase of charge to the amoun of eight millions, and the necessary an natural inference is, that a saving of eleve may be made. Having come to this irresistible conclusion, the hon. gent. hasten to publish his discovery at the Crown an Anchor, and has since laboured to make u an account, shewing the means by whic this saving may be effected. Before proceed to say a few words on those mean I will endeavour to state very shortly t the house the principal causes of the increased expence in the year 1809, compared with the preceding year. This par of the case might have embarrassed th hon. gent.'s calculation, and he therefor very discreetly appears to have exclude it altogether from his account. In th first place there is the augmentation to th charge of the public debt, occasioned b the loan of the year, amounting to abo 800,000*l.* In the navy an increased expense of 1,500,000*l.* owing principally t the increased price of naval stores. In th army, an increase to the same amoun owing to the augmentation of our regula force, and to our having had a great proportion of that force employed in activ operations in Spain and Portugal. Ther is also 1,500,000*l.* in arrear of debt du by the public to the East India Company for services performed by them in forme years; and about 3,000,000*l.* of pecuniar aid to our allies, of which 1,200,000*l.* wa sent to the king of Sweden, under th sanction of Parliament, and the remainde to aid the patriotic efforts of the Spaniards with the concurrence and approbation o every man in the kingdom. I must leav to the house and to the public to judge whether any of those branches of expenditure could have been abridged, consisten with justice or sound policy; and will no proceed to the plan of the hon. gent.

His first proposal was to disband th two regiments of Life Guards. They ar represented by the hon. gent. to be totall unnecessary: but I think when the hous considers not only that these corps ar connected with the splendour of the thron and are called upon to attend upon th sovereign whenever he visits any publi place in the metropolis, but that their services are required on all occasions of public ceremony, and are essential for the preservation of public tranquillity and goo order, they will not be disposed to allow the hon. gent. to take credit for this pro

sed saving. Indeed it must be obvious
at if these two corps were reduced, other
rps of cavalry, at least to the same ex-
nt, would be requisite for the service and
lice of London, and the utmost saving,
erefore, that could be effected by the
crifice of the other considerations to
hich I have referred, would be, the paltry
fference between the pay of the life
ards and that of cavalry of the line.
e next saving is of a more extensive and
eeping nature. The hon. gent. pro-
ses to reduce the cavalry at once to fif-
en thousand men. Unquestionably, sir,
fifteen thousand men be a sufficient body
cavalry for this country to maintain, all
ove that number should be reduced;
t the hon. gent. assumes the fact; and,
we are prepared, upon the mere *ipse*
cit of that hon. gent., to disband nearly
e-half of our cavalry, the saving must
llow as a matter of course. This is no
nderful discovery. But is the house
epared to act upon the bare assertion of
e hon. gent., and to allow his authority
on this great military question, unsup-
rted by any statement or argument
hatever, unaccompanied with any com-
rative view of the proportion which the
valry of an army like ours ought to bear
its infantry, to outweigh the opinions of
the great military characters who have
en constituted upon this subject, and the
dgment of the house itself? Indeed, sir,
e time which the hon. gent. has chosen
r proposing this reduction is somewhat
ngular. It is precisely at a moment when
considerable proportion of our cavalry
distinguishing itself upon foreign ser-
ce, when we are called upon, from all
arters, to send a much larger corps to
-operate with our allies, and when our
cisive superiority in this description of
rce has recently been so strongly mark-
l and acknowledged by our own generals,
d felt by our enemies. This is the
riod of the war which the hon. gent.
lects in order to bring forward a pro-
osal to get rid of nearly one-half of the
valry.

To the Foreign Corps, his next head of
trenchment, he shews still less of his in-
ulgence. They must be swept away al-
gether. He has talked of them as a de-
ription of men not to be tolerated, whose
xistence as a military corps is a disgrace
the country, and whose conduct on ser-
ce has shewn them to be destitute both
fidelity and courage. In this general
escription I can by no means concur; such charges appear to me as contrary to recorded facts as they are cruel and illiberal towards that meritorious class of men, who, from feelings of loyalty and fidelity above all praise, have been the victims, for these last sixteen years, of that dreadful revolution which began by their ruin, and has now nearly effected the ruin of the civilized world. That some trifling instances of misconduct may have occurred in the emigrant corps, as they do in all other corps; that some of them were recruited by methods which I never did approve of, are facts which I am not prepared to deny; but those instances have been artfully and grossly exaggerated, whilst their deeds of gallantry and heroism are kept out of sight. I will not detain the house by recalling them at present; but if the hon. gent. is at a loss for one instance, let him look at the siege of Ypres by the French in the last war, when an emigrant regiment sallied forth with a spirit never excelled, to cut its way through the besieging army, an attempt which excited the admiration and surprize of the British and Austrian commanders, when the few, who had survived the desperate enterprize, joined the allied forces. But, Sir, what is the description of foreign corps which we now possess, and which the hon. gent. is so anxious to dismiss ignominously from our service? They consist of men, born subjects of and owing allegiance to the same sovereign with ourselves—of men who, when driven from Hanover by the unprovoked aggression of the enemy, sought an asylum in this country. What course on that occasion would the hon. gent. have taken? Would he have repelled them from our shores?—Would he have advised his and their sovereign to have shut his ports, and refused his protection to men who had such strong claims to that protection? Would he have driven them, in despair, into the ranks of the enemy, or would he now send them back to Hanover, in order that a conscription may force them into those ranks? Had such been our policy, the chance of war might perhaps have brought them into this country as prisoners; and instead of paying them to fight our battles, we might now have had to maintain them, at nearly the same expence, mixed in our prisons with the inveterate enemies of this country. Is this the only footing upon which the honourable gentleman would have been willing to have given them an asylum?—To the loose general charge the

hon. gent. has thrown out against them of misconduct in the field, I can only oppose the authority of the British generals, under whom they served in Zealand and on the Peninsula, and, I trust, their favourable testimony will have as much weight with the house as the unsupported assertion of the hon. gentleman. After all, the house must recollect, that if we disband and send home these 20,000 foreigners, this diminution in our army must be made up by an equal number of Englishmen, to be raised at a much greater, and maintained at an equal expence; so that this discovery of the hon. gent. would effect no saving, unless he could also persuade the house and the country, that our regular force, which it has been the uniform endeavours of the house to augment, could undergo a reduction of 20,000 men without any inconvenience.

On the subject of the Local Militia I shall not detain the house by any detail. The hon. gent. has called it the most profligate of all establishments; I shall only say that it is an establishment called for by the voice of the country, and by the sense of this house; that it is the description of force which, from its nature and composition, seems of all others, the least calculated to increase patronage, and to afford scope for profligate establishments; that the hon. gent., with his view of the subject, should have opposed the measure itself, when it was under the consideration of parliament, a course which I do not recollect him to have taken. But when parliament has directed this force to be provided, the executive government would be grossly remiss if it neglected to carry the law into execution; and I am sure that it would be impossible to raise, embody, and officer, so large a force, without incurring the full amount of expence granted by parliament for this purpose. So long, therefore, as this force is maintained upon its present footing, the hon. gent. cannot expect any saving to be effected.

I shall not follow the hon. gent. through the details of all the other savings which he has proposed, because the house must have perceived that they all rest upon the same foundation—the mere assertions of the hon. gent., that such and such establishments are useless, that such and such reductions may be effected. To such assertions so supported, or rather so totally unsupported, it is unnecessary for me to oppose any thing more than counter assertions; though I cannot help observing that all the services to which he has ob jected are annually brought under the con sideration of parliament; that provisio is annually made for their support by th votes of this house: and that it is too muc for the hon. gent. to expect that a me declaration from him that such servic are useless should be all the proof th parliament would require on the subjec In no instance does the hon. gent. co descend to explain either the principles his retrenchment, or to give us any calc lation by which he has ascertained th precise sum to be saved. Thus, in adver ing to fortifications, he tells us that they a altogether unnecessary—that their prese expence is 700,000 *l.* per annum, but th 200,000 *l.* would be sufficient. Can an thing be more loose in reasoning—mo unsatisfactory in its result? Why not ta credit for the whole 700,000 *l.*? As all fo tification is useless, on what *data* is it th the hon. gent. finds that 200,000 *l.* pe annum is the precise sum which ought be appropriated to this unnecessary pu pose? Is not this trifling with the tim and good sense of the house? How far system of fortification ought to form part of the defence of this kingdom, is o of the questions upon which military me and this house have been most divided opinion; but the hon. gent. feels no di ficulty in deciding upon it. In his view all fortifications are useless; but as 500,000 will answer his purpose, he is generousl pleased to allow us 200,000 *l.* for th amusement of those who are of a differen opinion. In the article of army clothin the hon. gent calculates upon a saving 270,000 *l.* per annum. This is a downrig fallacy. The great coats for the army, an all the clothing provided by governmen whether for our own forces, or for thos of our allies, are procured by public com petition, and as this is the very mode b which the hon. gent. proposes to effec his saving, it is obvious that no furthe abatement can be looked for upon thes supplies. As to the clothing which ever colonel furnishes to his own regimen government has no concern in it. Th off-reckonings, out of which the regimen is clothed, are, as it is well known, an a lowance of a very old standing, made t the colonel for this purpose, and which notwithstanding the rise of every article has not been augmented. The interferenc of government goes no farther than t take care that the regiment is clothed according to the regulations of the army.—

e mode and terms of purchase are left ogether to the colonel, and the diffeace between the price paid by him, and e off-reckonings allowed by government, nstitutes the chief profit of the regiment. under these circumstances, the general cers of the army, who are colonels regiments, pay for their own clothing, the hon. gent. states, more than is alwed by government to its contractors, it oves a liberal attention on their part to comfort of their men, and on the part government that every possible econo- is practised; for in this head of exnditure the hon. gentleman's grievance that government is served cheaper than individual. In the whole statement, hon. gent. appears to proceed on the nciple that the large establishments we obliged to maintain, for the purpose of curity and defence, as this house and the untry have hitherto foolishly conceived, ve no such object; but that the real obt of them is in order to create a large pence. This is the discovery which it s reserved for the hon. gent. to make. e hon. gent. argues as if the order of oceeding in this house was this—First, to olve to make our expenditure as large as ssible, and then to frame our establishnts accordingly. Hitherto, Sir, we have en taught to believe that our establishnts were regulated according to the exncies of the country, and that the grants this house were governed by such estashments. But this view of the subject uld not suit the hon. gentleman's purse; and, in the whole of his argument, has assumed that our present establishnts were not necessary for any other rpose than that of adding to our expence. has argued as if we were all agreed on s point, and as if the only difference of nion would be whether they should or ould not be kept up, for the sake of keep up that expence. It is unnecessary, refore, till we have settled this princi, to follow him into any further detail: there is, however, one remaining point, which I feel it necessary to correct a srepresentation of the hon. gentleman. stated the establishment of the comssariat department in Ireland to amount no less a sum than 95,000 *l.* whilst the ole expenditure was only 235,000 *l.* e hon. gent., with an air of triumph, ted of the house to consider what must the character of such a department, in ich 95,000*l.* was necessary in an estashment, in order to manage an expenditure of 235,000*l.* Now, Sir, the hon. gent. must know, that the whole expence of this department, so far as relates to what is generally described under the head of Establishment, such as salaries, allowances, office rent, coals and candles, &c. does not exceed 20,000*l.*; and that in the estimate from which he has taken his statement is included a corps of waggoners, amounting to 1050 horses, with their drivers, &c. necessary in Ireland for the delivery of the supplies to the troops both in quarters and in camp, the contractors there not undertaking for the deliveries, as is the case in this country. In this respect, therefore, the statement of the hon. gent. was calculated to convey an unfounded impression, and a false charge, which I have thought it necessary to set right.

Although I have now trespassed on the attention of the house much longer than I intended, by the observations I have thought it right to make on the hon. gentleman's statement with respect to the public expenditure, I must request their indulgence for a few remarks, which I find it necessary to make on the animadversions which he has made on the collection of the revenue. He goes first into the Post-Office, and having ascertained that in Mr. Palmer's time this service was performed at an expence of 200,000 *l.* per ann. and that it now costs 400,000 *l.* he immediately infers that abuses exist to the amount of 200,000 *l.* and that this sum might be saved to the public. Now, Sir, I will take upon myself so assert, that if this subject is inquired into, in the most minute detail, the house will be satisfied that no increase of expence has been incurred in this department which was not absolutely necessary for the public service, or conducive to the improvement and increase of this branch of the revenue. The house must be aware, that in this department as well as in others, it has been found absolutely necessary to augment the salaries of the clerks and subordinate officers, who, I am sure, are not now overpaid. Where the numbers employed are necessarily very large, as in the post-office, including all the postmasters, letter carriers, &c. in the kingdom, an augmentation, however small to each person, amounts to a very considerable sum upon the whole. Whatever other augmentation of expence has been incurred, arises either from the increased accommodation which has been afforded to the trade, and to every part of the community, by opening new lines of communication, establishing new post-offices, by a daily delivery of letters to places where they were formerly conveyed only every other day, or twice a week, and very much by the increased establishment and expence of packets for maintaining an intercourse with distant countries, and for the encouragement of our foreign commerce. But, in making these improvements, I can assure the house, that the post-office, though at all times justly anxious to contribute to the comfort and convenience of the community, and particularly of the commercial class, does not lose sight of the interests of the revenue; and that there is scarcely one of them which does not amply compensate for the increased expence; so that the addition which has been made to the public charge in this respect, if examined merely as a revenue consideration, is money well laid out, and productive of a very large sum to the public income.

In the Customs, the hon. gent. has stated one instance of what he conceives to be a most flagrant abuse, and he called upon the house to take it as a specimen of what he conceives to be the whole system of the department. This instance is the appointment of three new surveyors general, making ten in the whole, at a time when the original number of seven ought, in the judgment of the hon. gent., to have been diminished, in consequence of the new docks; why, Sir, it is on account of these new docks that this addition became necessary, one for each of the three great establishments, West India, London, and East India docks. I will not trouble the house with details on this subject, but shall content myself with stating in the presence of members of this house, whose mercantile knowledge I am sure will enable them to confirm that statement, that so far from there being any superfluous officers in the customs, the treasury is constantly applied to by the trade of this and all the principal ports for an increase of the establishment. We have constantly representations before us, that business is retarded from the want of a sufficient number of custom-house officers. The board of customs is constantly assailed with complaints of a like nature; and it is always slowly, reluctantly, and not till they are most fully impressed with the necessity of the case, that they recommend any addition; and the treasury never makes any such additions withou their recommendation. So much, Sir, fo superfluous establishments in this branc of the revenue, in which I need not r mind the house, that all sinecure office and places executed by deputy, wer abolished by Mr. Pitt.

In the Stamps, however, the hon. gen has discovered an expenditure of 130,000 whilst, in his opinion, the manageme and collection of that revenue ought n to cost more than 30,000*l*. Nothing b the most complete ignorance on this su ject can excuse such an assertion on th part of the hon. gent. The revenue stamps amounts at present to nea 5,000,000*l*. The use of them is becom necessary in almost all the transactio of life; and consequently distributors a required in every part of the kingdo In the course of last year, the treasu directed the poundage allowed to tho distributors to be reduced one-fourth but we have since been obliged to suspe the order, upon finding that persons cou not be procured to take upon themsel the trouble and responsibility of the di tribution at that reduced rate; and th much more would have been lost to th public by a diminished sale than wou have been gained by the reduction. Th house, besides, must be aware, that wh titles to property are invalidated, if th proper stamps are not used, when eve species of security is made to depend up them, and when to all this, heavy pena ties are superadded, to compel the use stamps, and for the protection of the rev nue, it becomes the duty of the governme to place them within the reach of th consumer; and that therefore, indepe dently of revenue considerations, we a called upon not to abridge the means distribution. With respect to the esta blishment in London, so far from its bei excessive or overpaid, there is no depar ment in which the salaries in general a so low, as gentlemen will see, when I sta to them, that not a month ago, upon clerk's situation becoming vacant, th commissioners applied to the treasury appoint a successor, stating the sala was 50*l*. per annum, and that the offic required constant attendance, and eve qualification that can be required from a efficient clerk, and was moreover a situa tion of great trust. How were the trea sury to find out a fit person for such remuneration? who would accept th appointment? All the other salaries a

rly in the same proportion, and I
e no scruple to say, that not only jus-
to individuals, but to the public in-
st, requires that they should be raised,
ne public expect efficiency and fidelity
he persons employed. The hon. gent.
st therefore be prepared for an aug-
ntation of charge in this department.

With respect to the collection of the
d and Assessed Taxes, the hon. gent.
ot more fortunate in his observations.
e poundage allowed to the receivers
been reduced one-fourth by the pre-
treasury; and, with respect to the
ances in their hands, they are limited to
0*l.* for each receiver; a sum con-
ered to be necessary to enable them to
et the demands to which they are liable
the public service, under the authority
cts of parliament; so that their profits
not be found to be more than adequate
the trouble, and especially to the re-
nsibility of their situations as public
ountants; to the risk to which they
exposed, and the immense securities
y are required to give to the public.
h respect to the balances in the hands
he parochial collectors, stated by the
gent. to amount to 380,000*l.* is he not
re that these collectors are not servants
he public, nor under any controul of
treasury, but appointed by the dis-
commissioners? These balances
probably arrears due by the respec-
parishes on their several assessments.
ome instance, a delay of payment is
voidable unless the commissioners, in
m is vested the power of enforcing it,
ld resort to measures of extreme se-
ty; but as government cannot inter-
with the collectors, in no case can
se arrears be ascribed to the negligence
ffice; and with respect to the com-
sioners, they are certainly intitled ra-
to our thanks for their gratuitous ser-
s and zeal, in aid of the efficient col-
ion of the taxes, than to censure for
asional indulgence to parties, who
n a temporary pressure, may be some-
t in arrear.

he hon. gent. has correctly stated,
the annual printed account, that the
l charge for the collection and manage-
nt of the revenue is 2,800,000*l.* but,
ording to what calculation he assumes
1,000,000*l.* might be saved in this
rge I am at a loss to conjecture. It is
that the hon. gent. states that the
enue might be collected at the rate of
e per cent. instead of 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* the present rate. Here again we have nothing but the bare assertion of the hon. gent. Just as well might we have said two per cent. or even any lower rate; in point of reason, one assertion is as good as the other; and for any purpose of impression out of doors (for I cannot believe such a mode of argument will have any weight here,) that assertion which promises the largest saving would probably best serve the hon. gent.'s views of reform. The hon. gent. has discovered, however, that in Scotland the rate of management and collection is higher than in England; and he at once concludes that the difference grows out of some abuse. In this he betrays his total ignorance of the subject. How can he suppose, that in one part of the country, poor and thinly peopled, a small revenue can be collected at the same rate as a much larger sum is in another part of the country, of a totally different description? Does the hon. gent. suppose that the revenue of a Welsh county or a Highland district, for instance, is collected at the same rate as that of Middlesex?

I cannot quit this part of the subject without observing that the hon. gent. appears altogether to forget, that this sum of 2,800,000*l.*, stated to be the charge for the management of the revenue, includes many services and expences which do not belong properly to the mere collection of the taxes. For instance, the whole establishment and expense of the post-office, which in one view ought to be considered rather as an undertaking of the first importance to the comforts and interest of every class of society, paid for by every man in proportion to the use and advantage he derives from it, and leaving a profit to the state by which it is carried on, than as a mere tax; with which, as such, we have nothing to do but to impose and levy it at the cheapest rate we can. In the customs, too, a great part of the establishment is framed, and of the expense incurred, not so much for the collection of revenue as for the enforcement of our navigation laws, and of the system of our colonial trade. This is particularly the case in all our foreign settlements, and in some degree at home. All the outgoings in this department, therefore, are not to be charged to the expense of collecting duties under its management.

In the course of his statement the hon. gent. has found himself called upon twice to compliment the system of economy of the late ministers. A comparison of the expenditure of the army, during the year they were in office with that of the last year, afforded him the first opportunity. In making this comparison, however, the hon. gent. forgot to state, that with the increase of expense, the total number of the army had also proportionably increased, and that the amount of force employed on foreign service was much greater; so that whatever might be the merit of economy in a preceding administration, the present one is not to be blamed as wanting in this respect, unless it can be shewn that it was unwise to augment our regular army, and impolitic to employ a considerable part of it in active operations against the enemy. The other instances, however, the hon. gent. thinks conclusive. During the reign of these economical ministers, he says the charge of management and collection was only 4*l.* 8*s.* per cent. and it is now 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* an increase in the charge of collection to the amount of 200,000*l.* brought on by the profusion of the present government. If the hon. gent. had been better informed on this subject, he would have been obliged to admit that this increase of charge was owing to very different causes. When the present Board of Treasury came into office, they found among other legacies left to them by their predecessors, a very detailed Report from the Board of Excise of the whole of their establishment. By this document it appeared that the salaries of the excise officers had not been raised for a great number of years, and that they were then totally inadequate to their support. The commissioners of excise represented, in the most forcible terms, the absolute necessity of increasing these salaries, as the only means of securing the revenue, by placing the officers above corruption; and, that, if the augmentation was any longer delayed, a general system of laxity, and a dependance on the parties whom they were appointed to survey, for loans of money, or assistance of some description, would be the inevitable result. With this representation, in which the commissioners who made it had no personal interest, as their salaries were not raised—with the example of Ireland, of which we have heard so much lately, before our eyes, with a revenue of 20 millions, and a system of collection, hitherto remarkable for its regularity and purity, at stake, and with such a forcible appeal from the officers themselves to the justic of the treasury, could we hesitate in ac ceding to the proposed augmentation their salaries? It was granted, an though, upon an average, it did not ex ceed 15*l.* to each officer, the aggregat increase of charge was considerably mor than 100,000*l.* a year.

Another great, but unavoidable augmen tation in the charge of collection, aris from the abolition of fees in the custom To the officers who have hitherto receive their remuneration in this shape, fixed sa laries are now allotted, payable out of th revenue. The apparent increase of charg arising from this alteration is very con siderable, while, in point of fact, th officers receive less now than they di before; and though this is not an oppo tunity for going at large into the subjec I have no hesitation in stating to the hou that both the revenue and the publ have received great benefit and accom modation from this salutary regulation.

These two circumstances of an increas of salary to the officers of excise, and the abolition of fees in the customs, wou alone account for an augmentation charge exceeding 200,000 *l.* per annum and if the increase of charge upon th whole collection is not more considerab within these last two years, it is owing reforms and retrenchments which ha been made in other branches, such as th reduction of poundage in the office taxes, and the abolition of certain offic in the customs and other branches, th continuance of which was found to be un necessary. Two other savings which th hon. gent. has proposed, remain to b shortly noticed. The first is of a very sin gular description, nothing less than th abolition of the board of auditors, and commissions for examining and stating th public accounts of the kingdom, Th hon. gent. proposes that this service shou be performed by Committees of this hous Extravagant as this idea must appear, cannot give the hon. gent. credit for bein the first to suggest it. I have seen it broug forward elsewhere, but as it appeared me, not so much with a view to any pra tical result, as with a design, in which am sure the hon. gent. does not partak of calumniating this house. In the hand of others it has been used as a pretend for vilifying the members of this hous for accusing them of indifference to th public expenditure, and of neglect of dut as the trustees of the people, for not lool

into their accounts. Such imputa-
ms, for aught I know, may answer the
rposes of those who are aiming at re-
m, by working upon the passions of the
pple, and the prejudices of the ignorant;
I am convinced that there is not one
ntleman in this house, or one rational
n in the country, the hon. gent. except-
who can be of opinion that the public
counts can be effectually examined by
mmittees of this house. The necessary
ies which are already imposed upon
mbers of parliament, both in the house
d in its committees, are of themselves
ficient to occupy their time. But I do
rest my objection upon this. The ex-
ination of long, complicated, and intri-
e accounts, involving questions respect-
the rates of exchange, the value of
eign money, and a thousand other diffi-
t points, is, in itself, a science requiring
uninterrupted attention of the auditors,
d of able accountants, and experienced
rks under them. Could we expect these
alifications and this assiduity in commit-
s of this house?—Could committees ex-
ine parties and witnesses upon oath and
rry on a most extensive correspondence
h them in all quarters of the world?
is examination of accounts is, of all
ers, the service which a fluctuating
dy of men would be least competent to
rry on. Further—could members of
s house be divested of all party-feeling,
rendered inaccessible to all canvas and
icitation? for such, Sir, ought to be, and
elieve is, the character and situation of
auditor. In his functions there is much
ich partakes of the judicial character,
d his official tenure is the same as that
the judge's. In short, I am perfectly
rtain, that if the examination of the pub-
accounts was devolved to committees
this house, they would either undergo
examination at all; or, if they were
ked into, it would only be such a for-
l examination as would afford a cover to
ud, or occasionally, perhaps, an oppor-
y of gross injustice to particular indivi-
als, who might be brought before us as
countants. The hon. gent. has described
board of auditors as not discharging
eir duty. In this he is mistaken. The
ablishment of this board was greatly
arged by the late administration, and
s whimsical enough that the hon. gent.
ould almost in the same breath praise
em for this exertion, by which the ex-
nce was more than doubled (not impro-
rly doubled,) and propose to abolish the establishment altogether. The fact is, that within these two years, a great many of the accounts in arrear have been audited, and that there is reason to hope that the whole arrear may be done away in a few years, by a continuance of the present establishment, subject to such modifications as experience may suggest. The other saving the hon. gent. proposes to effect is, by doing away the whole of the charge now stated in the printed accounts, under the head of Bounties, amounting to upwards of 500,000*l.* per annum. From the manner in which they were noticed by hon. gent., one would almost conceive that he is disposed to represent these bounties as largesses or gratuities arbitrarily given, instead of being, as they really are, drawbacks and encouragements to our manufactures, and some of our most essential branches of national industry. There is not a shilling paid in this way, except under the express authority of some act of parliament, or which could be withdrawn, without involving in ruin some important establishment, or some great national object.'

The amount of our public taxes, and the mode of collecting them, having been brought under the consideration of the house by the speech of the hon. gent., I trust I shall be excused for taking this opportunity of stating my entire concurrence in the view taken of our situation in this respect, as stated by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) in the course of the present session. I agree with him, that great as is the amount of our present taxes, it is certainly not greater, in proportion to the means of the country to bear the burden, than in any former war; whilst in every other respect our situation is infinitely more satisfactory. I am aware that the sum levied annually upon the people of this country, is now three times as great as it was in the year 1793; and though this weight of taxation is severely felt by some classes, and especially by those who possess only unimprovable fixed incomes, a circumstance greatly to be regretted, I maintain that, upon the whole, the present generation of the people of England, considered as a nation, have more means of procuring to themselves the enjoyment of life than any of their predecessors; that, in point of fact, we witness daily, in every part of the country, a greater degree of luxury, and a greater share of comfort than at any former period; and that there is no corner of the kingdom in which, so far from there existing any symptoms of deterioration or decay, we have not seen, within these last twenty years, the most certain indications of improvement; an improvement, however retarded by continued war and increasing burthens, still progressive, and adding every year, more or less, to the stock of national wealth and public prosperity. The actual sum levied upon the people of this country, in proportion to the population, is, I admit, greater than any other country of Europe; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, I am fully convinced that there is no great nation on the continent in which the taxes are so lightly felt, and collected with so little of oppression and vexation as in this country. This observation is drawn from me, not by any thing that has been said by the hon. gent., but it is certainly not altogether foreign to the subject, and will not, I trust, be deemed misplaced by the house; as I perceive, that out of doors, persons professing to be the zealous co-operations of the hon. gent. in schemes of parliamentary reform, are using every endeavour to inculcate a belief that in France at least the taxes are few and light, and collected in the most gentle and lenient manner. Are those who would delude and deceive the people of this country by such statements, aware that in France, in addition to that most dreadful of all taxes and all oppressions, the military conscription, and to a thousand other arbitrary and vexatious exactions, personal and pecuniary, the land-tax alone frequently exceeds one-half of the rent; that in France, taxes in arrear are levied by a process little short of military execution; by the quartering of soldiers upon the party until the arrear is discharged? This is no imaginary picture; it is no other than a faithful description of what takes place under that rule of military depotism, and what would too soon be imitated, perhaps in this country, if those who were now most clamorous against our existing institutions could persuade the people of England to adopt their plans of reform, and incur the risks and dangers of a revolution.

There is only one topic more on which I will trouble the house at present. The hon. gent. has reminded us of the declaration of a gallant admiral (Markham), a member of this house, that one-third of the whole expence of the navy might be saved without prejudice to the service. That expense is now nineteen millions, and if the hon. gent., upon the strength of this assertion, has taken credit for a third of this sum, it will certainly be of main assistance to him towards effecting his proposed saving of eleven millions. The assertion, I am afraid, was made in this house. Whether it was drawn from the hon. admiral in a moment of irritation, and when he was off his guard, I cannot pretend to say; but I have no difficulty in declaring that it was a rash and inconsiderate assertion, and one which could not be realized. Since it was made, that gallant admiral has been in office: he has not only been a lord of the admiralty, but what is called the managing lord, a phrase perfectly well understood at that board. In this situation he must have been anxious, not only from every feeling of duty to his country, but from the most powerful personal motives, to make good his assertion, and to establish the truth and solidity of it, by his own practice and his own retrenchments. Further, he must have been goaded to it every day and almost every hour, by that economical administration which has this night received the praise of the hon. gent., an administration under which the gallant admiral served, and the members of which had, in manner, made themselves parties to this pledge, not less by their boasted profession of economy, than by the cheers of approbation they gave to the original assertion. Well, Sir, what was done? Were the estimates of the navy diminished? Was the sum required for wages, for wear and tear for victualling, less than under the hon. admiral's predecessors? In fact, was the expense lessened at all, or in any material degree? It certainly was not, and the hon. admiral must have found his mistake. It would be preposterous to pretend, that in an expenditure of nineteen millions, there exist no abuses at all; but I maintain, that when they are discovered, they are corrected; that there is no wilful waste countenanced by the heads of departments; that there is as much vigilance and as much anxiety to keep down expense in the present admiralty as there could be during the management of the hon. admiral; and that many beneficial regulations have lately been made for this purpose; but that no such saving, as was rashly stated by him to be practicable can be effected; and that the total expence cannot be materially, if at all, diminished as long as the war compels us to keep up our navy to its present establishment far, therefore, from the hon. gent.'s tement having derived any real support om the assertion of the gallant admiral, ay that he, as I trust the house and the blic will, ought to take a warning from to mistrust his own assertions; and at the mischievous use which has been ade of the gallant admiral's statement d authority out of doors, to create discontent, ought to have been a lesson to e hon. gent. to hesitate before he came rward here, or elsewhere, with similar sertions, calculated not to alleviate any al pressure, but to add to the irritation the public, not to improve our resources, at to increase the difficulties and hazards separable from a protracted war, of which man can foresee the issue, or determine e duration.

Mr. *R. Ward* said, the assertion of the on. gent. with respect to the canvas being ad, and supplied by the inspector, was ot correct. The contractor received but 400*l.* per annum; out of that it could ot be supposed the person could amass a rtune. If, however, the hon. gent. ould come to-morrow and prove the atement he had made true, the Inspector ould be turned out.

Mr. *Parnell.* Before, Sir, I make any ply to the arguments of the hon. member Mr. Huskisson), I feel myself called upon assert, that a charge more unfounded ould not be made by one member against nother, than that which he has brought rward against the hon. member behind e, for making his statement on the last ay of the session. I appeal to every ember in the house, whether or not the on. member was not compelled to do so; nd whether it was possible for him after e threat that was held over him from the oment at which he first expressed his pinion of the saving that might be made the public expenditure, to permit the ession to close, without coming down to e house and stating the grounds of that pinion. The hon. member has said, that e hon. mover has made a statement of ere assertion, and that he could just as asily have proved a saving of a million as saving of 500,000*l.* whenever he had said at he could save the latter sum. This, ir, I positively deny; the statement of he hon. member was replete with sound rgument, supported by indisputable facts, nd corroborated by the best authorities; othing was advanced in it which the hon. ember did not most satisfactorily sustain, nd it was very evident that, when the house heard this statement, a great degree of surprise was excited, in consequence of the extent of proof which the hon. member was able to advance in support of his general opinion. In what the hon. member opposite has said, respecting the expenditure of the last year being greater than the expenditure of the preceding year by seven millions, he has altogether misrepresented the hon. member and me. He made no such absurd position, as that of saying, that because the expenditure had increased seven millions, therefore a saving might be effected of eleven. He referred to this fact merely with a view of shewing that grounds existed for forming a presumption that a considerable saving might be effected, and that whatever he advanced in the detail might be borne out. But how does the hon. member account for this increased expenditure? He says that a million and a half of it was paid to the East India Company, and to make out the remainder, he says, that we are to consider the great advance which has taken place in prices! Why, Sir, here it is that the argument of the hon. member behind me appears in its full force. Why has so great an advance in price taken place? Is it in consequence of any improvident measure of this house? I, Sir, maintain that it is—and that if this house did form a true representative body of the people, giving full effect to the abilities of the country, no such measure could have taken place as the Orders in Council, which is the immediate cause of this great advance in prices, and most particularly so on all articles for the navy, the purchase of which forms so considerable an item in the public expenditure. When, Sir, I come to consider the observations of the hon. member upon the statement which has been made to the house, I cannot avoid remarking how very superficially he has dwelt upon that part of it which relates to the Army. It is in this department where, according to common notoriety, the greatest abuses prevail; and in the general management of which, a greater want of sound principles is generally conceived to exist than in any other department; and though the hon. member behind me has made out items on which six millions, in his opinion, might be saved, the hon. member opposite has confined his observations to two of them only, the Foreign Corps and Fortifications. Is the house to conclude from this that the hon. member is unable to meet arguments and authorities advanced upon this general head? I think, Sir, it has, in a great degree, a right to do so; it has at least a right to infer that the hon. member who has proposed this saving, has not done so on the light grounds of mere assertion, imputed to him by the hon. member.

As to the Foreign Corps, any thing that has been said on this head was founded upon the opinions of the most able military and constitutional authorities. The argument of the hon. member, that 700,000*l.* the whole estimate for Fortifications, might as well be taken off as 500,000*l.* is founded in a misconception of what was said on the subject. Five hundred thousand pounds was proposed to be taken off, on the principle that no new Fortifications should be built; a principle which the hon. member admits to be sanctioned by the highest authority, and it is intended to leave 200,000*l.* per annum to maintain those which have been constructed in repair. Under the head of Charges of Management, the hon. member has attempted to shew an error in calculation on the part of the hon. member behind me. He has denied that a diminished rate of management of 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent. would afford a saving of a million a year; and he seemed to rejoice extremely at the discovery which he had made. But the hon. member is himself grossly in error. He has calculated the saving upon the amount of the charges for management of 2,800,000*l.* and not upon the amount of the gross receipt of the revenue of 64,000,000*l.* on which he ought to have calculated it, and which calculation would have shewn him that the saving would exceed a million. As to what the hon. member has said of the impracticability of reducing the rate of the charges of collecting the revenue lower than it is now, I, Sir, can never accede to that doctrine; to pay near three millions a year for the business of collection, is to pay a most enormous sum, and a fact, that on the face of it proves an alteration of system to be absolutely necessary. The whole of the excise revenue is collected at little more than 2 per cent. Why, therefore, 3 per cent. should be too low a rate upon the whole revenue, it not easy to understand, unless that the other departments, being of longer standing, were more encumbered with sinecure offices, pensions and established habits of wasteful expenditure. In regard to the charge of collecting the revenue in Ireland, the hon. member had said nothing. It was proposed to reduce the rate from 11*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent. t 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* the rate at which the Englis revenue is now collected, and this woul effect a saving of 388,000*l.* No one, Si I believe, can deny that there exists goo ground for effecting this saving. I am sure that I know of no reason arising from local circumstances, why this rate o 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* should not be fully sufficient and if proper measures were adopted, feel quite confident that it would prove t be so. The saving which had been proposed to be made by taking away th bounties on promoting and encouragin trade and manufactures, cannot be disputed by any one who forms his opinio on the subject, upon the established principles of political economy; and the hon member not having objected to the amoun which has been set down, in consequenc of some of these bounties being rather o the nature of drawbacks of duty, than direct bounties for the mere encouragemen of trade, as I had in some part conceive them to be, there is good ground to infe that a saving to that amount may be ef cted. In speaking of the commissioner for auditing the public accounts, and inquiring into financial abuses, what th honourable member behind me said has been wholly misunderstood. H said that he found these several board cost the public 80,000*l.* per annum, an that the progress made by them in auditing the accounts, and detecting abuses was very slow and inadequate to such an expenditure, and that it would be better t appoint select Committees of this house to do that business, having one board of auditors to transact the business of each current year. If I understood the hon. member correctly, he proposed this plan with a view of ascertaining, in the most expeditious manner, what part of the six o seven hundred millions, that are now unaccounted for, is *bona fide* due to the public, in order that it might be recovered before a long lapse of time, or accidents might intervene to deprive the public of all chance of recovering what was justly due to them. It appears as if this work of passing such an immense magnitude of accounts could never be performed under the strict rules which bind the auditors, and therefore it is better to place the business in the hands of those who will be equally well calculated to do justice to the public, and at the same time possess great advantages in transacting the business with expedition. It is strange to act on a system, as one of economy, which the outset, imposed on the public a new pense of 80,000*l.* per annum. It is, in t, a system which will counteract any od that might be derived from it; and e that is likely to end in adding consi- rably to the burdens of the people, in- ad of producing the intended effect of minishing them. The hon. member has sunderstood what has been said in re- ect to Newfoundland: it was not intend- t to take credit for a saving of a million this head. The hon. member, who de the statement, has taken credit for 0,000*l.* as a sum that might be saved, the British colonies were so managed, t each should defray nearly all the ex- nse belonging to its own defence. He ted the great value of the fisheries of pe Breton and Newfoundland, in order shew, that if due attention was paid to em, the inhabitants of those colonies ght be enabled to defray all the ex- nses of them, and cease to be burthen- me to this country. Now, Sir, as to the inion which the hon. member behind entertains respecting the military ex- nditure of Ireland, in this I most fully ncur with him, and am desirous to bear th him equal responsibility for the ac- racy of it; for I defy any one to shew t this greatly increased expenditure, m 400,000*l.* in the American war to o millions in 1799, and to near five mil- ns in 1809, can be accounted for by any er means than by the impolitic resist- ce which is made to the constitutional ims of the people of Ireland. It is no- ious to every one, that the object of t expenditure is in a great degree to ep the people in subjection, and that so ge an army would not be wanting, if such object existed. I have therefore ight to say, that if a wiser policy was opted in governing Ireland, a great por- n of this expenditure might be saved, l an additional security obtained for defence of the country, against inva- n, in the hearts and affections of the ole people of Ireland. The people of s country are greatly mistaken, if they nceive that this part of the public ex- nditure is of no concern to them. They y of it, by the articles of the Union, no s than 15 parts out of 17; and they ould be more on their guard, therefore, w they lend themselves to the designs those who create alarms by talking of terrors of popery." They should con- er that they impose upon themselves a charge of no less than two millions a year by refusing to their Catholic fellow subjects their just and constitutional rights.

I must here, Sir, remark upon another point on which the hon. member opposite has greatly mistaken the statement of the hon. member behind me. He has argued as if he took credit for a great saving to be effected in the naval department, in order to make out a total saving of eleven millions. He has done no such thing. The savings which he has calculated upon are —in the army, 6,182,000*l.*—Management of the revenue, 1,110,000*l.*—Commissions of accounts and inquiry, 75,000*l.*—Pensions, 300,000*l.*—Colonies, 500,000*l.*—Bounties, 150,000*l.*—Allowance on management of debt, 210,000*l.*—The military expenditure of Ireland, 2,000,000*l.*—making 10,857,000*l.* The savings which might be effected in the navy departments will amply make good what this sum wants of eleven millions; and it will also cover any errors that may have been made in taking the savings in the other departments so high as 10,857,000*l.* I have felt it due, Sir, to the hon. member behind me, to make these observations in explanation and support of what he has said. The hon. member has undertaken a task of great responsibility, and one attended with great labour, with a view to promote a public object—his exertions, and the manner in which he has made out the grounds of his opinion, entitle him to the thanks of this house and of the country; and as I, Sir, think that the investigation which he has set on foot into every branch of the public expenditure will be attended with the best possible effects, I have felt it my duty to give what support it has lain in my power to give him.

Mr. *Rose* said, that as to the bounties, he could take upon himself to say, that no considerable saving could be made in this point. In fact, the greater part of the bounties were merely drawbacks; and if the plan of the hon. gent. were adopted in thus taking away these bounties, there would be at least 30,000 weavers in Spitalfields turned out of employment the first fortnight. Most of the bounties were merely drawbacks of duty on our manufactures upon exportation. There was no subject which he had considered with greater attention than this of bounties; he had gone over the subject again and again; and if it had appeared to him that any of them could have been taken off without doing an injury to the public, he certainly should have proposed it at times, in which the administration to which he belonged were at a loss to know what new taxes to fix upon. It could certainly be no object to the government to continue unnecessary bounties.

Mr. *Lockhart* said, that instead of there being too many officers employed in the custom-house, there was a pretty general complaint among the merchants that there were too few for the great weight of business that is now going on.

Mr. *H. Thornton* took notice of the steps which had been taken by the Committee of Finance, to reform many abuses of which the hon. gent. had complained. As to the Pension List, he certainly wished it was smaller, but there were many parts of it which no man would wish to reduce. There were pensions to the amount of 355,000*l.* annually to the royal family, and about 70,000*l.* annually to the proprietors of Irish boroughs, as compensation under the act of Union. There were also pensions very properly given to many meritorious servants of the crown. It did not appear to him that out of the whole pension list there was more than 400,000*l.* per annum, on which the proposed reduction could have any operation.

Mr. *Wardle* said, that he had never intended to institute any comparison between the modes of collecting the revenue in this country and in France. As to what he had stated about the inspector of canvas, he would be ready at all events to shew, that he had strong grounds for the statement that he had made.

The several Motions were then read. Mr. Huskisson objected to some of them, as being stated in such a way as to render it impossible to comply with them, and suggested, that the best plan would be to leave it to ministers to make up the accounts according to the scope of the motions, in the best manner they could; and if the Returns were not satisfactory the hon. gent. might renew his motions next session. Mr. Wardle assented to this, and all the motions were agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 20.

[Finance Resolutions.] After moving for resuming the adjourned debate on the first Resolution,

Mr. *Nicholas Vansittart* spoke to the following effect:

Mr. Speaker; I feel myself bound in the first place to acknowledge the candou and liberality of the Gentlemen opposit by whom I have been furnished with ever official assistance which could diminis the trouble of preparing the Resolutio which I am about to submit to the hous or render them more correct and perfec

This is not only a great satisfaction me, for many obvious reasons, but espec ally so, because it will spare the Hou the trouble of any minute investigation the details of the Accounts, which wou be not only irksome and tedious in itse but might divert their attention from tho principal points to which I wish their co sideration to be directed.

Whether those Gentlemen may conc with me or not, in the inferences which may draw from the facts I shall bring fo ward, no dispute can arise on the accura of the facts themselves.

I have, however, still greater satisfactio in believing, from intimations which ha been given me, that the Chancellor of th Exchequer is disposed to concur in th whole of the Resolutions which I sha propose.

This will not only enable me to abrid the statement into which I shall be oblige to enter; but is much more important, affording a presumption that, however th Right Honourable Gentleman may ha departed in the arrangements of the pr sent year, from those principles which think wise and salutary in Finance; I has done so under the real or suppose pressure of some occasional circumstanc and not from any fixed or systematic d ference of opinion.

At the time that in stating the Finan arrangements of the year, he disclosed h intention of charging the greatest part the Loan on the War Taxes, I felt and i timated, that it would be impossible for m to acquiesce in such an arrangement, wit out remonstrance. On some occasion when the subject might have been prope ly discussed, I was prevented, by priva circumstances, from attending; but, I al felt, that considerable advantages wou attend the mode of proceeding now adop ed. If I had *opposed* the Bill for char ing the War Taxes, with much more el quence and ability than belong to me, might have been difficult for the Rig Honourable Gentleman, even if he had se the force of my reasons, to have agreed my conclusion, After having intimat in the Speech from the Throne, and del berately proposed in his Budget, that

- taxes should be brought forward for service of the year; he might not lly have persuaded the Country to ac- sce in the imposition of taxes, which ht be found burdensome; and, which proposed measures had shewn to have n in his opinion, unnecessary and inex- ient. Nor could I overlook the objections ch must occur to a great prolongation of sitting of Parliament, which might pro- ly have been the consequence of such ange of system. But, I hoped, that by pting the present mode of proceeding, entering upon a discussion not imme- ely connected with any practical mea- , but rather in the nature of an histo- l review of measures already past, ugh recent; we should reason with ler minds, and be much more likely to ee in a result which might at least pre- t the repetition of any injurious prac- , if not lead to the immediate remedy mischiefs already effected.

On another ground, I thought the oppor- ity peculiarly favourable for the pro- ding I now propose. It is now three rs since the House has been called upon ake that review of the Finance and nmerce of the Country, which, for a siderable period preceding, had been ost an annual custom; and it has hap- ed that those three years have been ked by circumstances which render h a review particularly interesting.

All the efforts of our enemy have during period been directed, with greater vio- ce and pertinacity than ever, and with a t accession of power, to the destruction of British Commerce, and with it of our re- rces and means of resistance. In ad- on to that exclusion from the Continent, ch the united powers of France and sia seemed to render almost total and olute, we have also found ourselves, in eat degree, excluded from the Western nisphere by the American Embargo, measure, which, however professedly nded on defensive principles, had respect to our trade the effect of di- hostility; and which not only de- ed us of a principal branch of our *ct* trade, but suddenly cut off great t of the means of *indirect* communica- with other countries which we before sessed.

Under circumstances so unfavourable, ill be a matter of surprise as well as gratulation, that our Commerce should have suffered in a greater degree than ears to have been the case.

With this part of the subject, I shall begin the Statement of the Resolutions I am about to propose; not, however, meaning to trouble the House with a detail of figures, which will be best examined at leisure, but to point out a few of the most striking and important circumstances.

I have, in general, adhered to the form of the Resolutions agreed to by the House in 1806; not that I think it in all respects the best, but, because it has been sanctioned by practice, and will be most convenient for comparison with former years. I have, however, introduced two considerable additions. First, I have attempted a statement of the Finance and Commerce of Ireland, which has hitherto been wanting, but appears to me necessary to complete our view of the situation of the United Kingdom; and I have endeavoured to form a general retrospective Estimate of the Expences of the whole war, and the means by which they have been defrayed, the purpose of which Estimate I shall presently explain.

Beginning as I proposed, with the state of Trade, I observe, that the Official Value of all Imports into Great Britain in the year 1802 was 31,442,318*l.*, and in the year 1808, 27,186,025*l.* shewing a diminution of about 4,300,000*l.*: but it must be recollected that the year 1802 was a year of peace, and marked by an extent of trade, which no other year, either previous or subsequent, has ever equalled. An average of 6 years presents a more favourable view. On an average of 6 years, ending with 1802, the Imports of Great Britain were 28,419,626*l*, and on a like average ending with 1808, 28,735,862*l.*, shewing not a diminution but an actual, though small, increase in the latter period. The Official Value of British Manufactures Exported in 1802, was 26,993,129*l.*, and in 1808, 26,692,288*l.*; so that all the mighty efforts directed against our Commerce, might, in this view, be considered as nearly unavailing. But upon a comparison of real values they will appear to have produced *some* effect; though an effect greatly disproportionate to the magnitude of the means employed, and to the privations and sacrifices, which their employment has inflicted on the subjects, and allies of our enemies. The *real* value of British Manufactures exported in 1802, was about 48,500,000*l.*, and in 1808 somewhat less than 41,000,000*l.*, being a diminution of about seven millions and a half: Yet, there is reason to believe, that upon a comparison of two periods of six years, the export of our Manufactures has considerably *increased*, for the Official Value of British Manufactures exported on an average of six years, ending with 1802, was something short of 23,000,000*l.*, and in a like average ending 1808, somewhat exceeded 25,000,000*l.*

In the exclusion of our Colonial Produce, the enemy appears to have been more successful, for the Official value of Foreign Merchandise exported from Great Britain in 1802, was 14,418,837*l.* and in 1808, 7,398,803*l.* Comparing the two periods, as before, the diminution, though smaller, is still considerable; on an average of six years, ending 1802, the export of Foreign Merchandise was in Official Value about 11,650,000*l.* and in an average of three years, ending 1808, about 8,430,000*l.* and in this case, the Real Values do not very materially differ from the Official.

And here it is with peculiar pleasure, that I turn to the Irish part of the account, and find the Commerce of that important and interesting part of the Empire in a state of progressive improvement.

The Official Value of all Imports into Ireland, in the year 1802, was 6,687,741*l.* Irish Currency, and in 1808, 7,129,507*l.*; The Official Value of Irish Produce, and Manufactures exported in 1802, was 4,876,070*l.*, and in 1808, 5,696,897*l.*

The increase of Real Value was still much greater: In 1802 it was about 8,300,000*l.*, and in 1808 above 12,500,000*l.*; being an increase of more than one third in the course of six years of a burdensome and expensive War. I must here observe, that it had been my wish to frame these Resolutions in such a manner as to give a view of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, intirely distinct from the Foreign Trade of the Empire; but, that the present state of the Accounts upon your table has not enabled me to do so. I hope, however, early in the next Session to move for such Accounts as will remove this difficulty in future.

The next part of the Resolutions to which I mean to direct the attention of the House, is that which respects the Unfunded Debt, reserving some remarks on the State of the Funded Debt, as connected with other considerations.

The amount of Unfunded Debt in Exchequer Bills, unprovided for, which on the 5th of January 1803 amounted to 9,800,000*l.*, has been so much encreased by successive Issues, that at the close of th present year it will amount to 27,000,000 Large as this sum may appear, and bu densome as it might prove in case of an depression of public credit, I am by n means disposed to complain of its amoun It seems to me justified by the presen abundance of capital in the country, an the high credit of public securities, whic have lately enabled the Chancellor of th Exchequer to reduce the rate of Interes on Exchequer Bills, a circumstance highl satisfactory, and on which I sincerely con gratulate him and the Public. But th point of view in which I now wish to brin this great increase of Exchequer Bill under the notice of the House, is that its being in operation and effect, an evasio of the Sinking Fund Act of 1792.

It was unquestionably the intention Mr. Pitt, in proposing that Act, and Parliament in sanctioning it, that ever augmentation of public debt (except ant cipations to be repaid in a short time should carry with it from the period o its being first incurred the means of it own ultimate redemption. But as Ex chequer Bills were then considered in th light of mere temporary anticipations, th Act was not extended to them, but applie to the Funded Debt only.

It has, however, been found convenien in the course of the late and the presen war, to raise large sums on that species security without any effectual provisio for their repayment, but with a view, keeping them afloat by annual renewa till the return of Peace, or some othe opportunity of funding them on favour able terms. I am willing to admit tha this proceeding, if managed with cautio and discretion, may be found ultimatel œconomical, and in the case of the la advances from the Bank without interes it was undoubtedly the duty of the Rig Honourable Gentlemen to avail himself so favourable an arrangement; which w owe to the talents and assiduity of the Com mittee on Finance.

In consequence, however, of this mod of proceeding, large additions have bee made to the permanent debt, which hav continued for many years without an provision for their redemption. As a example, I may mention the advance fro the Bank in 1798, and that in 1800, o the renewal of the Charter, although thes are by no means the earliest instance I impute no blame to the Right Honou able Gentleman for this omission wit

ect to the additions which *he* has made,
which will in the last and the present
r amount to no less than eight millions.
has only followed the example of all
redecessors, and of Mr. Pitt himself.
I think it high time to apply a remedy
his evil; and for that purpose I beg
e to suggest to him and to the House
modes of proceeding, for their con-
ration previously to the next session.
first would be by insertion in every
for raising money on Exchequer Bills,
ss charged upon a fund capable of
ctually repaying them within three
rs, a clause appropriating an annual
ment of one per cent. on their amount
n the Consolidated Fund to the Com-
sioners for the Reduction of the Na-
al Debt. The other (and I think the
pler and more convenient) course would
to vote annually in the Committee of
ply an additional sum to be applied
those Commissioners equal at least to
per cent. on the amount of all Exche-
r Bills outstanding and unprovided for
the 5th of January proceeding. In
er case doubts might sometimes occur
o the particular sums to which the re-
ation would apply, but they would be
no consequence, if the House concur
n me in thinking it would be safe and
e to give such a regulation the most
ral interpretation.

shall not trouble the House by refer-
g to any other Resolution, till we come
hat which respects the Expenditure of
present year; and it cannot but excite
iety and alarm to observe that the Ex-
ces to be provided for by Great Britain,
lusively of Ireland, exceed eighty-three
lions. Enormous as this sum must ap-
r, I believe the Funds provided for its
ment will prove sufficient; and I am
disposed at this time to question the
priety of services, to which Parliament
recently given its approbation. I
h not to starve any service, nor to
ck any judicious exertion of our forces,
to warn the House that, in the too pro-
le event of a long continuance of the
test, though we may repel hostility and
y invasion, the growing amount of our
ences may exhaust our means, and lay
t the mercy of the Enemy.

o one article only of those expences
n at present disposed to advert, and that
the purpose of doing justice to the
ntlemen opposite to me. It is that of
Charges of Management of the Re-
ue, on the increase of which remarks have lately been made. I believe a considerable part of this increase to arise from the abolition of Fees and increase of Salaries in the Department of the Customs, which is in my opinion not only a wise but a truly œconomical regulation; though it occasions an apparent increase of expence, by bringing into the public accounts a part of those emoluments which were before derived from individuals, and not publicly stated. This regulation had been resolved on, and in part carried into execution, before the appointment of the present Ministers. The case is the same with respect to the increase of the Salaries of the inferior Officers of Excise, whose situation was such as made it impossible for them to subsist their families. I know that the necessity of this increase was felt; and I believe that it was ordered before I quitted the service of the Treasury.

It is not my intention to comment on that part of the Resolutions which regards the Finances of Ireland, on account of the absence of so many Gentlemen belonging to that part of the kingdom; and because the subject has lately been discussed by those who are best qualified to do it justice.

I pass, Sir, over many considerations naturally arising out of the Resolutions I am about to propose, in order to enter upon that subject which has principally induced me to come forward on this occasion.—I mean the charge created on the War Taxes by the Loan of the year.

To illustrate this I have prepared two Resolutions stating the total amount of the Expences of Great Britain during the War, taken in its most extensive sense, as comprising the whole period from 1793, and the means by which they were defrayed. For the Peace of Amiens, though an important æra in many respects, and particularly in a financial point of view, can be considered only as a Truce or Armistice in the long course of hostilities arising out of the French Revolution.

My materials will be found in the Accounts of Income, Expenditure, and Distribution of Grants, which have been annually laid before the House since 1798, when our public Accounts received their present improved form from the labours of the Committee over which you, Sir, presided with so much ability. Previously to that year, I have taken them from the Accounts laid before Parliament in 1800, preparatory to the Union, from the 1st and 24th Reports of the Committee to which I have just alluded, and from various Accounts printed in the Journals.

I have not attempted, in those Resolutions, to deduce the Account year by year, because I am sensible that in whatever way it might be taken, whether as a Cash Account of Receipts and Payments, or as a statement of Expenditure incurred and of Ways and Means, it might lead to erroneous conclusions, as to particular years, from the various periods to which the Accounts are made up, and the provision frequently made in one year for expences incurred in another. Mine is principally a Cash Account, except that the Loans and War Taxes are stated as belonging to the years in which they were voted, and not to those in which they were actually paid into the Exchequer. And it is obvious that, when the Accounts of a period of several years are taken together, difficulties of the kind I have mentioned will not occur, and the general result may be sufficiently accurate.

From these Resolutions it will appear, that, supposing the War to continue to the same period of next year as that at which I am now speaking, the Expenditure of Great Britain, during the War, from 1793 (exclusively of Ireland) will have exceeded a Thousand Millions sterling, a sum, at first sight, sufficient to impress us with astonishment and apprehension. But, when we consider that this Expenditure has been the means, under Providence, of saving us from the calamities which have overwhelmed the rest of Europe, we shall cease to regret its amount however enormous, and, as we look into particulars, our feelings will be changed into admiration of the spirit and the resources of the country. It will be seen that, in proportion to the pressure of continued warfare, the exertions of the Nation increased, and its means appeared to expand; and that they have been applied with much greater vigour in the latter period of the War, namely, since its renewal, than in the former. Of about 503 millions, which were expended previously to the Peace of Amiens, (including the whole of the year 1802,) about 273 millions were raised either by the Ordinary Revenue or by Extraordinary Taxes within the year, and about 230 millions by additions either to the Funded or Unfunded Debt. In the six years since the renewal of hostilities, ending with the 5th of January last, about 396 millions have been expended, of which upwards of 311 have been raise within the year and less than 85 million by additions of debt. In the first perio almost one-half was borrowed; in th second less than one-fourth.

The progress of these exertions, to mee the heavy charges of protracted war, with out entailing burdens upon posterity, wi more distinctly appear by reference to th Resolution (No. 16.) in which I hav shewn the actual produce of the Taxes im posed in each year from 1793.

In the commencement of the War, whil public credit was still flourishing, nothin further was attempted than to provide f the Loan of each year, by the impositio of Taxes sufficient to furnish its Interes and a Sinking Fund of one per cent. ac cording to the regulations of the Act 1792, and not exceeding 12 or 1,300,00 in any year. But expences continued accumulate, and difficulties to multipl from year to year, till, in 1797, the finan cial situation of the Country became trul alarming. The Unfunded Debt had i creased to such a degree as to become sul ject to a heavy discount; the funds ha sunk so low that a loan could only be pr cured on terms of usurious interest; th disposable capital of the country seeme unequal to the increasing demands of th Government; and even the credit of th Bank was seriously shaken. Under the alarming circumstances, it became nece sary to create upwards of 70 millions additional capital, and to provide for a annual charge of upwards of three millio within the year. Such a charge require the imposition of new Taxes equal to on fifth of all the permanent Taxes then ex isting. It was apparent that such a cour could not be long pursued without riskin the total ruin of public credit, and e hausting the resources of the Nation b an accumulation of new Taxes, so rapid to render the old ones unproductive. M Pitt was alarmed, but not dispirited; a he determined to meet the urgency of th crisis with a corresponding exertion. H proposed to parliament, in 1798, to rais by extraordinary means within the yea such a sum as might reduce the Loan to moderate amount. The means chose were the Voluntary Contribution and the A and Contribution Act, commonly call the Triple Assessment, a measure whi proved very burdensome, and was in ma respects injudiciously contrived. Yet, wi all the defects of both these measure, th end proposed was, in a great degree, o ned; the spirit of the Nation was roused; practicability of raising a large sum hin the year was proved; and better rested plans were afterwards adopted. e produce obtained was, in the whole, out six millions and a half, not indeed d into the Exchequer in one year, but successive payments in two or three rs.

n the next year, 1799, the Convoy Tax the Income Tax, the one of which duced annually about 1,200,000*l.* and other about 5,300,000*l.* were sub- uted for the Aid and Contribution Assessed Taxes, and continued from t time till the conclusion of Peace. t a part of the Loan of each year, hav- been charged upon the Income Tax, produce applicable to the public ser- e became gradually diminished by the erest deducted from it; and the amount the Loans was proportionably increased, that of 1801 amounted to twenty-five llions and a half.

The conclusion of Peace prevented the urn of embarrassments which were then, rhaps, impending, but left a difficulty a most serious nature behind. A sum no less than fifty-six millions and a half d been charged upon the Income Tax, ich, in the event of the continuance of ace, would have prolonged, till about year 1811, a charge which was become popular, and in the other event, of a newal of the war, would have rendered almost impracticable to meet the public igencies with any large and immediate pply.

Under these circumstances, my noble end (Lord Sidmouth) who had some ne before succeeded Mr. Pitt as Chan- lor of the Exchequer, resolved, in 1802, one of the boldest and most extensive easures of finance which has ever been empted.

He determined at once to set the In- me Tax free, and to provide for the sup- es of the year, including the winding of the expences of the War, by pro- sing at the same time, funds capable of aring the charge of almost one hundred llions of stock. This design he executed so ample a manner, that the taxes pro- led have usually exceeded, by at least a llion and a half, the charge of the im- ense sum I have mentioned.

But, in the next year, the firmness and sources of his mind were put to a still verer trial. Hostilities had recommenced der circumstances which at once required the most prompt and extensive exertions, and threatened a long and almost indefinite continuance of the contest. Public credit was not yet firmly re-established, and the burdens of the late war had not become so habitual as to admit of ready additions of a permanent nature. Great as these difficulties were, every thing was to be hoped from the loyalty and spirit of the Country, and the conviction universally felt of the justice and necessity of the War. To these sentiments he determined to make his appeal; and to act upon a system which their influence alone could have enabled him to carry into effect. He proposed to Parliament to raise so large a sum within the year by extraordinary War Taxes as to confine the increase of public debt within very narrow limits, if not wholly to prevent it. For this purpose he brought forward War Taxes which, exclusive of the Taxes imposed to provide for the Loan of the year, have realized upwards of 12 millions on an average of the two last years, although those years have not been favourable to their produce. So ample, indeed, were the Funds provided, that, had the war ended with the first year, a considerable surplus would have remained after the repayment of all debts incurred. The proof of this assertion will be found in the Finance Resolutions agreed to by the House in 1804. Before the passing of those Resolutions, my noble friend had retired from office, having, as his last act of official duty, provided for the supplies of the year 1804. In doing which, he proposed Taxes to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* making, upon the whole, in the course of three years, an addition of above nineteen millions to the Public Revenue. The expences of 1804 exceeded those of 1803, by about ten millions; yet the accumulation of Debt was, in that year, inconsiderable. In the statement of his last budget he strongly urged the importance of adhering to the same system by an annual addition of at least a million to the War Taxes, till the object of equalizing the Income and the Expenditure of the Country should be obtained. By these means it would, upon the scale of expence then subsisting, have been accomplished within three years; and he knew that, when this great point was attained, the continual accumulation of the Sinking Fund would speedily afford means of relief to the Public, which could not be employed either with justice to the stockholders or safety to the state, so long as the accumulation of Debt continued.

In the year 1805 Mr. Pitt acted upon the same principles, by proposing an addition to the Property Tax, by which its produce was augmented about 1,400,000*l.* but in consequence of increasing Expence, the Loan of that year was raised from ten millions, which had been its amount in each of the two years preceding, to twenty millions.

Early in the following year my noble friends, Lord Grenville and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, (whose absence this day I greatly regret,) succeeded on the decease of the great statesman of whom I last spoke. They were fully impressed with the importance of the system adopted at the renewal of the War, and determined by a great and painful effort to carry the War Taxes to as great extent as could be reasonably attempted. In fact near six millions were added to their amount in the year 1106. In 1807, no taxes were proposed, in consequence of the plan brought forward by my noble friend, to provide for the further expences of the war, and which has been sufficiently discussed on former occasions: and the produce of the taxes imposed last year by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, cannot yet be fairly ascertained, but I see no reason to doubt that, together with the short Annuities which expired, they will be sufficient to provide for the charge of the Loan.

I have gone through this detail to shew that by the practice as well as the declared opinions of all the Ministers who have conducted the Finances of this Country, for many years, and by repeated decisions of Parliament, confirmed, so far as I can learn, by the general judgment and approbation of the Nation, the principle has been recognised and established, that to equalize the Income and Expenditure of the Country is the only system upon which we can depend for bringing this arduous and protracted contest to a secure and successful termination.

Let me not, Sir, be misunderstood as the advocate of excessive or unlimited taxation. I am aware that all taxation is in itself an evil, and I can conceive many circumstances under which I should think the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acted in the present instance with prudence and judgment.

The first and most obvious of these would be a great and general impoverishment of the Country. It might then happen (as in fact it did towards the close o the American War) that the imposition o new taxes would add nothing to the Revenue, but only depress the produce of th old ones. But I would ask the Righ Honourable Gentleman, and every Gentleman present, from whatever part of th Country, *where* the symptoms of such impoverishment appear? Supposing, however, such a decay to exist, I say that th same necessity which contracts our *mean* ought to limit our *expences*. Shall we b the richer for plunging deeper in debt Will it increase our resources to consum those which yet remain?

In another case of a very opposite kin I might think it advisable to abstain fro further taxation—that of a very rapid improvement of the existing Revenue. Di our resources appear to be increasing in degree nearly commensurate to our wants I should be unwilling to endanger so prosperous a state of things by any interference: or to abridge the comforts of th public by any change which might b safely avoided or deferred. But though am convinced that the National Wealth i progressively increasing, I fear we are fa from such a state of things. The Revenu has of late appeared rather to decline tha to increase.

Another case in which I might approv of the course which has been pursued i that of a prospect of immediate peace, o of a great reduction of expence from another cause. But of all suppositions th seems at present the most extravagan The war rages more extensively and wit greater exasperation than ever, and ever day seems to bring forward some fres obstacle to accommodation, and some new call for our exertions.

But leaving to the defenders of th measure to point out such circumstances a may, in their opinion, justify it, I shal proceed to state a few of the numerou objections which induce me to condemn it

In the first place it is a weak and delusive resource, which will be speedily exhausted. To those who contemplate th War Taxes only in a mass, and conside them as producing upwards of twent millions annually, they may appear t afford resources for funding the charge o many years of war. But distinctly and accurately considered, for this purpose they will shrink into a very narrow compass. The Property Tax no one has ye proposed to continue in time of peace even as an annual grant: although, if th lic could be reconciled to it, it might, a reduced rate, be preferable to many ers. But to mortgage it for forty years means of Loans is two wild an idea to entertained. This at once reduces the nty millions to about nine. Of these re is no doubt that a certain proportion y be made permanent without any very terial inconvenience, but in my opinion proportion is a small one; and I am y anxious to know what particular es the Right Honourable Gentleman uld select. About two thirds of this n is furnished by Excise duties and one rd by Customs. The Custom duties seems to put out of the question. The cise duties are on Malt, which proces near half the sum of six millions, l on Tea, Spirits, and Tobacco, and ong these he is to make his choice. ll the *Country* approve of his perpeting a Malt Tax so heavy as that which w subsists? Or will he, in defiance of perience, pledge those taxes which Mr. t was obliged to reduce or to commute cause they could not be collected? ring war, and especially a war of h animosity as the present, these duties y be tolerably secure: because, in adon to the activity of the Revenue Offis, innumerable other obstacles to a free nmunication arise from the circumnces of hostility. Our Navy, our Army, y, even the Navy and the Army of our asperated enemy, contribute to protect Revenue. But to continue these dus, when a free communication is restored, uld not be to enrich the Exchequer, to swell the profits of the smuggler, and prave the morals of the people. The arge of 2,200,000*l*. has already been own upon these Excise duties; and I ve the House to judge whether more be attempted.—And it is almost superous to point out the wide difference been the inconveniencies of a temporary arge, for a few years, as proposed by late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and long continued pledge of the Right n. Gentleman.

A second objection to this diversion of War Taxes from the purposes for which y were originally granted by Parliant, is, the continual and progressive inease it must occasion in the difficulty of sing the supplies. Supposing (which I ve shewn not to be the fact) that there main a considerable sum, which might improperly be continued, in time of ace; still as the amount of the Loan must annually be augmented by a sum, equal to the War Taxes which have been appropriated both by that, and all preceding Loans, they would be most rapidly consumed, by a continual accumulation of compound Interest; and when it shall become unavoidable to seek for fresh funds for these augmented Loans, where will they be found, and in what state of credit will these Loans be raised? If the Right Honourable Gentleman thinks that the People, having been indulged with a respite from further taxation, will return to it more rapidly, he is greatly mistaken. Having once been told by authority, that further burdens were either intolerable or unnecessary, they will readily listen to those, who will never be wanting to tell them the same thing again; and they will be disposed to countenance wild plans of retrenchment, and chimerical schemes of Finance.

Another most important objection occurs when we consider the establishment which it will probably be necessary to maintain, whenever Peace may be concluded. It has been not unusual to insert, among Resolutions of this nature, a conjectural Estimate of the future Peace establishment.

But I have not thought it advisable to propose any thing so vague and uncertain, and depending on so many contingencies, beyond the reach of any human foresight. Yet thus much I must be allowed to say, that judging from every circumstance within our knowledge, and unless a state of things wholly dissimilar from what now exists shall take place, our Peace establishment must so far exceed whatever has hitherto been known in this country, as to require, in addition to the ordinary revenue, the continuance of as large a portion of the War Taxes, as can by any one be deemed proper to be supported during Peace.

It is an objection not less important, though of a totally different nature from any of the preceding, that the system of Finance pursued this year, has the strongest possible tendency to encourage prodigality in the public expenditure.

It is no less true in public than in private œconomy, that what is easily acquired, is often needlessly spent. It is also the natural bias of every department, and may even proceed from laudable though inconsiderate zeal for the public service, to draw to itself as large a portion as possible of the Supplies. If this be not checked (as I fear at present it cannot be) by a firm and over-ruling controul at the Treasury, it naturally leads to an indefinite and wasteful expence. But the stongest stimulus to excite the Treasury to perform its duty by a vigilant restraint on the public expenditure is wanting, if supplies can be obtained without an immediate pressure on the people. The temptations which perpetually occur to a Minister, of a loose and careless administration of the public purse, are constantly counteracted by the impending and painful task of taxation; the irksomeness of which, few men have experienced more than I have done, having been officially concerned in raising almost half the existing revenue of the Country. This temptation to carelessness of expence, is another strong distinction between the measures of the present year, and the plan of 1807; which was not only compatible with the strictest œconomy, but was calculated on data which required and enforced it.

Perhaps even in nations the thirst for dominion requires a corrective in the burdens of war; but there is in the nature of things an obstacle which must prevent *such* means as we now employ (invincible means if we use them wisely) from being made subservient to the purposes of injustice and ambition. In any war for conquest or for any ordinary national interest, no Minister would dare to come down like Lord Sidmouth, and propose twelve millions of new taxes at once.

We are very apt, Sir, to regard the War Taxes simply in the light of a great additional burden; and as such they certainly are felt at first; but it is time to consider them in another point of view, and to compare them with the pecuniary burdens from which they have preserved us.

For this purpose I shall propose two Resolutions; the first shewing the amount of the saving effected by the War Taxes previously to the Peace of Amiens, and the second the effect of those imposed subsequently to the renewal of hostilities. The first (which in the whole raised about thirty-two millions and a half in five years) diminished the Loans of the years in which they were raised, by about forty eight millions and a half of Capital Stock, and eighteen hundred thousand pounds Annual Charge. The superior exertions of the present war have in the first six years saved one hundred and thirty three millions of Capital, and six millions and three quarters of Permanent Annual Charge; to which is to be added a saving in the present year of about twenty three millions o Capital, and between eleven and twelv hundred thousand pounds Annual Charge and a similar saving every year during th continuance of the war, unless the Righ Honourable Gentleman should charg further Loans on the War Taxes.

But this is a very incomplete and inadequate view of the real pecuniary advantage. It will be evident to every gentleman that if the amount of the Loan i reduced, the competition to obtain it wil be increased and the supply of Capita in the market more abundant, compare with the demand, and the sum to be raise will consequently be obtained on mor favourable terms. The principle of thi saving is perhaps not less certain than mathematical demonstration, but the extent of its operation can only be calculated on hypothetical data, and it may no therefore be a proper subject for a distinc Resolution of the House. Every gentlema will form his own supposition: I will jus mention one which seems to me supporte by a strong analogy. In the year 179 when Mr. Pitt first proposed his system o War Taxes, the Loan was raised at a Interest of above six per cent. In 180 when they had been established two years the Interest of the Loan but little exceede four and a half per cent. Adding th one per cent. Sinking Fund to be provide on the Capital created, the total savin amounted to about two per cent. on th whole sum raised both by Loan and Wa Taxes. The saving at that time canno be wholly ascribed to the War Taxes, because the Act for redeeming the Lan Tax had then undoubtedly a considerabl operation. But it seems not unfair to ascribe an equal effect to the present Wa Taxes, which so much exceed the forme in amount. If this supposition be admitte as just, we must add to the former estimat of saving (including the present year above seventy millions of Capital, and fou millions two hundred thousand pounds Permanent Charge, making together a savin already effected and annually increasing of two hundred and twenty six millions o Capital and above twelve millions of Permanent Charge. And to this again is t be added the sum saved before the Peac of Amiens, the charge of which we shoul otherwise be now supporting.

Such, Sir, have been the effects of th system which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has this year forsaken and impaired A system sanctioned by general approba

n, and proved by experience to be solid,
e and œconomical. It has indeed re-
red many sacrifices, and may require
re: but it is a most dangerous delusion,
expect to perform great achievements
hout making great exertions. If we can-
reduce our Expences to our Income we
st raise our Income in proportion to our
pences. I am willing to give credit to
Right Honourable Gentleman for readi-
ss to effect every practicable and pru-
nt retrenchment; and I trust still more
the disposition of Parliament and of the
blic to enforce it. But what more is
nting, and much more, I fear, must be
nting, we must be prepared to furnish;
d it has been my wish, in what I have
d, to strengthen the hands of Govern-
nt (so far as my arguments or opinions
ld have any force) and to facilitate its
uming the wise, the secure, and honour-
le course hitherto pursued.

It would be easy to add much on so
pious a subject, but the facts I have
ught forward, if supported by the record-
opinion of the House, will have far more
ight than any thing I could urge: and
consider the Right Honourable Gentle-
an's assent to them as a favourable omen
at, notwithstanding his recent conduct,
hall not ultimately find reason to accuse
m of having dilapidated the Resources
d impaired the security of the State.—
Mr. Vansittart concluded by moving
e first of the following Resolutions.

Resolved, (1.)—THAT the Total Amount of
e Public Funded Debt of Great Britain was,
the 1st Feb. 1803, 567,008,978 *l.*;—of
ich 67,255,915 *l.* had been purchased by the
mmissioners for the Reduction of the Na-
nal Debt, and 19,180,587 *l.* had been trans-
rred to them on account of Land Tax Re-
emed; leaving a Funded Debt unredeemed
480,572,476 *l.*:—And, that the Amount of
nuities charged on Great Britain (after de-
cting what had fallen in) was, on the 1st of
b. 1803, in Short Annuities and Annuities
Lives, 539,979 *l.*, and in Long Annuities,
15,410 *l.*

(2.)—That the Total Amount of Public
nded Debt created in Great Britain for Ac-
unt of Ireland was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803,
,348,000 *l.*;—of which there had been pur-
ased by the Commissioners for the Reduc-
n of the National Debt 1,123,415 *l.*; leav-
g a Funded Debt unredeemed of 21,224,585 *l.*
gether with Long Annuities to the Amount
9,791 *l.*

(3.)—That the Total Amount of Public
nded Debt created in Great Britain for Ac-
unt of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the
t of Feb. 1803, 7,502,633 *l.*;—of which
5,137 *l.* had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; leaving a Funded Debt unredeemed of 7,127,496 *l.*, together with Annuities to the Amount of 230,000 *l.*, which will expire in 1819.

(4.)—That the amount of the Outstanding Demands unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1803, exclusive of Unfunded Debt, and of the Anticipation of certain Duties annually voted, was 592,630 *l.*: That the Deficiency of Ways and Means for the Year 1802 was 171,431 *l.*;—making the Amount of Demands unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1803, 764,061 *l.*

(5.)—That the Unfunded Debt, in Exchequer Bills unprovided for, or charged upon Funds which proved insufficient, was, on the 5th Jan. 1803, 9,827,400 *l.*, including 3,000,000 *l.* in the Bank, which bore no Interest, in consideration of the renewal of the Charter.

That the Unfunded Debt in Navy Bills was, on the 5th Jan. 1803, 3,105,648 *l.*

(6.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, including therein the Sum of 18,072,000 *l.*, charged upon the War Taxes in 1807, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 701,229,514 *l.*; whereof 141,808,116 *l.*, had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and 23,214,395 *l.* had been transferred to them on account of Land Tax redeemed, and 465,951 *l.* by Purchasers of Life Annuities, leaving a Funded Debt unredeemed of 535,741,052 *l.* And that the Amount of Annuities charged on Great Britain (after deducting such as have fallen in) was, on the 1st of Feb. 1809, in Short Annuities and Annuities for Lives, 98,086 *l.*, including 32,514 *l.*, granted in consideration of Stock transferred to the Commissioners, and in Long Annuities 1,047,494 *l.* And that a further Debt, amounting to 21,278,122 *l.* Capital Stock, and 51,233 *l.* Long Annuities, has been created by the Sums borrowed and Exchequer Bills funded in the present Session of Parliament, out of which 60,867 *l.* Five-per-cent. Annuities of 1797 have been paid off.

(7.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Funded Debt, created in Great Britain for Account of Ireland, was, on the 1st Feb. 1809, 50,094,000 *l.*; of which there had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, 5,580,389 *l.*, leaving a Funded Debt of 44,513,611 *l.*, together with Long Annuities to the Amount of 91,208 *l.* And that a further Debt, amounting to 3,600,000 *l.* Capital Stock, and 13,250 *l.* Long Annuities, has been created by Sums borrowed in the present Session in Great Britain on Account of Ireland.

(8.)—That the Total Amount of Public Funded Debt created in Great Britain for Account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st February 1809, 7,502,633 *l.*;—of which 924,236 *l.* had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, leaving a Funded Debt of 6,578,397 *l.*, together with Annuities to the Amount of 230,000 *l.*, which will expire in 1820.

(9.)—That the Amount of Outstanding Demands unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1809, exclusive of Unfunded Debt, and of the Anticipation of certain Duties annually voted, was 1,586,581 *l.*;—the whole of which has been paid off, or provided for in the present Session.

(10.)—That on the 5th Jan. 1809, there were 358,000 *l.* in Exchequer Bills charged on the Malt Duties 1807, to the Discharge of which those Duties were insufficient; 17,659,700 *l.* charged on the Aids of 1809; 3,000,000 *l.* held by the Bank at 3-per-cent. in consideration of the renewal of the Charter, and 3,000,000 *l.* on which an advance was made by the Bank without Interest, in 1808; making a Total of Exchequer Bills unprovided for, of 24,017,700 *l.*;—of which Sum 7,932,100 *l.* have been funded in the present Session; and further issues to the amount of 7,510,700 *l.* have been authorized by Parliament for the service of the year 1809.

That the Unfunded Debt in Navy Bills was on the 5th Jan. 1809, 7,221,167 *l.*

(11.)—That the Variations in the state of the Public Debt between the 1st of Feb. 1803, and the 1st Feb. 1810, being seven years of War, may be estimated as follows:

The Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, which on the 1st Feb. 1803 was 480,572,476 *l.* will amount to about 541,500,000 *l.* after deducting about 14,500,000 *l.* for the operation of the Sinking Fund, and the Redemption of the Land Tax during the current year; and about 1,000,000 *l.* for Stock transferred on Account of Life Annuities; being an increase of Capital Stock of about 61,000,000 *l.*

The Public Funded Debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, unredeemed, which, on the 1st Feb. 1803, was 21,224,585 *l.* will amount to 47,000,000 *l.*, after deducting 1,110,000 *l.* for the operation of the Sinking Fund during the current year; being an increase of Capital Stock of 25,775,415 *l.*

The Long Annuities of Great Britain, which, on the 1st Feb. 1803, were 1,015,410 *l.*, will amount to 1,098,727 *l.*; being an increase of Annual Charge of 83,317 *l.*

The Long Annuities created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, were 9,791 *l.* will amount to 91,207 *l.*; being an increase of Annual Charge of, 81,416 *l.*

The Unfunded Debt in Exchequer Bills, which, on the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 9,827,400 *l.* will amount to 27,000,000 *l.*; being an increase of 17,172,600 *l.*

The Unfunded Debt in Navy Bills, which on the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 3,105,648 *l.* will, supposing it to be the same as on the 5th of Jan. 1809, amount to 7,221,167 *l.*; being an increase of 4,115,519 *l.*

The Funded Debt created in Great Britain for Account of the Emperor of Germany, Unredeemed, which, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was 7,127,496 *l.*, will be reduced to 6,477,000 *l.* after deducting 101,000 *l.* for the operation of the Sinking Fund during the current year; being a diminution of Capital Stock of 650,496 *l.*

The Short Annuities of Great Britain, and Annuities for Lives, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, were 539,979 *l.*, will be reduced to about 170,000 *l.*, supposing 70,000 *l.* to be further granted for Stock transferred to the Commissioners; being a diminution of Annual Charge of about 370,000 *l.*

The Sum applicable to the Redemption of Debt, which, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was for the Debt of Great Britain, 5,834,986 *l.*; for Debt created in Great Britain for Account of Ireland, 258,434 *l.*; for Debt created in Great Britain for Account of the Emperor of Germany, 47,947 *l.*; making a Total of 6,141,367 *l.*; will amount to 10,524,000 *l.* for the Debt of Great Britain; 743,432 *l.* for the Debt created in Great Britain for Account of Ireland; 67,318 *l.* for the Debt created in Great Britain for Account of the Emperor of Germany;—making a Total of 11,334,740 *l.*; being an increase of 5,193,373 *l.*

(12.)—That the Annual Charge on Account of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain after deducting the Charges of Management on Loans redeemed by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and the Interest and Charges of Management on Stock transferred for the Redemption of the Land Tax, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 23,510,967 *l.* and on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 28,848,999 *l.* and that a further Charge has been incurred on Account of Stock created in the present Session, amounting to 1,143,566 *l.*

(13.)—That the Sum annually applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the several Acts relating thereto, was, for the year 1803, 6,311,626 *l.* being about 1/77th part of the Unredeemed Debt existing in 1803; and may, for the year 1809, be estimated at 10,524,000 *l.* being about 1/51st part of the Unredeemed Debt existing in 1809.

(14.)—That the Total Net Produce of the Permanent Taxes in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, amounted to 28,246,681 *l.* including 715,323 *l.* paid for Bounties on Corn and Rice imported in the year 1802; and on the 5th Jan. 1809, the Total Net Produce of Permanent Taxes amounted to 32,380,212 *l.*

(15.)—That the Net Produce of the Wa Taxes was, in the year ending

5th April 1804,	£.	
Customs and Excise	3,377,442	
Property Tax - - -	363,877	
		3,741,319
5th April 1805,		
Customs and Excise	7,868,078	
Property Tax - - -	3,919,108	
		11,787,18
5th April 1806,		
Customs and Excise	8,496,550	
Property Tax - - -	4,481,958	
		12,978,50

April 1807,
ustoms and Excise 9,305,799
roperty Tax - - - 7,000,082
——— 16,305,881

April 1808,
ustoms and Excise 9,018,225
roperty Tax - - 10,817,595
——— 19,835,820

April 1809,
ustoms and Excise 8,806,899
roperty Tax - - 11,279,423
——— 20,086,322

And that the Net Assessment of the Property Tax, on an Average of the Years 1806, 1807 and 1808, was - - - - - - - 11,334,838

(16.)—That the Net Produce of the New and Additional Duties imposed each Year, from the 5th of Jan. 1793 to the present Year, on an Average of the two Years last past, or of the two last Years, whereof a separate Account has been laid before Parliament, was respectively as follows; viz.

	Permanent Taxes.			War Taxes.	Total.
3	295,464				295,464
4	1,224,267				1,224,267
5	1,313,157				1,343,157
6	1,312,497				1,312,497
7	3,064,598				3,064,598
8	637,772	Aid and Contributions collected in several years		6,575,581	7,213,353
9	128,093	Convoy Duty, on an Average of two years	1,216,251	6,552,154	6,680,247
		Income Duty, on an Average of three years	5,335,903		
0	946,362				946,362
1	1,993,627				1,993,627
2	4,817,333				4,817,333
3	536,641	Customs and Excise	7,391,954	12,046,619	12,583,260
		Property Tax	4,654,665		
4	1,101,236	Customs		704,674	1,805,910
5	1,326,772	Property		1,464,211	2,790,983
6	439,994	Customs and Excise	667,204	5,883,158	6,322,152
		Property	5,215,954		
7	Nil.			Nil.	
8, to 5 Jan. 9	274,080			35,025	309,105

17.)—That the Official Value of all Imports Great Britain, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 3, was 31,442,318 *l.*; and on an Average of Years, ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 419,626 *l.*:

hat the Official Value of all Imports into eat Britain, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 9, supposing the Imports from the East lies (of which no Account has yet been made to be the same as in the preceding Year, s 27,186,025 *l.* and on an Average of six years, ing the 5th Jan. 1809, was 28,735,862 *l.*

18.)—That the Official Value of British Maactures, exported from Great Britain in the ar ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 26,993,129 *l.*; l on an Average of six years, ending 5th Jan, 3, was 22,942,800 *l.*:

That the Official Value of British Manufaces exported from Great Britain in the Year ding 5th Jan. 1809, was 26,692,288 *l.*; and on Average of Six Years, ending 5th Jan. 9, was 25,076,425 *l.*:

And, That the Real Value of British Manutures, exported in the Year ending 5th Jan. 3, may be estimated at 48,500,683 *l.*; and in Year ending 5th Jan 1809, at 40,881,671 *l.*

9.—That the Official Value of Foreign erchandize exported from Great Britain in year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 418,837 *l.*, and on an Average of Six Years, ding the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 11,651,333*l.*:

That the Official Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported from Great Britain in the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, was 464,404 *l.*, and of Foreign Merchandize, was 7,398,803 *l.*; and on an Average of Three Years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the Export of Irish Produce was 362,952 *l.*, and of Foreign Merchandize, 8,431,332 *l.*

(20.)—That in the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, the Number of British Vessels entered Inwards in Great Britain, was 13,622: their Tonnage, 1,793,333: and the number of men employed in them, 108,669;—That the Number of British Vessels cleared Outwards was 13,012; their Tonnage, 1,625,966, and the Number of Men employed in them, 102,427:

That in the Year ending the 5th of Jan, 1803, the Number of Foreign Vessels entered Inwards in Great Britain, was 3,733; their Tonnage, 480,241; and the Number of Men employed in them, 27,737:—And that the Number of Foreign Vessels cleared Outwards was 3,352; their Tonnage, 461,823; and the Number of Men employed in them, 26,749:

That in the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the Number of British Ships entered Inwards in Great Britain, was 11,305; their Tonnage, 1,311,966; and the Number of Men employed to navigate them, 82,617;—That the Number of British Ships cleared Outwards, was 11,917; their Tonnage, 1,372,261; and the Number of Men employed to navigate them, 89,601:

That in the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the Number of Foreign Ships entered Inwards in Great Britain, was 1,926; their Tonnage 283,657; and the Number of Men employed in them 15,540;—That the Number of Foreign Ships cleared Outwards, was 1,892; their Tonnage 282,145; and the Number of Men employed in them 15,671:

(21.)—That the Number of British Ships built and registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, in the

Year ending		Tonnage.
5th Jan. 1803, was	1,281	137,508
5th Jan. 1804,	1,402	135,349
5th Jan. 1805,	991	95,979
5th Jan. 1806,	966	89,975
5th Jan. 1807,	772	69,198
5th Jan. 1808,	770	68,000
5th Jan. 1809,	542	52,146

(22.)—That the Total Sum to be provided by Great Britain, within the year 1809, may be estimated as follows; viz.

Interest of Public Funded Debt, Charges of Management and Sinking Fund on the 1st Feb. 1809		28,848,999
Interest, Charges of Management, &c. to be paid between the 1st of Feb. 1809 and 5th of Jan. 1810, on Stock created in the present Session, to the Amount of 21,278,122*l.*, after deducting Interest on 5 per-Cent. 1797, paid off, about		809,000
Interest of Imperial Loan		495,963
Civil Government of Scotland, Pensions on Revenue, Militia and Deserters Warrants, Bounties for promoting Fisheries, &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809		1,301,139
Charges of Collection and Management of the Revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th January 1809		2,816,568
Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain of the Civil List and other Charges on the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th of Jan. 1809, 15/17ths of 1,405,552*l.*		1,240,193
Supplies voted 1809, for Great Britain exclusively,	1,927,078	
Supplies voted in 1809 for Great Britain and Ireland, 51,934,212 *l.* Deduct proportion of Supplies and Civil List to be defrayed by Ireland, 2/17ths, 6,273,966	45,660,246	
		47,587,324
Making in the whole the Sum of		£. 83,099,186

(23.)—That the Funds applicable to discharge the Sum to be provided by Great Britain for the year 1809, may be estimated as follows; viz.

	£.
The Gross Receipt of the permanent Revenue, including Taxes annually voted, after deducting Drawbacks, &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th Jan. 1809	40,976,075
War Taxes, appropriated to the Charge of Loans 1807 and 1809,	2,240,000
Estimated further Produce, to the 5th Jan. 1810, of Taxes imposed in 1808	350,000
Estimated Produce, to the 5th Jan. 1810, of Taxes imposed in the present Session	52,50
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue, and Imprest Monies repaid, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th Jan. 1809	208,71
Lottery, deducting the proportion for Ireland	300,000
War Taxes, to the 5th April 1810	19,000,000
Advance to Portugal, to be repaid	150,000
Loan	11,000,000
Surplus of Ways and Means 1808	2,757,35
Exchequer Bills to be issued	7,510,70
Total	£. 84,545,34

(24.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Funded Debt of Ireland, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, including 26,268,667 *l.* Irish Currency funded in Great Britain, was 39,541,258*l.* of which 2,146,794*l.* had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, leaving a Funded Debt unredeemed of 37,394,464 *l.*; and that the Amount of Annuities payable by Ireland, after deducting what had fallen in, was, in Annuities for Lives by Survivorship, 48,900 *l.* and in Annuities for terms of years 80,525*l.*

(25.)—That the Amount of Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding in Ireland on the 5th Jan. 1803, was 1,492,687 *l.*

(26.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Funded Debt of Ireland, including 56,326,834*l.* funded in Great Britain, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 76,110,856 *l.* Irish Currency, of which 9,008,829*l.* had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, leaving a Funded Debt unredeemed, of 67,102,027 *l.*; and that the amount of Annuities payable by Ireland on the 1st of Feb. 1809, was in Annuities for Lives by Survivorship 48,900*l.*, and in Annuities for terms of Years 168,726 *l.*; and that a further Debt will be created by Loans raised in the present Session of Parliament, amounting to 5,400,000*l.* Capital Stock, and 14,354 *l.* Long Annuity.

(27.)—That the Amount of Unfunded Debt

ll Demands outstanding in Ireland, on the of Jan. 1809, was 570,744 *l.*; and that a ther Unfunded Debt will be created by ans raised in the present Session of Parlia- nt, amounting to 114,062 *l.*

28.)—That the Annual Charge on account Interest, Management and Redemption of Public Funded Debt of Ireland, including 9,425 *l.* for Annuities, was on the 1st of Feb. 03, 1,997,451 *l.* and on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 63,321 *l.* including 217,626 *l.* for Annuities; d that a further Charge has incurred, on ac- unt of the Sums borrowed in the present ssion of Parliament, of 264,000 *l.*

(29.)—That the variations in the state of the blic Debt of Ireland between the 1st of b. 1803, and the 1st of Feb. 1810, being ven years of war, may be estimated as fol- vs:

The Public Funded Debt of Ireland unre- emed, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was ,394,464 *l.* Irish currency, will amount to out 70,700,000 *l.* after deducting 1,800,000 *l.* r the operation of the Sinking Fund during e current year; being an increase of the Ca- tal Stock of about 33,300,000 *l.*

The Unfunded Debts and Demands outstand- g, supposing such outstanding Demands on e 5th of Jan. 1810 to be equal to what they ere on the 5th of Jan. 1809, will amount about 684,809 *l.*; being a diminution of 7,878 *l.*

(30.)—That the Sum applicable to the re- emption of the Public Funded Debt of Ire- nd, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803 was 4,198 *l.*, being about 1/86th part of the unre- eemed Debt then existing, was on the 1st of eb. 1809, 1,282,354 *l.* being about 1/52nd part the Unredeemed Debt, and may be esti- ated to amount on the 1st of Feb. 1810 to bout 1,396,000 *l.*

(31.)—That the Total Net Payments into e Exchequer on account of the Ordinary Re- enue of Ireland, in the year ending 5th of an. 1803, was 3,314,293 *l.* and in the year nding the 5th of Jan. 1809, 4,571,250 *l.*

(32.)—That the Official Value of all Imports to Ireland, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 803, was 6,087,741 *l.*:—And,

That the Official Value of all Imports into reland, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 809, was 7,129,507 *l.*

(33.)—That the Official Value of Irish Pro- uce and Manufactures exported from Ireland the year ending the 5th of January 1803, as 4,876,070 *l.* and the Real Value thereof ,876,817 *l.*:—And,

That the Official Value of Irish Produce and anufactures exported in the year ending the th of Jan. 1809, was 5,696,897 *l.* and the Real alue thereof 12,577,517 *l.*

That the Official Value of Foreign Merchan- ize exported from Ireland in the year ending he 5th of Jan. 1803, was 212,208 *l.*; and n the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, 5,694 *l.*

(34.)—That the Number of Irish Vessels which entered Inwards in Ireland, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 1,408; their Tonnage, 98,101; and their men, 7,001:—Of British Vessels, 5,826; their Tonnage, 535,819; and their men, 31,805:—And the Number of Foreign Vessels, 366; their Tonnage, 58,560; and their Men, 3,791.

That in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1809, the Number of Irish Vessels which entered Inwards was 1,583; their Tonnage, 111,614; and their men, 7,485:—The Number of British Vessels, 7,189; their Tonnage, 696,403; and their men, 38,426:—And the Number of Foreign Vessels, 159; their Tonnage, 25,356; and their men 1,580.

(35.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the Charge of Loan raised for the service of Ireland, for ten years ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, comprising the whole period of the War terminated by the Peace of Amiens, may be stated at about 503,378,540 *l.*; whereof 178,520,454 *l.* arose from the Charge of the Public Funded and Unfunded Debt, and 324,858,086 *l.* from all other Services; and that about 251,909,953 *l.* was raised by the Ordinary Revenue and incidental Payments of different kinds, about 32,679,000 *l.* by Extraordinary War Taxes, 220,095,607 *l.* by Additions to the Public Funded Debt, 3,000,000 *l.* by an Advance from the Bank without Interest, in consideration of the renewal of the Charter, and an Advance of 3,000,000 *l.* from the Bank in 1798, of which 1,500,000 *l.* was repaid in 1803.

(36.)—That the Total Amount of the Public Expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the Charge of Loans raised for the service of Ireland, for six years ending the 5th Jan. 1809, being the six first years of the present War, may be stated at about 395,945,599 *l.*; whereof 166,445,052 *l.* arose from the Charge of the Public Funded and Unfunded Debt, and 229,701,647 *l.* from all other Services; and that about 224,403,222 *l.* has been raised by the Ordinary Revenue and Incidental Payments of various kinds, 92,240,000 *l.* by Extraordinary War Taxes, 81,168,418 *l.* by Additions to the Public Funded Debt, and 3,500,000 *l.* by an Advance without Interest from the Bank.

(37.)—That if the Sum raised by War Taxes previously to the Peace of Amiens, had been added to the Loans of each year, and raised at the same rate at which such Loans were actually raised in each year respectively, a further Charge would have been incurred, of 48,678,000 *l.* Capital Stock, and 1,850,000 *l.* Annual Charge to be raised by Permanent Taxes.

(38.)—That if the Sum raised by War Taxes during the first six years of the present War, had been added to the Loan of each year, and raised at the same rate at which such Loans were actually raised in each year, a further Charge would have been incurred, of 132,969,000 *l.* Capital Stock, and 6,755,000 *l.* Annual Charge to be raised by Permanent Taxes.

Mr. *Huskisson* upon the main view of the subject, agreed with the right hon. gent. in his Resolutions, and had no doubt but our resources, notwithstanding all the difficulties under which we had been placed, were fully adequate to every exertion we should be called upon to make for the honour, defence and independence of the country.

The preceding Resolutions were then read from the chair, and agreed to.

[PETITION OF MR. ATKINS.] Mr. *W. Smith* presented a Petition from Becher Westropp Atkins, late Barrack Master in Sandown bay division, Isle of Wight; setting forth, "That the Petitioner served his majesty as lieutenant in the 27th regiment of infantry in the West Indies, during the years 1797 and 1798, under the command of the late general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who conferred upon him an ensigncy in that regiment; and he was afterwards appointed a barrack master in the Isle of Wight; and that, in the execution of his various duties in that capacity, the petitioner was struck with the existence of certain abuses, by means of which great sums of the public money were improvidently expended; and in December 1805 he submitted to the then Secretary at War a plan evidently calculated to effect great savings to the barrack department, and that, owing to the suggestions, of the petitioner, very great retrenchments took place in the barrack department; and, amongst other circumstances, the rent of the temporary barracks hired upon the part of government were reduced nearly one half, and others given up as useless; and that at the time the petitioner was induced to point out the above-mentioned abuses to the Secretary at War he stated the disagreeable predicament in which such a proceeding would inevitably place him if he was suffered to remain under the immediate controul of those who were implicated in the transactions he complained of, and upon this ground he solicited a removal from the Isle of Wight to a similar appointment then vacant at Deal, but such solicitation was not attended to, and he was left singly to contend against an host of enemies, whose frauds he had been the means of detecting, and after suffering various mortifications he was turned out of his situation, having a numerous family to support, without even having been acquainted with any accusation alledged against him; and that the petitioner was informed at length through another channel, that the cause of his dismissal was an affidavit produced against him by a proprietor of one of the barns then hired by government as a temporary barrack, and about to be given up, at the petitioner's recommendation, on account of an exorbitant rent paid for it; and the petitioner being denied the advantage of a fair trial, he instantly adopted the only means in his power of rebutting such affidavit, namely, by a counter affidavit; and the petitioner conceives that, if an inference is to be drawn out of these affidavits, printed by order of the last parliament, his character will stand acquitted, inasmuch as those in his favour are the joint depositions of three persons, and state a connected chain of circumstances, whereas the one exhibited against him is the assertion of an individual, avowedly his enemy, and an interested person; and that the petitioner humbly requests a fair and open investigation, whereon he undertakes not only to manifest his own innocence, but to substantiate charges of a most criminal nature against one or more persons who are now unworthily filling situations of public trust; and that by reference to the Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, it will appear great rents are paid for buildings or barns, and regarding which there is contradictory evidence; and that the petitioner offered to substantiate the above charges upon oath before the commissioners of military enquiry, but as that tribunal would not accede to the proposal of the petitioner, to allow him to be present at examination of witnesses, or permit counsel on his behalf, or allow him to call on such evidence as the petitioner requested, and which he conceived necessary, he was deprived of all reasonable expectation or hope of redress, and consequently he was induced to decline the further prosecution of the charges; and praying that the House will take his unfortunate case into consideration, and afford him such relief as the justice thereof shall be thought to require."

The Petition was read and ordered to lie upon the table.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 21.

[THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS' SPEECH.] The Lord Chancellor stated to their lordships, that the Lords Commissioners appointed by the king, had received two commissions from his majesty, signed by own hand, one for giving the royal as- to a bill agreed to by both houses parliament, and the other, for pro- ing the parliament. After reading first of which, the Lords Commission- viz.; the Lord Chancellor, the arch- op of Canterbury, and the earls of nden, Dartmouth, and Westmoreland, their seats on the woolsack. The ds Commissioners then desired the at- dance of the House of Commons in the use of Lords to hear his majesty's gra- us communication. On the Speaker's earance at the bar, and about forty mbers of the House of Commons,

The *Lord Chancellor* in his majesty's ne delivered the following Speech.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

We are commanded by his majesty acquaint you, that his majesty has at satisfaction in being enabled, by the e of public business, to release you m your laborious attendance in Parlia- nt.

His majesty doubts not, that on your rn into your respective counties, you carry with you a disposition to incul- e, both by instruction and example, a rit of attachment to those established s and that happy constitution, which has ever been his majesty's anxious h to support and to maintain, and upon ch, under Providence, depend the fare and prosperity of this kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We have it in command from his ma- y to thank you for the liberal provision ch you have made for the services of present year; and to express the satis- tion which his majesty derives from r having been enabled to provide for se services without any great and im- diate addition to the burthens upon his ple.

His majesty particularly commands us acknowledge your prompt attention to wishes, respecting an increased pro- on for the poorer clergy; an object in highest degree interesting to his ma- y's feelings, and deserving the favour- e consideration of Parliament.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

The atrocious and unparalleled act of lence and treachery by which the Ruler France attempted to surprize and to enslave the Spanish nation, while it has excited in Spain a determined and unconquerable resistance against the usurpation and tyranny of the French government, has, at the same time, awakened in other nations of Europe a determination to resist, by a new effort, the continued and increasing encroachments on their safety and independence.

"Although the uncertainty of all human events, and the vicissitudes attendant upon war, forbid too confident an expectation of a satisfactory issue to the present struggle against the common enemy of Europe, his majesty commands us to congratulate you upon the splendid and important success which has recently crowned the arms of the Emperor of Austria, under the able and distinguished conduct of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles.

"To the efforts of Europe for its own deliverance, his majesty has directed us to assure you, that he is determined to continue his most strenuous assistance and support, convinced that you will agree with him in considering that every exertion for the re-establishment of the independence and security of other nations, is no less conducive to the true interest, than it is becoming the character and honour of Great Britain."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read; after which the Lord Chancellor, by virtue of his majesty's commission, prorogued the Parliament to Thursday the 10th day of August next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 21.

The Speaker took the chair at half past three: and shortly afterwards a Message was brought by the deputy Usher of the black rod, requiring the attendance of the House at the bar of the House of Peers, to hear his majesty's commission read. The Speaker, attended by the whole house went up forthwith. On their return, the Speaker read a copy of the Speech delivered by the Lords Commissioners: after which, the members separated.—Thus ended the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

VOL. XIV.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FOR THE YEAR ENDED FIFTH OF JANUARY 1809.

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I.—PUBLIC INCOME.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Revenue.			Net Produce.			Payments into Exchequer		
ORDINARY REVENUES.									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
toms	9,214,131	0	8	7,726,116	19	9½	6 428,972	11	11¾
ise	19,824,315	9	0	18,182,174	12	1¾	17,847,897	2	6
mps	4,821,865	2	2½	4,695,871	9	10¼	4,536,311	19	10
d and Assessed Taxes	7,606,192	18	3¾	7,789,816	19	4¼	6,909,788	16	0¾
t Office	1,498,251	2	8¼	1,268,536	2	1¼	1,076,000	0	0
in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	63,465	13	2½	65,136	15	8½	62,456	8	11
in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	62,013	14	2	61,264	1	5¼	60,784	0	0
kney Coaches	28,753	12	6	26,347	16	3½	26,029	0	0
wkers and Pedlars	14,005	11	5½	11,475	0	0	11,475	0	0
Total Permanent and Annual Duties	43,132,994	4	2½	39,826,739	16	8¼	36,959,714	19	3½
mall Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.							Hanaper } 2,000	0	0
enation Fines	9,044	6	8	11,536	10	9	7,200	8	8
t Fines	936	10	0¾	5,940	10	2¼	-	-	-
zures	3,733	11	7½	3,733	11	7½	3,733	11	7½
mpositions	3	10	0	3	10	0	3	10	0
ffers	680	8	10	680	8	10	680	8	10
wn Lands	50,721	9	3¼	87,447	4	10½	24,202	18	4
Extraordinary Resources.									
Customs	2,784,544	4	1	2,368,850	17	8½	2,368,850	17	8½
Excise	6,876,798	17	7½	6,827,510	1	10½	6,802,815	2	6
Property Tax	11,398,134	16	4¼	11,120,131	10	7¼	11,120,131	10	7¼
Arrears of Income Duty, &c.	15,427	7	7¾	15,020	11	6¼	15,020	11	6¼
tery, Net Profit—one third for Ireland	461,250	0	0	438,619	11	6	438,619	11	6
nies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland	2,055,123	6	1	2,055,123	6	1	2,055,123	6	1
Account of the Commissioners, appointed or issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada	68,907	6	6	68,907	6	6	68,907	6	6
plus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	56,129	1	0	56,129	1	0	56,129	1	0
m the Receivers General of the Counties, n Account of Militia Fines	14,874	13	4	14,874	13	4	14,874	13	4
nies paid on Account of the Surplus Revenue of the Isle of Man	4,045	8	1	4,045	8	1	4,045	8	1
prest Money repaid by Public Accountants	121,040	13	8½	121,040	13	8½	121,040	13	8½
her monies paid to the Public	228	7	0	228	7	0	228	7	0
Total, independent of Loans	67,054,618	2	1	63,026,563	1	10½	60,063,322	6	3½
ans paid into the Exchequer, in Part of £10,500,000 including £2,500,000 for reland	10,102,620	15	6	10,102,620	15	6	10,102,620	15	6
GRAND TOTAL	77,157,238	17	7	73,129,183	17	4½	70,165,943	1	9½

II.—CONSOLIDATED FUND.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Net Produce of the Customs	3,047,090	11	7
Excise	14,351,366	2	6
Stamps	3,032,250	17	9¾
Incidents	5,649,201	18	9
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, & Tobacco, annually granted	1,436,039	5	5¼
Arrears of Annual Malt	1,240	6	10
Land Tax, 1779, 1799, 1800, 1801, 2 3.4.5, 6, 7, & 8	1,12,754	15	8
Pensions. Anno 1799, 1800, 1801, 2, 3, 4,, 56, & 7	139,106	2	4
Income Duty, Anno 1799, 1800, 1801	14,759	9	2¾
Arrears of Assessed Taxes 1798	261	2	3½
Money reserved on account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury in Tontine 1789	24,041	16	11¼
Monies paid into the Treasury by divers Persons being sundry Balances due to the Public	272,217	13	8
Imprest Monies repaid by various	16,388	0	11½
Interest, &c. on Loans for the Service of Ireland	906,542	6	8
Total Income of the Consolidated Fund, applicable towards paying the Charge existing at 5th Jan. 1803	30,018,160	10	8
DUTIES pro Anno 1803.			
Brought from Consolidated Stamp Duties, per Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 149	70,327	8	9¾
Reserved out of Consolidated Customs, per Act 43 Geo. 3. cap 68. at £.250,000 per Annum	250,000	0	0
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes, per Act 48 Geo. 3.	297,452	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	135,579	10	2
TOTAL	753,358	18	11¾
DUTIES pro Anno 1804			
Brought from Consolidated Stamp Duties per Act 48 Geo. 3 cap. 149.	1,108,890	16	3
Interest, &c. on Loan for the Service of Ireland	328,954	9	10
TOTAL	1,437,845	6	1

CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1809. £.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th January 1809. £.	s.	d.
Total Charge for Debt created prior to 5th of Jan. 1803, as it stood on 5th January 1809	24,101,086	16	2½	24,163,927	5	3½
CIVIL LIST.—His Majesty's Household	898,000	0	0	898,000	0	0
Ditto per Act 44 Geo. 3	60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
COURTS OF JUSTICE.—Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries	13,050	0	0	13,050	0	0
Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary Places of Confinement for Felons, &c.	350	0	0	Uncertain,		
W Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the 7 Police Offices	16,843	17	1¼			
Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Ditto Thames Police Office	6,884	19	1			
John Bedford, Esq. Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court in the Island of Barbadoes	893	12	4			
Henry Moreton Dyer, Esq. Ditto Bahamas	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Alexander Croke, Esq. Ditto America	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. Ditto Malta	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry John Hinchleffe, Esq. Ditto Jamaica	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
William Territt, Esq. Ditto Bermudas.	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Sheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Deficiencies of Judges Salaries	5,573	0	1¾	Uncertain.		
MINT.—Master of his Majesty's Mint in England	10,350	0	0	13,800	0	0
Ditto Scotland	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Receiver of Fees in the Office of the Mint	2,753	12	6	Uncertain.		
Salaries and Allowances	11,739	0	0	7,950	0	0
Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts	12,300	0	0	12,300	0	0
Salaries and Contingences in the Office of Ditto	34,518	19	4	Uncertain.		
Commissioners for Auditing the West India Accounts	3,500	0	0	3,500	0	0
Salaries and Contingences in the Office of Ditto	5,458	16	8	Uncertain.		
Pensions	303,705	13	11	293,869	14	10
MISCELLANEOUS.—For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8	2,956	13	8
The Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty	500	0	0	Uncertain.		
Commissioners for Compensations for Loss sustained under the Act for the Improvement of the Port of London.	196,916	9	8			
Salaries and Contingences in the office of ditto	6,000	0	0			
Fishmongers' Company, for Rent of Porter's Quay	621	3	0			
John Milliard, Esq. for Rent of Smart's Quay	352	12	0			

DUTIES pro Anno 1805.

Duty on Goods, Anno 1805	272,099	3	3¾
Brought from Consolidated Stamp Duties per Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 149	67,672	9	2
Additional Duty on Letters per Act 45 Geo. 3	155,333	16	7½
Duty on Horses for Riding	168,448	0	0
Duties on Salt, Auctions, Bricks and Tiles, Coffee, Cyder and Perry, Glass, Vinegar, and Wire	667,529	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for the Service of Ireland	275,834	11	4
TOTAL	1,606,917	0	5¼
DUTIES pro Anno 1806.			
Brought from Consolidated Excise, per Act 46 G. 3 — Wine, Anno 1803	260,699	0	0
Ditto, 1804	173,411	0	0
Tea,	52,075	0	0
British Spirits, Anno 1806	497,540	0	0
Arrears of £. 10 per Cent. per Act 48 Geo. 3.	428,422	18	6¾
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes in lieu of £. 10 per Cent. per Act 48 Geo. 3.	110,967	0	0
Interest &c. on Loan for the Service of Ireland	133,312	16	7
Brought from Consolidated Stamp Duties, per Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 149	7,415	5	4
TOTAL	1,663,843	0	5¾
DUTIES pro Anno 1807.			
Brought from War Taxes to pay the Charges on Loan per Act 47 Geo. 3. c. 55.	1,184,593	15	9¾
Interest, &c. on Loan for the Service of Ireland	259,213	5	0
TOTAL	1,443,807	0	9¾
DUTIES pro Anno 1808.			
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes	25,325	19	0
Surplus of Consolidated Stamp Duties, after reserving as directed by Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 149	249,755	2	5½
Interest, &c. in Loan for the Service of Ireland	15,686	6	6
TOTAL	290,767	8	0½
TOTAL INCOME of the CONSOLIDATED FUND in the year ending 5th January 1809.	37,714,699	5	6

For the Improvement of the Port of London, in full of £. 24,000 per Act 47 Geo. 3	4,000	0	0	Uncertain.		
West India Dock Company, in full of £. 30,000 per Act 47 Geo. 3.	15,000	0	0			
A Repayment to Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge	1,208	13	9			
Total of Incidental Charges upon the Consolidated Fund as they stood on the 5th Jan. 1809	1,638,677	3	2	1,320,976	8	6
Debt incurred in respect of £. 12,000,000 raised for the Service of the Year 1803	813,721	16	10	817,120	3	11
Debt incurred in respect of £. 14,500,000 raised for the Service of the Year 1804	1,169,483	19	10	1,174,168	18	0
Debt incurred in respect of £. 22,500,000, raised for the Service of the Year 1805	1,709,306	7	2¼	1,716,992	2	6½
Debt incurred in respect of £. 20,000,000, raised for the Service of the Year 1806	1,333,220	0	0	1,339,288	0	0
Debt incurred in respect of £. 14,200,000, raised for the Service of the Year 1807, including £. 1,500,000, raised for the Service of Ireland	1,659,331	12	7	1,434,932	13	4¾
Debt incurred in respect of £. 4,000,000, Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the Year 1808	322,925	8	10	878,056	3	1¼
Recapitulation — Ditto....Ditto.... prior to 1803	24,101,086	16	2½	24,163,927	5	3½
Total of Incidental Charges	1,638,677	3	2	1,320,976	8	6
Total Charges for Debt, incurred in the Year 1803	813,721	16	10	817,120	3	11
Ditto....Ditto.... 1804	1,169,483	19	10	1,174,168	18	0
Ditto....Ditto.... 1805	1,709,306	7	2¼	1,716,992	2	6½
Ditto....Ditto.... 1806	1,333,220	0	0	1,339,288	0	0
Ditto....Ditto.... 1807	1,659,331	12	7	1,434,932	13	4¾
TOTAL CHARGE upon the CONSOLIDATED FUND in the Year ended 5th January 1809	32,747,753	4	7¾	32,845,461	14	9

An Account of the Net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES *of* GREAT BRITAIN

		In the Year ended 5 Jan. 1808.			5th Jan. 1809.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
CONSOLIDATED CUSTOMS		3,357,365	11	10	3,257,427	13	0
.... Ditto .... EXCISE		15,544,304	0	0	15,505,080	2	6
.... Ditto .... STAMPS		4,203,046	1	4	4,476,838	2	3
INCIDENTS.							
Houses and Windows	1758	-	-	-	6	2	9
Ditto	1766	-	-	-	102	12	5
Inhabited Houses	1778	17	12	8¼	185	7	8
Horses for Riding	1785	18	15	0	101	10	4
Male Servants		22	14	1	70	0	0
4 Wheeled Carriages		303	19	7½	17	0	0
2 Ditto		35	0	0	7	0	0
Waggons		-	-	-	0	6	0
Carts		0	18	0	18	6	0
Female Servants		-	-	-	0	3	9
Hackney Coaches and Chairs 1711 & 1784		27,564	0	0	26,029	0	0
6d. per £. on Pensions		71,352	0	0	34,784	0	0
1s. Ditto .... Salaries		60,544	6	1	40,823	0	0
Letter Money		1,084,816	9	2¼	1,080,000	9	11
Hawkers and Pedlars		9,300	0	0	12,125	0	0
Seizures		8,645	16	1	3,733	11	7
Proffers		550	3	7	680	8	10
Compositions		2	0	0	3	10	0
Fines and Forfeitures		902	1	0	1,321	19	2
Rent of a Lighthouse		6	13	4	6	13	4
Ditto .. Alum Mines		960	0	0	816	0	0
Alienation Duty		2,634	10	8	7,200	8	8
Lottery Licences		6,371	1	8	4,879	17	7
Legacies		65,138	2	9	54,594	0	0
Quarantine Duty		9,605	19	10	11,445	3	0
Canal and Dock Duty		25,469	14	5½	29,117	15	6
£. 10 per Cent.	1793	-	-	-	10	16	0
Hair Powder Certificates	1795	4,983	4	0¼	2,159	19	8
Horse Dealers' Licences	1796	1,624	6	10	145	8	4
£. 10 per Cent		0	14	0	—		
Horses for Riding		2	12	6	—		
£. 20 per Cent.	1797	310	4	0¾	—		
Male Servants		14	1	3	—		
Additional Assessed Taxes	1798	2,8[illegible]8	11	2¼	—		
Houses and Windows		2,111	19	7¾	538	1	6
Inhabited Houses		2,153	8	11½	104	2	6
Horses for Riding		3,299	2	1	413	13	0
Ditto .... Husbandry		2,249	9	0	209	12	0
Male Servants		1,601	10	0	158	4	0
4 Wheeled Carriages		1,967	5	7	748	0	0
2 .... Ditto		708	16	10½	134	4	0
Dogs		790	13	0	128	14	0
Armorial Bearings		4,499	18	9¾	1,315	1	3
Horses for Husbandry	1801	-	-	-	6	0	0
Ditto .... Riding		13	7	7½	8	12	4
Houses and Windows	1802	20,124	6	10	10,624	5	4
Inhabited Houses		10,162	9	7	5,787	16	2
Horses for Riding		17,572	14	10¾	6,063	18	4½
Ditto .... Husbandry		11,524	12	11½	15,238	13	7
Male Servants		8,186	3	9½	4,798	16	11½
4 Wheeled Carriages		11,864	4	8½	4,900	18	2
2 .... Ditto		4,026	11	10¼	1,714	8	8
Dogs		7,403	14	3	6,076	12	4
Houses and Windows	1804	1,903,054	14	9	1,483,189	5	9½
Inhabited Houses		671,320	7	1¾	625,088	8	11¼
Horses for Riding		671,285	6	8	578,218	19	10¼
Ditto . and Mules		522,322	4	10½	402,370	12	4¼
Male Servants		351,720	7	5¾	303,791	15	0¾
Carriages		363,826	4	4½	317,109	10	4½
Dogs		134,290	13	11	110,118	19	1½

en for Two Years, ending respectively 5th January 1808 *and 5th January* 1809.

		In the Years ended 5 Jan. 1808			5th Jan. 1809.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
ir Powder Certificates		55,980	19	10½	59,202	7	11
rse Dealers' Licences		8,857	8	8	9,716	1	9½
morial Bearings		28,291	11	9½	34,200	5	0
ods and Wares	1805	239,628	6	7½	272,099	3	3¾
tish Spirits	1806	-	-	-	497,540	0	0
10 per Cent.		335,968	7	9	428,412	2	6¾
sessed Taxes	1808	-	-	-	1,214,414	15	3½
rplus of Duties Annually granted, after discharging £. 3,000,000 Exchequer Bills charged thereon.	Sugar and Malt	1,024,634	19	9½	511,493	5	5¼
	Malt	1,038,318	0	0	762,076	0	0
	Tobacco	263,553	0	0	162,470	0	0
		32,206,113	9	2¾	32,380,212	15	8¼
Duties granted to discharge 3,000,000 Exchequer Bills charged thereon.	Sugar and Malt	1,845,707	8	3	2,376,507	7	1¾
	Tobacco	180,447	0	0	298,591	0	0
	Malt	8,780	0	0	174,862	0	0
	6*d.* per £. on Pensions	-	-	-	26,000	0	0
	1*s.* Ditto .... Salaries	-	-	-	18,615	0	0
	Pensions, Offices, &c.	-	-	-	13,000	0	0
	£.	34,241,047	17	5¾	35,287,788	2	10

III.—ARREARS AND BALANCES.

HEADS AND TOTALS OF THESE ACCOUNTS.

		£.	s.	d.
rears due on the 5th January 1809, from the Officers of the Customs in England, &c.	Present Collectors	41,398	6	1
	Late Collectors	1,867	8	3¾
rrears due on ditto from the Officers of the Customs in Scotland, &c.	Late Collector	76	12	6½
	Present Collectors	29,828	11	4½
rrears due on Ditto, from the Officers of Excise in England, &c.		46,223	10	6½
rrears due on Ditto, from the Officers of Excise in Scotland, &c.		3,613	12	9
rears due on Ditto, from the Distributors of Stamps in Great Britain, &c.		47,807	4	6½
lances in the Hands of the Distributors of Stamps in Great Britain, &c.		78,978	1	6
rrears due on the 5th of January 1809, from the Receivers General of the Land and Assessed Taxes in Great Britain, &c.		395,468	7	7
rrears due on the 5th January 1809, from the Officers of the Post Office in Great Britain, &c.	Irrecoverables	4,289	12	7¼
	Recoverables	3,494	1	9½
lances in the Hands of the Deputy Postmasters in Great Britain, &c. 5th January 1809		82,661	19	9¾
lances due on the 5th January 1809, from the Receivers of the Land Revenue of the Crown for England, &c.		None.		
lances due on Ditto from the Receivers of the Land Revenues of the Crown for Wales, &c.		None.		
ccounts delivered into the Office of the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, &c.		(No Total given.)		

List of Officers and Departments whose Accounts are Audited by the Commissioners f Auditing the PUBLIC ACCOUNTS; *viz.*

Cashier of the Bank of England.
Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.
Secretary to the said Commissioners.
Cashier of the South Sea Annuities.
Paymasters of Exchequer Bills.
Inspector of Tontine Certificates.
Cashier of Bank, Loans and Lotteries.
Secretary for Contingent Expences of Lottery.
Chamberlain of London, Orphans Fund.
Treasurer of the Navy.
Treasurer of the Ordnance.
Treasurer of Navy Bills funded.
Treasurer of Ordnance Bills funded.
Inspector of Roads in North Britain.
Paymaster General of the Army.
Agent to the Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital.
Barrack, Commissioners of.
Paymaster of Widows Pensions.
Receiver General of the Customs .... Cash.
Comptroller General of the Customs .... General.
Commissioners for Licensing Hawkers & Pedlars.
Receiver General of Revenues arising by licensing Hackney Coaches and Chairs.
Receiver of the Customs, Isle of Man.
Receiver General of the Stamps .... Cash.
Comptroller General of the Stamps .... General.
Receiver General of the Post .... Cash.
Comptroller General of the Post .... General.
Military Asylum Treasurer.
Military College Treasurer.
Receiver of the Civil List Deduction.
Receiver of the 12*d.* Deduction.
Receiver of the First Fruits of the Clergy.
Receiver of the Tenths of the Clergy.
Keeper or Clerk of the Hanaper.
Paymaster of American Pensions.
Paymaster of Allowances to Toulonese Emigran
Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
Master of the Robes.
Master of the Horse.
Master of the Mint.
Warden of the Mint.
Solicitor to the Treasury.
Comptroller and Cashier of the Stationary Offic
Surveyor of Somerset Place.
Agents for Cape Breton.—Bahama Islands.—N Brunswick.—Prince Edward Island.—Upp Canada.—Newfoundland.—Nova Scotia.—N South Wales.—Regimental Infirmaries.—Payi Allowances to retired and officiating Chaplains the Army.—Volunteer Corps.

List of Persons Accountable before the Commissioners for Auditing the PUBLIC ACCOUN *for Money impressed on Account of Extraordinary Services: viz.*

Barrack Masters General Abroad.
Deputy Barrack Masters General.
Contractors for Victualling His Majesty's Forces.
Contractors for remitting Money for Pay of Extras of the Forces.
Contractors for furnishing Camps with Bread, Wood, Straw, and Forage.
Commissaries General, Deputy Commissaries for the Purchase and Issues of Stores.
Commissaries of Accounts.
Engineers, for Monies received out of the Extraordinaries of the Forces.
Governors of Islands or Provinces, and Lieut. Governors thereof.
Commanders in Chief, for Contingencies.
Paymasters of Provincial Forces.
Purveyors of Hospitals.
Quarter Masters General, and Deputy Qua Masters General.
Superintendants, &c. of Indian Affairs.
Secretaries to Governors.
Secretaries to Commanders in Chief.
Clerk of the House of Commons, for printing Journals.
Military Canal, Paymasters of Works.

N. B.—Any Person to whom Money may be Impressed on Account for Extraordinary Servi (not relating to the Navy or Ordnance) becomes a Public Accountant, and is compellable to p an Account in this Office.

This Class also contains,

List of Accounts Delivered Over by the late Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts to T Commissioners appointed for the like Purpose under the 46th Geo. 3; and of the Accounts since ceived into the Audit Office, Somerset Place, or since received into the Office of the said Commi oners, which have NEITHER been Audited, Stated, or Declared;—completed to the 5th of Janu 1809.

List of Accounts Delivered Over by the Late Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts to T Commissioners appointed for the like Purpose under the 46th Geo 3; and of the Accounts since ceived into the Audit Office, Somerset Place, or since received into the Office of the said Comm sioners, which HAVE been either Stated or Declared; so far as any Balances appear to be now ow to, or from, the Public, upon any such Accounts;—completed to the 5th January 1809.

V.—TRADE AND NAVIGATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

e *of all* IMPORTS *into, and all* EXPORTS *from* GREAT BRITAIN, *for Three Years, ending the 5th January* 1809.

	OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS.		OFFICIAL VALUE of EXPORTS.	
	From Europe, Africa, and America.	From East Indies and China.	British Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandize.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
ending 5th Jan. 1807	25,089,136	3,746,771	27,402,685	9,124,499
1808	25,453,149	3,401,509	25,171,422	9,395,149
1809	23,784,516	*	26,692,288	7,863,207

Note—The Actual Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported from Great Britain, agreeably to the Prices Current, and to the Declarations of the Exporters, was, in the Year ending the 5th January 1809 £. 40,881,671.

* The Account of Imports from the East Indies and China cannot yet be given.

[The Appendixes state the specific Articles.]

ber *of* VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *which have been Annually Built and* gistered *in the several Ports of the* BRITISH *Empire, (except Ireland) between 5th Jan.* 806 *and 5th Jan.* 1809.

	SHIPS.	TONS.
e Year 1806	772	69,198
e Year 1807, being the Account delivered last Year, and now corrected	770	68,000
e Year 1808	542	52,146

ber *of Vessels, with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and the Number of* MEN *and* BOYS ually *employed in Navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of the* BRITISH mpire, *in the Years* 1806, 1807, *and* 1808.

	1806.			1807.			1808.		
	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.
nd	14,877	1,786,692	118,089	15,087	1,797,182	119,631	15,327	1,833,971	119,881
nsey	108	10,193	1,351	106	9,927	993	110	10,850	1,061
y	68	6,485	543	77	6,891	552	66	5,429	500
	398	9,568	2,298	390	9,373	2,259	381	9,237	2,216
ations	2,867	183,800	13,244	2,917	184,794	13,565	3,066	194,423	13,081
and	2,788	211,431	15,415	2,615	216,553	15,658	2,592	211,950	15,042
d	1,076	55,545	5,081	1,098	56,901	5,217	1,104	58,959	5,324
al	22,182	2,263,714	156,021	22,290	2,281,621	157,875	22,646	2,324,819	157,105

ber *of* VESSELS *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *&c. which entered* INWARDS *and* eared OUTWARDS, *in the several Ports of* GREAT BRITAIN, *from, or to, all Parts of* e *World, between the 5th January* 1806, *and the 5th January* 1809.

	INWARDS.						OUTWARDS.					
	BRITISH.			FOREIGN.			BRITISH.			FOREIGN.		
G- D.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.
.	9,456	1,239,528	72,777	3,358	551,10[illegible]	27,798	9,789	1,258,903	78,596	3,249	538,700	27,900
.	8,590	1,196,372	69,544	3,712	626,60[illegible]	29,406	8,924	1,190,232	73,81[illegible]	3,630	600,840	29,685
.	8,969	1,109,090	69,060	1,831	270,862	14,851	9,430	1,153,409	74,369	1,821	272,104	15,116
T- D.												
.	2,662	243,136	16,211	435	61,800	3,556	2,462	227,399	15,961	210	29,470	1,732
.	2,623	239,795	15,453	375	53,541	3,082	2,504	233,871	15,902	216	31,070	1,726
.	2,336	202.876	13,557	95	12,795	689	2,487	218,852	15,232	71	10,041	555

V.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, App. (A.)	-	-	-	20,771,871	13	8½			
Charges of Management	-	-	-	210,549	2	7			
Reduction of the National Debt	-	-	-	10,188,606	16	6			
							31,171,027	12	9
II. Interest on Exchequer Bills, (B.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,610,562	16	10
III. The Civil List, (C.)	-	-	-	958,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. Courts of Justice	-	-	-	57,595	8	8			
Mint	-	-	-	14,303	12	6			
Allow. to Roy. Fam.	-	-	-	303,705	13	11			
Sals. & Allowances	-	-	-	67,516	16	0			
Bounties	-	-	-	237,555	12	1			
							1,638,677	3	2
V. Civil Government of Scotland, (D.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	85,470	4	1
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation, (E.) Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-	-	470,502	0	2½			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	-	-	-	27,700	0	0			
Militia, and Deserters Warrants, &c.	-	-	-	289,060	2	9½			
							787,262	3	—
VII. Navy, (F.) Wages of Officers & Seamen	2,320,000	0	0						
Half Pay to Sea Officers and Bounty to Chaplains	248,000	0	0						
Wages to his Majesty's Dock and Rope Yards	1,038,600	0	0						
General Services.—Building of Ships, Purchase of Stores of every description, Repairing Ships, Purchase of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c.	3,820,241	8	3						
Bills of Exchange, Imprests, Salaries, Pensions, Flag-pay, Marines, &c.	1,821,000	0	0						
				9,247,841	8	3			
The Victualling Department	-	-	-	5,313,901	2	6			
Transport do. for Transports, Prisoners of War, and Sick & Wounded Seamen	2,628,149	17	5						
Miscellaneous Services	278,000	0	0						
				2,906,149	17	5			
							17,467,892	8	
VIII. Ordnance, (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,108,900	3	
IX. Army, (H.)—Ordinary Services, viz. For Regulars, Fencibles, Militia, Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	10,119,471	15	9						
Barracks	285,085	13	3						
Staff Officers & Offic. of Garrisons	131,818	19	2						
Half-pay	198,247	4	4						
Widows Pensions	35,703	0	0						
Chelsea Hospital	394,596	4	5						
Exchequer Fees	91,128	2	1						
Pay of Public Offices	97,248	13	10						
				11,353,299	12	10			
Extraordinary Services (including the Remittances to Spain and Portugal)	-	-	-	5,847,762	2	11			
							17,201,061	15	9
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries, (I.)—viz. Ireland	-	-	-	2,589,166	13	4			
Sweden	-	-	-	1,100,000	0	0			
Sicily	-	-	-	300,000	0	0			
							3,989,166	13	4
XI. Micellaneous Services: (K.) At Home	-	-	-	2,683,230	18	0¾			
Abroad	-	-	-	237,260	10	2½			
							2,920,491	8	3
							81,980,512	8	6
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland				-	-	-	2,589,166	13	4
This includes the Sum of £. 434,118. 15. 0. for Interest paid on Imperial Loans. £							79,391,345	15	2

N.B.
The Items under each head are stated in the Appendixes A, B, &c. above referred to—which follow

PENDIX (—A. 1.) *Monies paid out of the Exchequer in the Year ended 5th Jan.* 1809; *owards the Charges of the* PUBLIC DEBT *of Great Britain, Ireland, and Imperial Loans.*

	INTEREST.			Annuities for Lives and for Terms of Years.			Charges of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
manent Funded Debt of Great Britain	17,716,436	6	5	1,197,170	1	0½	191,767	14	2
ns raised for the Service of Ireland	1,337,143	9	6	91,208	6	8	14,576	3	6
erial Loans	199,913	10	1	230,000	0	0	4,205	4	11
	19,253,493	6	0	1,518,378	7	8	210,549	2	7
							1,518,378	7	8½
							19,253,493	6	0
						£.	20,982,420	16	3½
Towards the Redemption of the Public Debt; viz.				£.	s.	d.			
nual Issue per Act 26 Geo III.				1,000,000	0	0			
itto .... 42 Do.				200,000	0	0			
nuities for Terms of Years expired prior to 5th July 1802				79,880	14	6			
o .... for Lives on which the Nominees are certified to have ied prior to 5th July 1802, or that have been Unclaimed for Years				49,786	18	1			
erest on Debt of Great Britain redeemed				4,014,254	3	2			
itto .... Ireland ....do				145,832	4	7			
itto .... Imperial ..... do				25,165	9	11			
per cent on Part of Capitals created since 5th Jan. 1793				3,524,811	12	0½			
of the annual Appropriation				625,261	11	2½			
1 per cent. on Capitals created by Loans for Ireland				486,921	3	0			
o Imperial Loans				36,693	0	0			
							10,188,606	16	6
						£	31,171,027	12	9½

PENDIX (A. 2.)—*Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the* COMMISSIONERS *for the Reduction of the* NATIONAL DEBT, *in the Year ending 5th Jan* 1809.

GREAT BRITAIN.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
nual Issue, 26 Geo. 3. c. 31	1,000,000	0	0			
o additional ditto 42 Geo. 3. c. 71	200,000	0	0			
hequer Anns. for 99 and 96 Years expired 1792	54,880	14	6			
t Anns. 1777, expired 1787	25,000	0	0			
s. on Lives expired prior to 5th July 1802	21,111	16	1			
s. on Lives unclaimed for 3 Years before 5th Jan. 1808	28,675	2	0			
per cent. per ann. on part of Capitals created by Loans raised om 1793 to 1808 both inclusive	3,524,811	12	0½			
erest on Capitals purchased by the Commrs. at £.3 per cent.	3,872,690	1	10			
.... Ditto .... £.4 per cent.	104,696	0	0			
.... Ditto .... £.5 per cent.	7,100	0	0			
				8,838,965	6	5½
ual Appropriation towards the Redemption of £ 12,000,000 art of £14,200,000 Loan 1807	625,261	11	2½			
rest, &c. on Capital purchased by the Commissioners on account of said Loan	29,768	1	4			
				655,029	12	6½
IRELAND.						
per cent. per ann. on Capitals created by Loans raised from 797 to 1808, both inclusive	486,921	3	0			
erest on Capitals purchased by the Commissioners at £.3 per ent.	145,832	4	7			
				632,753	7	7
IMPERIAL.						
per cent. per ann. on Capital created by Loan 1797	36,693	0	0			
rest on Capitals purchased by the Commissioners at £.3 per ent.	25,165	9	11			
				61,858	9	11
			£.	10,188,606	16	6

PENDIX (B.) will be found in page xxii.

APPENDIX (C)—*Charges upon the* CONSOLIDATED FUND, *in the Year ended 5th Jan.* 1809; *exclusive of the Interest of the* PUBLIC DEBT, *and of the Payments upon* EXCHEQUER BILLS.

CIVIL LIST.	£.	s.	d.
For his Majesty's Household	898,000	0	0
Ditto per 44 Geo. 3.	60,000	0	0
COURTS OF JUSTICE.			
Judges of England and Wales....	18,623	0	1¾
A. Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary places of confinement of Felons previous to transportation	350	0	0
P. Colquhoun, Esq. Receiver of Thames Police	6,884	19	1
John Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the Seven Public Offices	16,843	17	1¼
H. M. Dyer, Esq. Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court, Bahama, per Act 45 Geo. 3, ...	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. do Malta	2,000	0	0
W. Territ, Esq. do. Bermudas .	2,000	0	0
Alex. Croke, Esq. do. Nova Scotia	2,000	0	0
H. I. Hinchliffe, Esq. do. Jamaica	2,000	0	0
John Bedford, Esq. do. Barbadoes	893	12	4
Sheriffs of England and Wales....	4,000	0	0
MINT.			
Master of, in England	10,550	0	0
Thomas Morrison, Esq. Receiver of Fees and Emoluments in the Office of the Mint, in the Tower of London, per Act 39 Geo. 3.	2,753	12	6
Master of, in Scotland	1,209	0	0
SALARIES & ALLOWANCES.			
The Rt. hon. C. Abbott, Speaker of the House of Commons, to complete his Allowance of £6,000 per annum	1,783	3	0
Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of the Imprest	7,000	0	0
P Deare, Esq. late Deputy do.	300	0	0
E. Roberts, Esq. on the yearly sum of £ 650, formerly paid to the Auditor of the Exchequer	650	0	0
Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts	12,300	0	0
Salaries and Contingences in the Office for Auditing the Public Accounts	34,518	19	4
Commissioners for Auditing the West India Accounts	3,500	0	0
Salaries and Contingences in the Office of the said Commissioners	5,458	16	8
Inspector of Tontine Certificates	800	0	0
Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, for Fees paid at sundry Public Offices	925	17	0
Do. .... of South Sea Co. for do.	280	0	0
PENSIONS.			
His R. H. the Prince of Wales	65,000	0	0
Ditto the Duke of York	14,000	0	0
Ditto .... Clarence	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Ditto	6 000	0	0
Ditto .... Kent	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Ditto	6,000	0	0
His R. H. the Duke of Cumberland	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Ditto	6,000	0	0
Ditto .... Sussex	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Ditto	6,000	0	0
Ditto .... Cambridge	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Ditto	6,000	0	0
Princess Charlotte of Wales	7,000	0	0
Duchess of York	4,000	0	0
Duke of Gloucester	14 000	0	0
Princess Sophia of Gloucester....	7,000	0	0
Duchess of Brunswick	7,500	0	0
Arthur Onslow, Esq.	3,000	0	0
Earl of Chatham................	4,000	0	0
Lord Heathfield................	1,500	0	0
Lord Rodney	2,000	0	0
Ditto	923	1	6
Lady Dorchester	1,000	0	0
John Penn, Esq................	3,000	0	0
Richard Penn, Esq.	1,000	0	0
Earl St. Vincent................	2,000	0	0
Vicount Duncan	2,000	0	0
Duke of Richmond	12,666	13	4
Sir Beaumont Hotham, knt.	2,000	0	0
Lord Erskine	4,000	0	0
Sir Sidney Smith	1,000	0	0
Baroness Abercromby	2,000	0	0
Lord Hutchinson	2,000	0	0
Sir James Saumarez, Bart.........	1,200	0	0
Duke of Portland, et al. in trust for the House of Orange	16,000	0	0
Lord Boringdon, et al in trust for Lord Amherst and others	3,000	0	0
Duke of Athol	3,686	9	4½
Earl Nelson....................	5,000	0	0
Lady Nelson	2,000	0	0
Sir Richard Strachan, Bart.	1,000	0	0
Lord Collingwood	2,000	0	0
Sir J. T. Duckworth, knt.	1,000	0	0
Duke of Grafton	4,580	0	0
Sir John Stuart, knt.	1,000	0	0
Lord Lake	10,649	9	8¼
BOUNTIES, &c.			
For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax	2,956	13	8
Commissioners for Compensations for Loss sustained under the Act for the Improvement of the Port of London	196,916	9	8
Salaries and Contingences in the Office of Ditto	6,000	0	0
Fishmongers Company, for Rent of Porters Quay	621	3	0
John Millard, Esq. for Rent of Smart's Quay	352	12	0
Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses	10,000	0	0
For the better Improvement of the Port of London, in full of £.24,000, per Act 47 Geo. 3.	4,000	0	0
Directors of the West India Dock Company, in full of 30,000*l.*	15,000	0	0
A Repayment to Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge	1,208	13	9
Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, per Act 44 Geo. 3.	500	0	0
	£.1,638,677	3	2

PPENDIX (B.)—*Interest paid on* EXCHEQUER BILLS, *from the 5th Jan.* 1808 *to the 5th Jan.* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.
erest on Personal Estates, 1807	6,273	3	0
co Malt Tax 1806	9,068	2	4
co ditto 1807	44,240	10	5
co Aids 1807	656,081	15	10
co Supply 1807	558,176	6	9
co Vote of Credit 1807	171,722	18	6
co Supply 1808	90,000	0	0
co ditto	75,000	0	0
	£.1,610,562	16	10

PPENDIX (D.)—*A List of all such Sum and Sums of Money as have been incurred, and become due upon His Majesty's Establishment for* CIVIL AFFAIRS *within* SCOTLAND, *bearing Date the 19th Day of June* 1761, *for one Year; from 5th Jan.* 1808 *inclusive, to 5th Jan.* 1809 *exclusive* .... £.85,470 4 1

PPENDIX (E. 1.)—*Amount of* BOUNTIES *paid in England and Scotland out of the Revenues of Customs and Excise, between the 5th Jan.* 1808 *and the 5th Jan.* 1809; *being Payments in the nature of Anticipations of Exchequer Issues.*

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.			GREAT BRITAIN.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS.									
unties on Cotton and Linen Manufactures, &c. .... British and Southern Whale Fishery. ...... Newfoundland and White Herring do	376,030	10	11¾	77,005	12	5¾	453,036	3	5½
EXCISE.									
unties on British Spirits .... on Fish .... ss and Barrel Bounties, certified on the Excise, for Deficiency of Money in the hands of the Receiver General of the Customs. ..	8,019	2	2¾	9,446	14	6¼	17,465	16	9
£.	384,049	13	2½	86,452	7	0	470,502	2	0½

PPENDIX (E. 2.)—POST OFFICE.—*Pensions and Parliamentary* GRANTS, *for the Year ended 5th Jan.* 1809.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough	£.5,000
His Grace the Duke of Grafton	4,700
To the Heirs of the late Duke of Schomberg	4,000
	£.13,700

PPENDIX (E. 3.)—EXCISE.—*An Account, shewing how the* PUBLIC MONIES *remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th Jan.* 1808, *together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ending 5th Jan.* 1809, *and the Monies paid out of the Net Produce of the Revenues of the said Year in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipt, have been actually applied; so far as regards the Receipt of the Excise in England, and can be ascertained at the Excise Office.*

NSIONS, viz.	£.	s.	d.
Duke of Grafton	9,000	0	0
Earl Cowper	2,000	0	0
Charles Boone, Esq. Moiety of the Earl of Bath's	1,500	0	0
Lord Melbourne's ..... Ditto	1,500	0	0
	£.14,000	0	0

APPENDIX (E. 4.)—*Sums advanced by Receivers General of Land and Assessed Taxes, on Account of* MILITIA, *and* DESERTERS WARRANTS, *and other Disbursements under various Acts of Parliament; between the 5th Jan.* 1808 *and the 5th Jan* 1809.

	ENGLAND & WALES.			SCOTLAND.			TOTAL.		
	£	s.	d.	£.	s	d.	£	s.	d.
Militia and Deserters Warrants	70,760	2	6	13,877	13	4¾	84,637	15	10¾
Volunteers	115,829	10	0	36,967	10	11½	152,797	0	11½
Defence Acts	9,330	2	7	527	8	8	9,857	11	3
Army of Reserve	24,960	0	0¾	17,067	4	7½	41,757	4	8¼
Population Act	-	-	-	10	10	0	10	10	0
£.	220,609	15	1¾	68,450	7	7¾	289,060	2	9½

APPENDIX (F.)—*Monies received from His Majesty's Exchequer, for* NAVAL SERVICES, *between the 5th Jan.* 1808 *and the 5th Jan.* 1809.

HEADS OF SERVICE.	SUM.			TOTAL.		
NAVY.						
WAGES.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Wages of Officers and Seamen	2,320,000	0	0			
Half Pay to Sea Officers, and Bounty to Chaplains	248,000	0	0			
Wages to His Majesty's Dock and Rope Yards	1,038,600	0	0			
GENERAL SERVICES.						
Building of Ships, purchase of Stores of every Description, repairing Ships, purchase of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c. paid in Bills at Ninety Days Date	3,820,241	8	3			
Bills of Exchange, Imprest, Salaries, Pensions, Flag Pay, Marines, &c.	1,821,000	0	0			
				9,247,841	8	3
VICTUALLING.						
Provisions, and all sorts of Victualling Stores, Paid for in Bills at Ninety Days Date	4,126,539	3	10			
Wages to the Yards	112,400	0	0			
Bills of Exchange and Imprests	922,000	0	0			
Necessary Money, Extra-necessary Money, and Contingences	118,000	0	0			
Widows Pensions	34,961	18	8			
				5,313,901	2	6
TRANSPORTS.						
Freight of Transports, Maintenance of Prisoners of War, and Expence of Sick and Wounded Seamen, paid for in Bills at Ninety Days Date	2,628,149	17	5			
Bills of Exchange, and all Services paid for in Ready Money	278,000	0	0			
				2,906,149	17	5
			£	17,467,892	8	2

APPENDIX (G.)—*Monies paid by the Office of* ORDNANCE, *in the Year* 1808, *for Services at Home and Abroad respectively.*

	£.	s.	d.
For Services at Home	4,733,626	5	7
For Services Abroad	375,273	17	7
	£.5,108,900	3	2

PENDIX (H.)—*Monies paid by the Right Honourable the Paymasters General of his Majesty's* Forces, *from 25th December* 1807, *to 24th December* 1808.

		£.	s.	d.
PAY and Allowances of the Forces, Captains Allowances, Off-reckonings, Recruiting, Contingences, Bills, and Clothing		9,451,867	4	4
Volunteers		667,604	11	5
Exchequer Fees		91,128	2	1
Pay of Offices		97,248	13	10
Barracks		285,085	13	3
Staff and Garrisons		131,818	19	2
Half Pay		198,247	4	4
Compassionate List		11,703	0	0
Widows Pensions		24,000	0	0
Chelsea Hospital		394,596	4	5
Extraordinaries		5,847,762	2	11
Sicilian Subsidy	*1,400,000	300,000	0	0
Swedish Subsidy		1,100,000	0	0
		£.18,601,061	15	9
* Deduct the Amount of the Sicilian and Swedish Subsidies, which is inserted in the Account under the Head of Loans, &c. in Appendix (I.)		1,400,000	0	0
		£.17,201,061	15	9

PENDIX I.)—*An Account of* Loans, Remittances *and* Advances, *to other Countries, in the Year ending the 5th Day of Jan.* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
re was remitted out of Supplies 1807,8, to that part of the United Kingdom lled Ireland, viz.						
Out of Loan Anno 1808 per Act 48 Geo 3. cap 76, £ 2,500,000	2,475,000	0	0			
Out of Lotteries Anno 1807 per Act 47 Geo. 3. cap. 9	114,166	13	4	2,589,166	13	4
There was also issued out of Supplies 1808, viz.						
To enable His Majesty to fulfil His Engagements with the King of Sweden	1,100,000	0	0			
Ditto .... with his Sicilian Majesty	300,000	0	0	1,400,000	0	0
				£. 3,989,166	13	4

PENDIX (K.)—*An Account, shewing how the Monies remaining in the Receipt of the* xchequer *on the 5th Day of Jan.* 1808, *together with the Monies paid into the same uring the Year ended the 5th of Jan.* 1809, *have been actually applied; so far as relates* o Miscellaneous Services.

SERVICES AT HOME.	£.	s.	d.
be distributed to the Officers, Seamen and Marines on board the Fleet under the ommand of Samuel Lord Viscount Hood, Admiral of the White Squadron of His ajesty's Fleet, to complete £.265,336 14 10½ being the estimated Value of the ips and Vessels taken possession of and armed for His Majesty's Service at oulon, together with their Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, 1804	15,336	14	10½
the Royal College of Surgeons, to erect a Building for the reception of Dr Hunter's ollection, and a Theatre for the delivery of Public Lectures on Anatomy and urgery, 1806	8,000	0	0
be paid to Sheriffs for Conviction of Felons and Overpayments 1806,7	6,600	0	0
printing 1,750 Copies of the 59th Volume of Journals of the House of Commons 807	3,191	19	0
defraying the Charge of the Works and Repairs of the Roads and Bridges in the ighlands of Scotland 1807	10,250	14	0
re printing Journals, Indexes, and Reports of the House of Commons 1807	9,547	14	7
the Bank of England for Discount on Prompt Payments on second and third Lotteries 1807	1,441	14	1
.... Do .... for receiving Contributions to Do. 1807	2,000	0	0
........Do........ for Discount on Prompt Payments on Loan £.14,200,000 807	79,526	12	3
........Do........ for receiving the above Loan 1807	11,442	4	10
........Do........ for Discount on Prompt Payments on Loan £.1,500,000 807	30,201	13	8

To Do for receiving the above Loan 1807	1,208	13	9
For Incidental Expences attending the execution of an Act for the Redemption and Sale of the Land Tax 1807	1,669	9	1
For defraying the Charge of the Royal Military College 1807,8	17,933	16	4
Do Royal Military Asylum do	26,227	8	4
To pay off and Discharge certain Annuities after the Rate of 5 per cent. per ann., granted per Acts 37 and 42 Geo. 3, 1808	153,696	18	9
For paying the Fees on passing the Public Accounts 1808	5,000	0	0
For defraying the Expence of the Public Office, Bow Street 1807,8	11,583	0	2½
For defraying the Charge of the Superintendance of Aliens ditto	6,853	0	0
For the Deficiency of the Grant of 1807, for printing and delivering the Votes of the House of Commons, and for printing Bills, Reports, &c. 1808	4,696	19	0
For the Relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulonese, Dutch and Corsican Emigrants, Saint Domingo Sufferers and American Loyalists 1807,8	164,801	11	6
For the Deficiency of the Grant, Anno 1807 for do 1808	2,337	5	7
For carrying on the Works &c. of the Royal Military Canal 1808	25,000	0	0
For confining, maintaining and employing Convicts at Home 1807,8	50,970	7	11¼
For defraying Bills of the Usher of the Court of Exchequer, for supplying the Court and Officers with Stationary, &c. 1807,8	2,048	18	7
For Printing and Stationary for the Two Houses of Parliament 1807,8	29,907	1	3
For the Deficiency of the Grant, Anno 1807 for ditto 1808	5,016	6	1
For Printing, by Order of the Commissioners of Public Records 1808	4,459	14	3
For printing and delivering the Votes of the House of Commons, and for Printing Bills, Reports, &c. 1807,8	5,951	0	1
For printing 1,250 Copies of the 55th Vol. of Journals of the House of Peers 1808	1,369	0	4
For erecting Buildings for a Naval Asylum, and towards the maintenance of the said Institution 1808	30,000	0	0
For defraying Law Charges 1807,8	20,000	0	0
For purchasing Buildings and Ground in and near Palace Yard, Westminster 1808	100,318	17	3
For carrying on the building of a New Mint 1807,8	63,742	17	0
For Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of the House of Lords and Commons, and Serjeants at Arms 1808	1,913	12	4
For Bounties for taking and bringing of Fish to the Cities London and Westminster 1808	3,500	0	0
For the Expence of making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea 1807,8	51,250	14	0
For the extra Contingences in the Three Secretaries of States Offices 1806,7,8	14,000	0	0
Ditto Messengers do 1807,8	9,500	0	0
For defraying the Extraordinary Expences of Prosecutions relating to the Coin of this Kingdom 1807,8	2,908	6	4
For the Ministers of the Vaudois Churches, et al. 1807,8	1,328	5	4
For the Board of Agriculture 1807,8	6,000	0	0
Towards the Support of an Institution called the Veterinary College 1807,8	2,200	0	0
To the East India Company, for defraying the Expences incurred by them in the Public Service 1808	1,500,000	0	0
To the Commissioners appointed per Act 43 Geo. 3, for distributing Money stipulated to be paid by the United States of America, as a Compensation for their Trouble in the execution of the said Act 1808	14,000	0	0
To the Commissioners of Military Enquiry 1808	20,726	14	3
To the Trustees of the British Museum, 1808	6,790	0	10
Towards repairing Margate Harbour 1808	5,000	0	0
For the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in England, and for the relief of the Poor French Protestant Clergy and Laity 1807,8	9,902	16	0
To discharge the Annuity to the late Duchess of Gloucester to the day of her Death 1808	494	0	0
To make Compensation to P. Martin, Esq. for loss of Property in Virginia 1808	20,000	0	0
For Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain 1808	6,093	0	0
For Salaries and Expences of the American Commissioners 1801	2,650	0	0
For Salaries to the Officers, and Incidental Expences of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt 1807,8	2,500	0	0
For the Purchase of the Office of the said Commissioners 1808	718	9	0
To the Lottery Commissioners, for incidental Expences in preparing and drawing the Lotteries 1807,8	13,000	0	0
For His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services	Vide Services Abroad.		

To replace to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, the Sums issued thereout, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons, viz.

For Rewards to Persons employed under the Commissioners for carrying into execution the measures recommended by the H. of C. respecting the Public Records	3,400	3	7
To Edward Colman, Esq. late Serjeant at Arms, on his Pension for one year and one Quarter, ended 10th October 1807	625	0	0
To Isaac Dubois, Esq. for the Services rendered by him and his Family, and the great Losses he sustained as an American Loyalist	5,265	19	0
To Philip Martin, Esq. in part Compensation for loss sustained in Virginia, as Representative of the late Lord Fairfax	5,265	19	0

Dyson, Esq. Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, to make his Allowance qual to £.2,000 for his Services in Session 1806,7 and 1807	964	6	4
eorge Whittam, Esq. for making and printing Indexes to the Votes of the House Commons, in Session 1806,7 and 1807	620	0	0
ohn Henry Ley, Esq. Second Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, for his rvices in Session 1806-7 and 1807	1,622	19	0
homas Edlyne Tomlins, Esq. for his trouble in compiling Registers for the use of e Committee on Expired and Expiring Laws	224	11	0
enjamin Hobhouse, Esq. for his Services as Chairman of the Committee of Ways d Means, in Session 1806,7 and 1807	1,300	5	0
. Bacon, Statuary, for the first Payment for erecting a Monument to the memory the late Capt. Geo. Duff	561	10	0
John Flaxman, Statuary, ... for do .... do Lord Nelson	2,217	5	0
Richard Westmacott the younger, do .... do Capt. John Cooke	561	10	0
Charles Rossi .... do .... do Marquis Cornwallis	2,217	5	0
ichard Westmacott the younger, do. in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westinster, to the memory of the right hon. William Pitt	2,217	5	0
he Deputy Serjeant at Arms of the House of Commons	224	11	0
ake good to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues Monies issued thereout for Public Services, viz.			
defraying the Expences of a Plan for the more perfect Security of the Shipping in e Port of London	1,299	4	0
Mathematical Instruments for New South Wales	19	12	0
William Hiort, Esq. Resident Clerk of the Board of Works	3,500	0	0
W. Chinnery, Esq. to be paid to H. Hodgson and Andrew Dickie, Esqrs. for their ervices under the Commissioners for investigating the Debts of the Prince of Wales	348	11	0
o. to discharge sundry Claims for Bounties on British American Fish, imported to the West India Islands	5,597	6	0
o. to discharge a Bill drawn by the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs of Vincent's, for Bounty on Fish	166	17	6
o. to discharge the Account of Luke Hansard and Sons, for printing Tables of the nance Plan, proposed to Parliament in 1807	1,325	5	6
o. to pay Bills drawn on account of New South Wales in 1808	2,175	3	0
efraying the Expence of a Horse Patrol near the Metropolis	6,345	16	0
. Clementson, Esq. for Rent in lieu of Apartments resigned	219	14	0
Dr. Clarke, for his Trouble and Attendance relative to act for enforcing the Residence of the Clergy	556	13	0
. Brodie, Esq. for making an Index to the Journals of the House of Peers	547	8	0
William Watson, Esq. Serjeant at Arms to the House of Lords	1,623	0	0
ord Walsingham, Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords	2,698	13	0
Dr. Clarke, for preparing Returns to Parliament respecting Non-Residence	127	9	6
Peter Grant, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners of Military Enquiry	1,560	16	0
J. T. Groves, Esq. to be paid to Mr. Stanton, for Removal of Monuments	661	9	0
saac Dubois, Esq. for Reimbursement of Fees on a Warrant for £.5,000 for Losses d Service as an American Loyalist	82	11	6
Stationary sent to New South Wales	344	14	7
. Nettleship, Esq. for publishing the Average Price of Brown Sugar	434	17	0
Allison Anderson Park, wife of Mungo Park, Esq. engaged in an Expedition of iscovery, to explore the interior of Africa	3,236	10	0
T. Anderson, Father of Alex. Anderson, Esq. engaged with Mungo Park, Esq. the said Expedition to Africa	1,085	4	0
ir Samuel Hood, K. B. in full Satisfaction of Arrears of Salary as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Trinidad, on £.2,000 per Ann	5,134	4	11
he Representatives of Col. W. Fullarton, in full of do. on £.3,000 per Ann	6,702	18	2½
Col. Rutherford, for Arrears of Salary as Surveyor General of Trinidad	2,311	12	10
fficers of the House of Commons, for attendance on Committees	366	18	0
. Stracey, Esq. as Counsel to the Chairman of the Committees of the H. of Peers	762	10	0
SERVICES ABROAD.			
His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services, 1807,8	124,620	2	3
ay Bills drawn from New South Wales 1808	23,270	0	0
he Civil Establishment of Sierra Leone .... do	16,310	0	0
New South Wales .. do	11,165	6	8
Dominica 1806,7,8	1,463	16	8¼
Bermuda 1807,8	580	0	0
Newfoundland 1807	1,865	0	0
Cape Breton 1808	2,060	0	0
Prince Edward's Island do	2,100	0	0
Nova Scotia 1807,8	11,896	5	0
New Brunswick 1808	5,500	0	0
Upper Canada .... do	8,430	0	0
epairing and maintaining British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa 1808	23,000	0	0
e Levant Company .... do	5,000	0	0
	£.2,920,491	8	3¾

VI.—PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN, *as the same stood on the 1st of February* 1809.

TOTAL DEBT UNREDEEMED.		£.	s.	d.
Bank of England, and Annuities 1726	At 3 per cent.	12,686,800	0	0
South Sea Old and New Annuities, 1751........	Ditto	17,922,684	13	11½
Consolidated Annuities	Do.	352,611,852	15	4
Reduced Annuities	Do.	93,085,620	5	2
Consolidated Annuities	At 4 per cent.	58,075,659	17	2
Consolidated Annuities	At 5 per cent.	50,534,095	19	4
Annuities, 1797 and 1802	Do.	1,916,346	18	0
Total CAPITALS		586,833,060	8	11
Annual Interest		19,234,757	5	3
Annuities for Lives, or for Terms of Years		1,434,274	12	5
Charges of Management		221,833	12	3
Annuities fallen in or dead, and 1 per cent. on Annual Grants,		10,617,099	11	7
Total CHARGE for DEBT payable in GREAT BRITAIN		31,507,965	1	9

Progress made in the Redemption of the PUBLIC DEBT *of* IRELAND, *Funded in* GREAT BRITAIN, *at 1st February* 1809.

FUNDS.	CAPITALS.	Redeemed by the Commissioners at 1st Feb. 1809.	TOTAL SUMS paid.			Average Price of Stocks.	SUMS applicable to the Reduction of the DEBT.			
	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.					
Consolidated 3 per cent. Ann	30,238,875	2,682,380	1,663,333	4	6	62	Annuity of 1 per cent. on Capital created	509,078	19	
Reduced do	16,028,750	2,898,009	1,780,774	7	5	61½				
Consolidated 4 per cent. do	3,254,375						Dividend on £.5,580,389 3 per cent. Annuities ..	167,411	13	4
Do 5 per cent do .	572,000									
	50,094,000	5,580,389	3,444,107	11	11	61¼		676,490	12	
Redeemed by the Commissioners	5,580,389									
DEBT Unredeemed 1st. Feb. 1809	44,513,611						Bank Long Annuities which will expire 5th July 1860....	91,208	6	

Progress in the Redemption of the IMPERIAT DEBT, *at 1st February* 1809.

	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d
Imperial 3 per cent. Annuities	7,502,633	924,236	547,025	10	10	59⅛	1 per cent. on Capital created	36,693	0	
							Dividend on £ 924,236, 3 per cent. Annuities ..	27,727	1	7
Redeemed by the Commissioners	924,236							64,420	1	7
Unredeemed 1st February 1809.	6,578,397						Bank Long Annuities which will expire 5th July 1819....	230,000	0	6

FUNDS.	CAPITALS. £.	s.	d.	Redeemed by the Commissioners from 1st August 1786 to 1st Feb. 1809. £.	TOTAL SUMS Paid. £.	s.	d.	Average Price of Stocks.
Consol. 3 per Cent Anns.	384,336,558	4	5¼	60,227,402	37,182,908	7	9	61¾
....Do. pro 1807	8,400,000	0	0	742,218	479,876	19	8	64⅝
Reduced 3 per Cent. Ann. .	150,284,044	7	10	67,346,631	41,181,112	7	8	61⅛
....Do. pro 1807	8,400,000	0	0	992,165	647,075	15	8	65¼
Old South Sea Annuities.	24,065,084	13	11½	4,116,000	2,890,151	8	9	70¼
New .... Do				3,148,000	2,222,000	1	9	70
3 per Cent. .... Do. 1751 .	1,919,600	0	0	798,000	577,035	10	0	72⅝
Consol. 4 per Cent. Ann. ..	59,116,984	17	2	4,295,700	3,652,713	1	3	85¼
.. Do. . 5 per Cent Do	45,832,095	19	4	142,000	126,998	7	6	89⅜
.. Do. pro 1807	1,272,000	0	0	—	—			
5 per Cent. Annuities 1797 & 1802	1,916,346	18	0	—	—			
3 per Cent..... Do. 1726 ..	1,000,000	0	0	—	—			
....Do,....Bank Ann.	11,686,800	0	0	—	—			
£.	701,229,515	0	8¾	141,808,116	88,959,872	0	0	
Transferred to the Commissioners, by reason of Land Tax Redeemed	23,214,395	18	5					
	678,015,119	2	3¾					
....Do....for the Purchase of Life Annuites pursuant to 48th Geo. 3.	465,951	0	0					
DEBT existing 1st Feb.1809	677,549,168	2	3¾					
Redeemed	141,808,116	0	0					
DEBT Unredeemed at 1st February 1809 ..	535,741,052	2	3¾					

SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of the NATIONAL DEBT.	£.	s.	d.
Annual Charge, per 26 Geo. 3	1,000,000	0	0
....Do...42 Do.	200,000	0	0
Anns. for 99 & 96 Y. exp. 1792	54,880	14	6
Do. for 10 Years .. Do 1807	25,000	0	0
Life Annuities Unclaimed for 3 Years, or of which the Nominees have died prior to 5th July 1802 ..	51,277	16	10
Dividend on £.135,636,033 at 3 per Cent.	4,069,080	19	9
....Do . on £.4,295,700, at 4 per Cent	171,828	0	0
....Do. on £142,000 Navy, at 5 per Cent	7,100	0	0
Annuity of 1 per Cent. on part of Capitals created since 1st February 1793 .	3,626,726	4	3
Annual Amount payable for Reduction of £.12,000,000 pro 1807	626,255	10	5
Dividend on £ 1,734,383, at 3 p.Cent. on Acc. of do.	52,031	9	9
Dividend on £.465,951 transferred for Purchase of Life Annuities, at 3 per Cent..	13,978	10	7
	9,898,159	6	1
Deduct Life Annuities granted on £.465,951 transferred to the Commissioners	32,514	12	0
	9,865,644	14	1

ANNUITIES Fallen in since the 22d June 1802, or that will fall in hereafter.	£.	s.	d.
Exchequer Annuities, 2d and 3d Anne; expired 5th April 1803........	23,369	13	4
Do. Do 5th Jan. 1805 .	7,030	6	8
Do. 4 Anne, Do. 2th April 1805	22,254	11	6
Do. 5 Anne Do. 5th April 1806	7,776	10	0
Do. 6 Anne Do. 5th April 1807	4,710	10	0
Do. 6 Anne Do. 5th July 1807	10,181	0	0
Bank Short Do. Do. 5th January 1808	418,333	0	11
Do. Long Do. will expire 5th July 1860	1,047,494	5	4
By an Act 42 Geo. III. cap. 71. such Annuities as fall in after passing that Act are not to be placed to the Account of the Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt; but are no longer to be continued in the Annual Charge thereof.			

VII.—UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day* *January* 1809.

EXCHEQUER BILLS: Under what Acts issued.	On what Funds charged.	Amount Outstanding £	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
47 Geo. III. cap. 3.	Malt, Anno 1807	£.358,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 73.	Aids, Anno 1808	185,500	0	0			
48 Geo. III. cap. 2.	Malt and Personal Estates 1808	890,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 3.	Aids, Anno 1808	3,000,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 7.	Aids, Anno 1809	10,500,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 97.	Aids, Anno 1808	15,000,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 114.	Aids, Anno 1809	5,659,700	0	0			
Ditto cap. 54.	Aids, Anno 1809	1,500,000	0	0			
Ditto cap. 53.	Aids, Anno 1809	3,000,000	0	0	40,093,200	0	[illegible]
TREASURY:							
Miscellaneous Services		794,700	1	11¾			
Warrants for Army Services		102,796	19	6½			
Treasury Bills accepted previous to and on the 5th Jan. 1809, due subsequent to that day		405,319	18	9¼	1,302,817	0	3
ARMY:							
Ordinary Services		841,295	19	1			
Extraordinary Services		Nil.			841,295	19	1
Barracks		-	-	-	504,226	17	10
Ordnance		-	-	-	861,364	18	7
Navy		-	-	-	7,221,167	19	6
Civil List Advances		-	-	-	42,256	4	1
					£.50,866,328	19	6

VIII.—DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

Account, shewing how the Monies, *given for the* Service *of the Year* 1808, *have been disposed of; so far as relates to* Great Britain.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.			Remains to be Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
vy	17,496,047	19	10	17,496,047	19	10			
nance	3,980,340	2	9	3,980,340	2	9			
ces	15,165,524	7	2	15,165,524	7	2			
enable His Majesty to pay the same to he East India Company on account of Expences incurred by them in the Public Service	1,500,000	0	0	1,500,000	0	0			
enable His Majesty to take such Measures as the exigency of Affairs may require, for Great Britain	2,200,000	0	0	2,200,000	0	0			
enable His Majesty to fulfil the Engagements which His Majesty has entered into with the King of Sweden	1,100,000	0	0	1,100,000	0	0			
enable His Majesty to fulfil the Engagements which His Majesty has entered into with his Sicilian Majesty	300,000	0	0	300,000	0	0			
make good the like Sum, which has been issued by His Majesty's Orders pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons, and which has not been made good by Parliament	27,288	8	11	27,288	8	11			
il Establishment and Services	2,703,914	11	0	2,458,568	13	10½	245,345	17	1¾
make good the Deficiency of the Malt Duty granted for the Service of the Year 806, at Lady Day 1808	275,845	5	9	275,845	5	9			
£.	44,748,960	15	5	44,503,614	18	3½	245,345	17	1¾

	£.	s.	d.
ments for other Services, not being part of the Supplies granted for the Service of he Year	£.244,888	13	6

Ways *and* Means *for answering the foregoing* Services.

	£.	s.	d.
ies on Malt, Sugar, Tobacco, and Snuff, and on Pensions, Offices, &c. continued	3,000,000	0	0
vanced by the Bank of England, without Interest, till Six Months after the Ratifiation of a Definitive Treaty of Peace	3,000,000	0	0
vanced by ditto, out of Unclaimed Dividends, &c.	500,000	0	0
appropriated Surplus of the Consolidated Fund, at 5th April 1808	726,870	9	8½
mated Surplus of Ditto, to 5th April 1809	3,500,000	0	0
plus Ways and Means, 1807	2,253,111	7	5¼
r Taxes	20,000,000	0	0
mated Profits on Lotteries, 1808	300,000	0	0
ess of Exchequer Bills, granted per Act 48 Geo 3. cap. 114. after paying off .4,024,200. part of £.4,500,000, issued per Act 47 Geo. 3. s. 2. cap. 73. the Remainder having been funded pursuant to Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 38	1,975,800	0	0
ess of Do. per Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 7. after paying off £.9,338,900. part of .10,500,000. issued per Act 47 Geo. 3. s. 1. cap. 2. the Remainder having been nded pursuant to Act 48 Geo. 3. cap. 38	1,161,100	0	0
n, part of £.10,500,000. (the Remainder being for the Service of Ireland)	8,000,000	0	0
erest on Land Tax Redeemed	119	15	1¾
	£.44,417,001	12	3½

	£.	s.	d.
al Sum granted, as per preceding Account	44,748,960	15	5¼
ns paid for Services not voted, as per Do	244,888	13	6
	44,993,849	8	11¼
ount of Ways and Means, as per Do	44,417,001	12	3½
ciency of Ways and Means	576,847	16	7¾

FINANCE ACCOUNTS OF IRELAND,

FOR THE

YEAR ENDED FITFH OF JANUARY, 1809.

I.—PUBLIC

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be Accounted for.			Re-payments, Drawbacks, Discounts, &c.			Charges of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenues.												
Customs	2,583,328	11	0¼	2,823,919	13	4½	138,707	13	4	270,074	11	0¾
Excise	2,089,662	19	9⅝	3,000,119	10	2	75,668	14	3¼	241,378	9	3½
Stamps	660,387	15	2¼	769,333	1	6	23,249	18	7	53,726	19	0¼
Post Office	180,510	17	9	195,174	13	11	17,859	18	8	81,512	1	10
Poundage Fees	26,152	0	0¾	26,152	0	0¾	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pells Fees	5,230	7	7¼	5,230	7	7¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duty on Wrought Plate	—			—				—			—	
Casualties	3,919	2	11	3,919	2	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Ordinary Revenues	5,549,191	14	4⅛	6,823,848	9	6½	255,486	4	10¼	646,692	1	2½
Extraordinary Resources.												
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	3,177	0	8¼	3,177	0	8¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commissioners of the Navy on account of Advances by Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages, &c.	40,008	5	2	40,008	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
From Great Britain, on Account of the Profit of Lotteries	123,680	11	1½	123,680	11	1¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Advances made by the Treasury for enrolling the Militia	2,571	18	2	19,970	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Deficiencies in the Army of Reserve	-	-	-	4,415	7	0½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Monies paid to the Public	42,392	3	5¼	42,392	3	5¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
Appropriated Duties for Local Objects.												
Linen Manufacture	212	0	0½	1,221	11	0½	0	9	1	-	-	-
Improvement of Dublin	11,478	2	8	11,716	9	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,573	5	0	2,109	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lagan Navigation	3,578	6	4	4,349	16	9¼	1,612	13	8	98	5	8
Inns of Court	1,562	3	4	1,562	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total independent of the Loans	5,779,425	10	3⅜	7,078,451	7	6½	257,099	7	7¼	646,790	6	10½
Loans paid into the Exchequer, in the Year ended the 5th of January 1809	5,389,728	0	4½	5,389,728	0	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total	11,169,153	10	7⅞	12,468,179	7	11	257,099	7	7¼	646,790	6	10½

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VIII. DISPOSITION OF GRANTS .. lviii—lxiv

COME.

otal Payments out of the ross Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects and to Payments into the Exchequer.			Payments on Account of Militia, Deserters, Straggling Seamen, Army of Reserve, and Fortification Compensation.			Bounties for promoting the Fisheries, Linen Manufacture, &c.			Total Payments out of the Net Produce.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
,782	4	4¾	2,415,137	8	11¾	-	-	-	23,671	14	0½	23,671	14	0½	2,200,268	13	8¼
,047	3	6¾	2,683,072	6	7¼	104,133	11	10½	110,729	13	11¾	214,863	5	10¼	1,689,455	5	7¾
,976	17	7¼	692,356	3	10¾	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	577,480	4	11½
,372	0	6	95,802	13	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68,900	3	4
-	-	-	26,152	0	0½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26,152	0	0¾
-	-	-	5,230	7	7½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,230	7	7¼
	—		—			—			—			—			—		
-	-	-	3,919	2	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,919	2	11
,178	6	0¼	5,921,670	3	5¾	104,133	11	10½	134,401	8	0¼	238,534	19	10¾	4,571,405	18	2½
-	-	-	3,177	0	8¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,177	0	8¼
-	-	-	40,008	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,008	5	2
-	-	-	123,680	11	1¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123,680	11	1¼
-	-	-	19,970	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	0	0
-	-	-	4,415	7	0½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,160	0	0
-	-	-	42,392	3	5¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42,392	3	5
0	9	1	1,221	1	11½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	801	15	2
-	-	-	11,716	9	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,648	2	1
-	-	-	2,109	7	2	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	1,735	14	6
,710	19	4	2,638	17	5¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,600	0	0
-	-	-	1,562	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,562	3	4
,889	14	5¾	6,174,561	13	0¾	104,133	11	10½	134,401	8	0¼	238,534	19	10¾	4,802,291	13	8¼
-	-	-	5,389,728	0	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,389,728	0	4½
889	14	5¾	11,564,289	13	5¼	104,133	11	10½	134,401	8	0¼	238,534	19	10¾	10,192,019	14	0¾

II—CONSOLIDATED FUND.

	INCOME. £.	s.	d.
Balance on the Consolidated Fund remaining in the Exchequer, on the 5th January 1808	298,115	9	2¼
Custom and Excise Duties, including Quit Rents and Payments on Account of dismissed and deceased Collectors	3,889,723	19	4
Stamp Duties	577,480	4	11½
Post Office Revenue	68,900	3	4
Poundage Fee	26,152	0	0¾
Pells Fee	5,230	7	7¼
	4,865,602	4	5¾
Repayment from Great Britain of Advances on Seamen's Wages	40,008	5	2
From several County Treasurers for Fines levied for Parishes for Deficiencies in their Proportion of Men for Army of Reserve and Militia	3,280	0	0
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	3,177	0	8¼
Gain on Silver Coinage	12,548	0	8
Other Monies paid to the Public	33,763	5	8¼
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.			
On account of Loans	5,389,728	0	4¼
On Exchequer Bills	541,666	13	4
From Great Britain, for ⅓ of the Profit on the 2d and 3d Lotteries for 1807	123,680	11	1¼
	11,013,454	1	6

	ACTUAL PAYMENTS. £.	s.	d.	CHARGE. £.	s.	d.
Interest on Funded Debt, including Annuities and Management	2,744,093	5	10½	2,744,093	5	10½
Interest on Unfunded Debt	8,237	13	5	8,310	16	11½
Sinking Fund and Management	755,360	2	3½	755,360	2	3½
Principal of Debentures	-	-	-	2,225	0	0
Principal of Exchequer Bills	400,000	0	0	400,658	6	8
Lottery Prizes	477	0	0	26,674	0	0
Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposites	43,753	19	5	43,753	19	5
Inland Navigations	20,488	1	2¾	20,488	1	2¾
Improving the Harbour on the North Side of the Hill of Howth	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0
Repayment of Fines levied on Parishes for Deficiencies in their Proportion of Men for Army of Reserve	3,160	0	0	3,160	0	0
	3,981,620	2	2¾	4,010,723	12	5¼
Civil List	144,281	7	1	Unascertained.		
Pensions	88,044	9	11			
Permanent Parliament Payments	213,115	6	3			
Military Purposes	4,122,288	10	0½			
Vote of Credit	418,230	7	10¾			
Annual Grants	309,583	19	6¾			
	9,277,164	2	11¾	Unascertained.		
SURPLUS of Consolidated Fund on 5th Jan. 1809.	1,736,289	18	6			
	11,013,454	1	6			

III.—ARREARS AND BALANCES.

	£.	s.	d.
ances due on 5th Jan. 1809, from the Deceased and Dismissed Collectors of Customs	59,851	1	3
tto - - - Ditto - - - - - - Ditto - - - - - - - - - of Excise	195,292	6	8
tto - - - Ditto - - - - - - Ditto - - - - Hearth-money Collector's	60,581	11	6

IV.—TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

Value of IMPORTS *and* EXPORTS *for Three Years.*

	OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS.			OFFICIAL VALUE of					
				Irish Products and Manufactures Exported.			Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
r ending 5th Jan. 1807	5,605,964	16	1	5,030,722	15	10	157,443	2	11
1808	6,637,907	16	7¼	5,307,806	16	4	150,370	3	8
1809	7,129,507	11	1¾	5,696,897	5	5¼	235,694	6	11

ce.—The real Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported in the Year ending the 5th Jan. 1809, computed at the Average Prices current, was £.12,577,517 10*s.* 11*d.*

mber of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *built and registered in the several Ports of* IRELAND *in Three Years.*

	VESSELS.	TONNAGE.
r ending 5th January 1807	41	1,687
- - - - - - - 1808	33	1,838
- - - - - - - 1809	32	1,255

mber of Vessels, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, *and the Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *usually employed in Navigating the same, that belonged to the Ports of* IRELAND *on the 30th Day of September in the Years* 1806, 1807 *and* 1808, *respectively.*

	VESSELS.	TONNAGE.	MEN.
the 30th September 1806	1,076	55,545	5,081
- - - - - - 1807	1,098	56,902	5,217
- - - - - - 1808	1,104	58,958	5,324

mber of VESSELS *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *&c. that entered* INWARDS *and cleared* OUTWARDS, *in the Ports of* IRELAND, *from or to all Parts of the World, in the Three Years ending the 5th January* 1809.

	INWARDS.								
	IRISH.			BRITISH.			FOREIGN.		
Years ending 5th January	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.
- - - 1807 - - - -	1,497	102,163	7,049	6,687	630,368	36,818	498	80,001	5,055
- - - 1808 - - - -	1,503	107,733	7,231	6,836	652,946	36,539	461	78,533	4,674
- - - 1809 - - - -	1,583	111,614	7,485	7,189	696,403	38,426	159	25,356	1,580

	OUTWARDS.								
Years ending 5th January									
- - - 1807 - - - -	1,353	97,162	6,754	5,888	574,688	32,441	522	83,048	5,139
- - - 1808 - - - -	1,320	97,850	6,797	6,294	615,702	34,631	418	72,662	4,130
- - - 1809 - - - -	1,405	108,435	7,221	6,473	641,157	35,715	163	27,856	1,591

V.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years; also 1 per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797, (A. 1 & 2)	3,418,948	19	2¾						
For Charge of Management thereon	-	-	-	12,869	0	7			
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt, the Annual Issue of	67,635	8	4						
	3,486,584	7	6¾						
Whereof was applied, towards the Reduction of the National Debt	1,053,030	13	11½						
Total on account of Interest	2,433,553	13	7						
Ditto, for Charge of Management	12,869	0	7						
Ditto, on account of the Reduction of the National Debt	1,053,030	13	11¾						
				-	-	-	3,499,453	8	1¾
II. Interest on Exchequer Bills (B.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,287	13	5
III. Issues for Purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union, &c. (C.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	444,230	19	5
IV. Issues from Appropriated Funds for Local Purposes (D.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,595	17	8¼
V. Civil List	-	-	-	144,281	7	1			
Pensions	-	-	-	88,044	9	11			
Other Permanent Charges (E.)	-	-	-	213,115	6	3			
							445,441	3	3
VI. Payments in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts, viz.									
Bounties	-	-	-	134,401	8	0			
Militia, Army of Reserve, Deserters Warrants, &c. (F. 1 & 2.)	-	-	-	104,133	11	10¾			
							238,534	19	10¾
VII. Ordnance (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	600,417	8	1
VIII. Army.—Ordinary Services; viz.									
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps	-	-	-	2,433,778	0	11			
Barracks	-	-	-	381,364	13	8¾			
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons	-	-	-	70,335	15	4			
Half Pay Supernumerary, and retired Officers	-	-	-	23,084	6	0½			
Officers Widows	-	-	-	5,850	18	10½			
Royal Hospital Kilmainham	-	-	-	63,547	15	3½			
Public Offices, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expences	-	-	-	9.516	4	10½			
Commissariat Establishment, (H.)	-	-	-	174,302	4	11½			
				3,161,780	0	0			
Extraordinary Services	-	-	-	360,091	1	11½			
IX. Miscellaneous Services, (I.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	339,232	0	9½
Lastly, Vote of Credit, (K.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	418,230	7	10¾
							9,536,295	0	7

1.)—MONIES *paid out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th Jan. 1809, towards defraying the Charge of the* PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of* IRELAND.

	Interest and Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c.			Charge of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
erest, &c. on the Funded Debt of Ireland	3,418,948	19	2	12,869	0	7
	12,869	0	7			
	3,431,817	19	9			
nual Issue for the Reduction of the National Debt	67,635	8	4			
£.	3,499,453	8	1			

. 2.)—*Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the* NATIONAL DEBT, *in the Year ending 5th Jan.* 1809.

	In Great Britain.			In Ireland.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
nual Issue	-	-	-	67,635	8	4
ired Annuities	-	-	-	2,250	0	0
propriation of 1 per Cent. per Annum on Loans since 1797..	534,023	19	4	150,798	9	5
	534,023	19	4	220,683	17	9
erest on Debt of Ireland redeemed	181,362	12	5	116,960	4	5½
	715,386	11	9	337,644	2	2½
	337,644	2	2½			
	1,053,030	13	11½			

)—*Interest on* EXCHEQUER BILLS, *with the Payments made in the Year from the 5th Jan.* 1808 *to 5th Jan.* 1809.

		£.	s.	d.
ere remained Interest on Exchequer Bills unclaimed on 5th January 1808		23	3	6
rge for nterest.	On £.200,000—from 25th Dec. 1807 to 27th March 1808, when paid off	2,547	18	11
	200,000— Do. to 21st July 1808	5,739	14	6
		8,310	16	11
duct Interest unclaimed on the 5th January 1809		23	3	6
al Payments for Interest on Exchequer Bills, in the Year to the 5th January 1809	£.	8,287	13	5

)—*Payments made in the Year ending 5th January* 1809, *for purposes appointed by the Parliament of* IRELAND *prior to the Union, &c.*

	£.	s.	d.
Lottery Prizes	477	0	0
count on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposites, &c.	43,753	19	5
cipal of Exchequer Bills	400,000	0	0
£.	444,230	19	5

(D.)—*Payments made from the* FUNDS *appropriated for local Purposes in* IRELAND, *from the 5th Jan.* 1808 *to the 5th Jan.* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.
Linen and Hempen Manufacture	1,185	10	
Lagan Navigation	2,600	0	
Improving Dublin	12,958	2	
Inns of Courts	637	0	
Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,365	17	
Fish Bounty	1,849	7	
	£.20,595	17	

(F.)—*Payments in the Year to the 5th Jan.* 1809, *under the several Heads of Civil List, Pensions, and other Permanent Charges.*

	£.	s.	d.			
Arrear on Civil List on the 5th January 1808	34,753	12	6¾			
Charge for Ditto, for One Year to the 25th December 1808	145,000	0	0			
	179,753	12	6¾			
Deduct Arrear on the 5th January 1809	34,472	5	5¾			
Issues to the Civil List in One Year to the 5th January 1809	-	-	-	144,281	7	
Pensions	-	-	-	88,044	9	
Other Permanent Charges; viz.						
Public Infirmaries	3,500	0	0			
Public Coal Yards	5,088	1	10			
Army Baggage	26,096	17	9			
Police Establishment	15,917	19	7			
Inspector General of Prisons	200	0	0			
Transportation of Felons	5,154	12	9			
Fees on Auditing Treasury Accounts	2,620	12	4½			
Imprest Office	2,600	0	0			
Secret Service in detecting Treasonable Conspiracies	8,762	17	8½			
Annuities and Compensation Allowances	112,445	18	9½			
Judges additional Salaries, &c.	30,313	7	0½			
Controverted Elections	730	3	6			
Commission of Inquiry	1,015	0	0			
Board of Education	300	0	0			
Lottery Expences	319	14	11			
				213,115	6	
			£.	445,441	3	

(F. 1.)—*Amount of* BOUNTIES *paid out of the Public Revenue, in the Year ending the 5th Jan.* 1809, *being Payments in the Nature of Anticipation of Exchequer Receipt.*

	£.	s.	d.
On Linen Exported	7,302	10	8
Fishing Vessels	5,176	0	1
Bark Imported	1,232	14	3
Irish Coals brought Coastways to Dublin	22	14	0
Irish Cured Fish Exported	63	19	7
Irish Fish Oil Exported	38	1	2
Fish Imported	4,812	16	9½
Corn Exported	13	6	5
Beef and Pork Exported	5,009	11	1
To Distillers	110,705	17	3½
Spirit Retailers	23	16	8
	£.134,401	8	0

2.)—*Amount of Payments to the* MILITIA, ARMY *of* RESERVE, DESERTERS' WARRANTS, *&c. in the Year ended 5th January* 1809.

litia	£.93,630	8	1½
my of Reserve	6,570	2	4½
serters Warrants	1,099	0	0
my Half pay, &c.	414	16	6¾
tification Compensation	1,722	2	2¾
mpensation to Revenue Collectors in lieu of Fees on Licenses	697	2	7
	£.104.133	11	10

(G.)—*Money paid to the Office of* ORDNANCE, *in the Year to the 5th January* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.
yments to the Ordnance for the Year 1808	468,811	3	11
re, for Services performed in the Year 1807, and not provided for by Parliament	131,606	4	2
	600,417	8	1

.)—*Monies paid on Account of His Majesty's Forces in* IRELAND, *in the Year ending the 5th January* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
giments of the Line	1,257,442	11	2¼			
litia	887,020	8	5			
lunteer Corps	273,978	1	4			
litary Hospitals	9,829	13	2			
yal Military Infirmary	4,171	14	3¾			
ciating and retired Chaplains	1,335	12	6			
				2,433,778	0	11
rracks				381,364	13	8¾
ff Officers and Officers of Garrisons				70,335	15	4
lf Pay, Supernumerary, and reduced Officers				23,084	6	0
icers Widows				5,850	18	10½
yal Hospital, Kilmainham				63,547	15	3½
blic Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expences				9,516	4	10
mmissariat Establishment				174,302	4	11¾
				3,161,780	0	0
raordinary Service				360,091	1	11½
£.				3,521,871	1	11½

I.)—*Payments in the Year ending 5th January* 1809, *for* MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

lic Officers for several Services	2,230	0	0
lic Hospitals and Schools	137,526	0	0
cellaneous Services	116,727	19	6
lic Boards	53,100	0	0
nd Navigations	20,488	1	3
proving Howth Harbour, to complete £.10,000, granted by 45th Geo. 3 c. 113	6,000	0	0
payment of Fines levied on Parishes for Deficiencies in their Proportion of Men or the Army of Reserve	3,160	0	0
£.	339,232	0	9

(K.)—*Payments from the* VOTE *of* CREDIT *in the Year ending 5th Jan.* 1809.

Amount of Payments from the Vote of Credit	£.418,230	7	10

VI.—PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT, *as the same stood on the 5th January* 1809.

	British Currency.			Irish Currency.	
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.
Sums raised	54,326,652	2	11		
PAYABLE IN DUBLIN:					
£.3 per Cent. per Annum				6,680,972	17
£.4 per Cent. per Annum				227,600	0
£.5 per Cent. per Annum				12,875,450	11
PAYABLE IN LONDON.					
£.5 per Cent. per Annum	1,900,000	0	0	2,058,333	6
£.3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities	30,238,875	0	0	32,758,781	5
£.3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities	16,028,750	0	0	17,364,479	8
£.4 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities	3,254,375	0	0	3,525,572	18
£.5 per Cent. Consolidated Navy Annuities	572,000	0	0	619,666	13
ANNUAL CHARGE.					
Annual Interest	2,665,331	6	2		
Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years	217,626	14	2		
Pursuant to Act of 37 Geo. 3. for Redemption of Debt then existing	69,885	8	4		
By Acts providing 1 per Cent. for Redemption of Debts created since 1797	710,477	19	4	Total Principal	
Total of Annual Expences	3,663,321	8	0	76,110,856	15

An Account of the Progress made in the REDUCTION *of the* PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of* IR
LAND, *to the 5th of January* 1809.

	£.	s.
Stock Redeemed by Sinking Fund	2,933,408	1
Total Sums Paid	2,422,695	8

SUMS Annually applicable in Ireland to the REDUCTION of the NATIONAL DEBT.

Annual Income of Loans	228,847	11
Annual Interest on Stock Redeemed	128,652	2

At the Establishment of the Sinking Fund, £.100,000 per Annum was granted for the then existi Debts;—£ 32,364. 11*s.* 8*d.* of which was appropriated to the Reduction of the Money borrowed f Ireland, by the government of Great Britain, in the year 1797; and £ 67,636. 8*s.* 4*d* with £.2,2 per Annum expired Annuities, which fell in afterwards, to Remainder of the Debt due by Ireland, pri to the year 1797, without any Reference to the Amount.

The Money borrowed for Ireland by the government of Great Britain is not included in the abo Statement, being settled for in England by the Lords of the Treasury of Ireland, and can only be pr cured from the Commissioners for Reducing the National Debt of England.

VII.—UNFUNDED DEBT.

Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day of January* 1809.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
LOAN DEBENTURES.						
sidue of Debentures bearing £.4 per Cent. Interest to the Year 1788, provided for by the 27 and 28 Geo. III. but not claimed by the Proprietors; viz.						
d Loan	275	0	0			
an by Lottery 1780	1,220	0	0			
an by Lottery 1781	730	0	0			
				(a) 2,225	0	0
EXCHEQUER BILLS.						
tstanding Exchequer Bills, provided for by several Acts of Parliament, but not claimed by the Proprietors						
yable 24 June 1783	8	6	8			
- - - Ditto 1790	50	0	0			
- - - Ditto 1791	100	0	0			
- - - Ditto 1795	300	0	0			
- - - Ditto 1801	50	0	0			
- - - Ditto 1803	150	0	0			
				(a) 658	6	8
chequer Bills not in course of Payment till after the 5th January 1809, by 48 Geo. 3. c. 112.—Payable on or before 4th January 1810. (£.500,000 British)				(b)541,666	13	4
LOTTERY PRIZES:						
tstanding Lottery Prizes of the several Lotteries from 1782 to 1801				(a)26,197	0	0
Total				£.570,747	0	0

(a) Provision has been made for these Sums by several Acts of Parliament.
(b) To be provided for.

VIII.—DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

n Account, shewing how the MONIES *granted for the* SERVICE *of the Year* 1808, *have been disposed of; so far as relates to* IRELAND.

SERVICES.	SUMS Granted.			SUMS Paid.			REMAINS.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
FORCES.									
rmy, including Pay, Clothing, Agency, and the annual Allowances to Field Officers, Captains, and Riding Masters, the Extra Allowance for Farriery, &c. &c. and also certain Miscellaneous Charges on account of said Army, 1,385,057. 11. 6. British (part of 7,277,980. 7. 0.) 1,500,479 0 9 oreign Corps 70,911. 3. 10. Br. (part of 866,558. 7. 0.) - 76,920 9 1	1,577,399	9	11	1,257,442	11	2	319,956	18	9

	SUMS Granted.	SUMS Paid.	REMAINS.
Militia, including Contingencies and Allowances to Non-commissioned Officers and private Men for small Beer, and while on a march, 846,408. 17. 6. Br. (part of 3,082,870. 17 10.)	916,942 18 11	887,020 8 5	29,922 10 6
Volunteer Corps 641,487. 0 0 Br. (part of 1,293,487. 0. 0.)	694,944 5 0	273,978 1 4	420,966 3 8
General and Staff Officers, and Officers of the Hospitals, serving with the forces, and the Charge of His Majesty's Garrisons, 69,502. 1. 4. Br. (part of 433,404. 7. 9.)	75,293 18 1	70,335 15 4	4,958 2 9
Full-Pay to Supernumerary Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, 778. 1. 9. Br. (part of 32,991. 4. 5.)	842 18 6	842 7 1	0 11 5
The Principal Officers of several Public Departments, their Deputies, Clerks, and Contingent Expences, 8,921. 14. 0. Br. (part of 197,602. 13. 6.)	9,665 3 6	9,516 4 10	148 18 7
Half-Pay to reduced Officers of Land Forces, 26,267. 15. 3. Br. (part of 226,017. 15. 3.)	28,456 14 10	21,920 6 6	6,536 8 4
Military Allowances to reduced Officers of the Land Forces, 464. 13. 8. Br, (part of 10,464. 13. 8.)	503 8 1	321 12 4	181 15 9
In and Out Pensioners of the Royal Hospital near Kilmainham, and Expences of said Hospital, 63,821. 5. 9. Br. (part of 434,410. 8. 9.)	69,139 14 6	63,547 15 3	5,591 19 3
Pensions to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces, and Expences attending the same 6,000. Br. (part of 46,495. 10. 6.)	6,500 0 0	5,850 18 10	649 1 1
Retired and Officiating Chaplains of His Majesty's Forces, 2,852. 5. 3. Br. (part of 18,852. 5. 3.)	3,089 19 0	1,335 12 6	1,754 6 6
General Hospital Expences of His Majesty's Forces, in Ireland, including Medicaments, for General and Regimental Hospitals, and the Charge of the Royal Military Infirmary, Dublin, for Sick and Wounded Soldiers, 18,676. 8. 9. Br. (part of 118,676. 8. 9.).	20,232 16 1	14,001 7 5	6,231 8 8
Barrack Department in Ireland 442,262. 13. 5. Br.	479,117 17 10	381,364 13 8	97,753 4 1
Commissariat Establishment in Ireland, and extra Forage for the Cavalry 190,253. 7. 4.	206,107 16 3	174,302 4 11	31,805 11 3
Extraordinary Service of the Army in Ireland 500,000 Br.	541,666 13 4	360,091 1 11	181,575 11 4
Ordnance.			
Office of Ordnance in Ireland, for the Year 1808 (432,748. 15. 11.)	468,811 3 11	468,811 3 11	
More for defraying the Expence of Services performed in the Year 1807 and not provided for by Parliament (121,482. 13. 1. Br.)	131,606 4 2	131,606 4 2	
Public Officers for several Services.			
S. Moore, esq. Acc. Gen. for his extraordinary Trouble and Expence in preparing and stating the Public Accounts of Ireland, laid before Parliament in 1808	340 0 0	340 0 0	
J. Smart, esq. Dep. Acc. Gen. for ditto	240 0 0	240 0 0	
P. Le Bas, esq. Examinator of Corn Bounties, for keeping the Accounts in said Office	200 0 0	200 0 0	
R. Marshall, esq. Inspector Gen. of Imports and Exports, for preparing the Accounts of the Imports and Exports of Ireland, for Parliament, for Two years, ending the 5th Jan. 1808	500 0 0	500 0 0	

	SUMS Granted.			SUMS Paid.			REMAINS.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
B. Hautenville, esq. First Clerk in the Office of the Inspector General of Imports nd Exports of Ireland, for preparing Ac- ounts for Parliament	400	0	0	400	0	0			
Hatton, esq. Examinator of Excise, for reparing Accounts for Parliament	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Hood, esq. Assistant Examiner of Ex- ise, for preparing Accounts for Parliament	150	0	0	150	0	0			
Haffield, Clerk in the Office of the Au- itor of the Exchequer, for preparing Ac- ounts for Parliament	200	0	0	200	0	0			
CELLANEOUS SERVICES: from 5th Jan. 1808 to 5th Jan. 1809.									
ence of Civil Buildings	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
ence of printing 250 Copies of the Acts of e 48th Year of His present Majesty	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0			
rge of Printing, Stationary, and other isbursements for the Chief and Under ecretaries Office and Apartments, and ther Public Offices, in Dublin Castle, &c. nd for Riding Charges and other Expences the Deputy Pursuivants, and extra Mes- ngers attending the said Offices	22,018	0	0	22,018	0	0			
ence of apprehending Public Offenders Ireland	2,500	0	0	1,938	2	9	561	17	2
port of the Non-conforming Ministers in eland	9,429	18	0	9,429	18	0			
ence of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin	1,047	10	2	1,047	10	2			
ge of Clothing the Battle-Axe-Guards, r Eighteen Months, commencing 1st Dec. 08	740	0	0	740	0	0			
ards the Expence of building a Pier at e North Side of Howth, for the Accom- odation of His Majesty's Packets be- een Dublin and Holyhead, and for keep- g them afloat at all times of the tide	10,000	0	0	6,185	11	3	3,814	8	8
nable the Chief Secretary of the Lord eutenant of Ireland to refund the like m paid into his Office for Wool Licences, ce the 5th Jan. 1801	1,250	13	10	1,250	13	10			
ence of publishing Proclamations and Ad- rtisements in the Dublin Gazette and er News-papers in Ireland	10,500	0	0	10,499	15	6	0	4	6
ence of Criminal Prosecutions and other w Expences in Ireland	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
nditure at His Majesty's Gold Mine at oaghan in the County of Wicklow	997	0	0	997	0	0			
Reimbursing the Accountant General of e Court of Chancery in Ireland Arrears Annual Allowances to Clerks in his fice	475	0	0	475	0	0			
repaying to Edward Kent, esq. the onies paid into the Treasury of Ireland him in his own wrong	512	8	0	512	8	0			
aying the Salaries of the Lottery Offices Ireland	4,434	0	0	4,434	0	0			
ge of Incidents of the Treasury of Ire- d	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0			
IC BOARDS: from 5th Jan. 1808 to 5th Jan. 1809.									
Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Ma- factures, for One Year	21,600	0	0	21,600	0	0			
nces of the Farming Society of Ireland	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			

	SUMS Granted.			SUMS Paid.			REMAINS.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Dublin Society, for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts in Ireland	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
Expences of the Cork Institution	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0			
The Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in the City of Dublin ...	4,500	0	0	4,500	0	0			
The Board of First Fruits; for building new Churches and re-building Old Churches, and building Glebe Houses in such Manner as said Board shall think fit	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
PUBLIC HOSPITALS and SCHOOLS: from 5th Jan. 1808 to 5th 1809.									
For defraying the Charge of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland	23,103	0	0	23,103	0	0			
Expence of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin	22,500	0	0	22,500	0	0			
Charge of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin	2,896	0	0	2,896	0	0			
Expence of the Hibernian School for Soldiers Children	14,958	0	0	14,958	0	0			
Charge of the Female Orphan House near Dublin.............................	3,758	0	0	3,758	0	0			
Expences which may be incurred by the Association for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion	1,926	0	0	1,926	0	0			
Towards supporting the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin	11,786	0	0	11,786	0	0			
Charge of supporting the House of Industy and Penitentiary in Dublin	28,797	0	0	28,797	0	0			
Expence of Maintaining Eighty Patients in the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital in Cork Street Dublin	4,122	0	0	4,122	0	0			
Expence of the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin.	2,668	0	0	2,668	0	0			
For completing the Buildings at Stephen's Green for the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland	5,300	0	0	5,300	0	0			
Charge of the Office of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests	600	0	0	600	0	0			
For finishing the Repairs of Doctor Steven's Hospital and defraying Expences thereof	1,824	0	0	1,824	0	0			
For erecting Buildings at Sir Patrick Dunn's Clinical Hospital	4,038	0	0	4,038	0	0			
Charge of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland...............................	9,250	0	0	9,250	0	0			
£.	5,544,281	12	4	4,431,872	9	7	1,112,409	2	9

END OF THE FINANCE ACCOUNTS FOR 1809.

mount *of all* Exemptions *granted to* Foreigners, *in respect of the* Duty *in the various* Funds *of Great Britain, and on the* Dividends *of the East India and South Sea Companies; under* The Property Tax; *for the Year ending* 10*th October* 1808.

STOCK or ANNUITIES.	DIVIDEND. £.	s.	d.	DUTY. £.	s.	d.
For the Quarter ending January 1808.						
er Cent. Consolidated Annuities	179,721	6	3	17,971	11	0
er Cent. Navy Annuities	6,365	11	2	635	17	1
t India Stock	23,416	3	0	2,341	6	8
th Sea Stock	19,770	18	4	1,976	17	10
th Sea Annuities 1751	2,345	17	5	234	10	9
er Cent. Imperial Annuities	1,186	3	6	118	12	1
er Cent. Annuities 1726	1,248	7	5	124	15	2
perial Annuities	617	3	6	62	14	4
a Tontine Annuities	969	8	0	96	16	6
hequer Annuities	533	17	6	53	7	9
rt Annuities	1,027	16	6	102	14	9
v South Sea Annuties	7,852	2	8	785	0	7
	245,054	15	3	24,504	4	6
For the Quarter ending April 1808.						
r Cent. Reduced Annuities	33,775	15	8	3,377	3	1
r Cent. Consolidated Annuities	16,915	16	9	1,691	8	11
South Sea Annuities	7,656	4	11	765	10	2
g Annuities	3,227	16	11	322	10	11
r Cent. Annuities 1797	952	6	7	95	1	2
r Cent. Irish Annuities	1,954	5	0	195	8	6
Annuities	165	10	4	16	10	9
hequer Annuities	22	5	8	2	4	2
	64,670	1	10	6,465	17	8
For the Quarter ending July 1808.						
Cent. Consolidated Annuities	175,726	17	2	17,571	16	5
Cent. Navy Annuities	5,901	7	2	589	17	1
India Stock	22,911	7	4	2,290	16	6
Sea Stock	19,678	15	10	1,967	12	11
Sea Annuities 1751	2,332	2	5	233	3	6
Cent. Imperial Annuities	808	11	6	80	17	0
Cent. Annuities 1726	1,223	2	5	122	5	9
rial Annuities	601	16	5	60	3	7
Tontine Annuities	6,756	12	4	675	11	8
equer Annuities	1,070	0	0	107	0	0
South Sea Annuities	7,488	18	3	748	15	9
	244,499	10	10	24,448	0	2
For the Quarter ending October 1808.						
Cent. Reduced Annuities	31,305	15	9	3,130	3	4
Cent. Consolidated Annuities	16,017	6	3	1,601	11	1
outh Sea Annuities	7,433	5	3	743	4	8
Annuities	2,654	17	8	265	9	3
Cent. Annuities 1797	856	9	2	85	10	2
Cent. Irish Annuities	1,899	5	0	189	18	6
Annuities	165	10	4	16	10	9
	60,332	9	5	6,032	7	9

Total Amount of Exemptions on Dividends in each Quarter,

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
January 1808	24,504	4	6	61,450	10	1
April	6,465	17	8			
July	24,448	0	2			
October	6,032	7	9			

An Account of the NOTES *of the* BANK *of* ENGLAND *in Circulation, including* BANK Po BILLS, *from the* 1st *Feb.* 1808 *to* 1st *Feb.* 1809; *distinguishing the Amount in Circu tion in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of Five Pounds.*

Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight.			Notes of £2 and £1 each.		
1808.	May 1	13,429,640.	1808.	May 1	4,062,260.
	August 1	13,521,380.		August 1	4,123,290.
	November 1	13,255,460.		November 1	4,211,710.
1809.	February 1	13,226,860.	1809.	February 1	4,333,200.

An Account of the NOTES *of the* BANK *of* IRELAND *in Circulation, from the* 1st *Feb.* 18 *to* 1st *Feb.* 1809, *including* BANK POST BILLS; *Distinguishing the Amount in Circu tion in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of Five Pounds.*

Value of £.5. and upwards	1,974,700	18
Ditto below Five Pounds	851,232	17
1st May 1808	£. 2,825,933	15
Value of £.5. and upwards	1,975,734	10
Ditto below Five Pounds	908,443	14
1st August 1808	£. 2 884,178	4
Value of £.5. and upwards	2,072,945	11
Ditto below Five Pounds	924,895	3
1st November 1808	£. 2,997,840	14
Value of £.5. and upwards	2,120,362	5
Ditto below Five Pounds	952,153	14
1st February 1809	3,072,515	19

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS,

Passed in the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of G Britain and Ireland—49th of George III.

CAP. 1. AN act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on Malt, Sugar, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain; and on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in England; for the service of the year 1809.

2. An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

3. An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

4. An act to allow a certain proportion of the Militia of Great Britain, to enlist voluntarily into the Regular Forces.

5. An act to allow a certain proportion of the Militia in Ireland voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's Regular Forces.

6. An act for the Relief of Prisoners in Custody for Non-payment of Money pursuant to orders of Courts of Equity.

7. An act to prohibit the Distillation of Sp from Corn or Grain, in the United K dom, for a limited time.

8. An act to suspend the Importation of tish or Irish made Spirits into Great Br or Ireland respectively, until the 1st of 1809.

9. An act to grant Bounties on the Impo tion of Flax Seed into Ireland from G Britain, until the 8th day of April 18 and to amend the Laws for the Regul of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, se as relates to importers of Flax Seed.

10. An act to continue so much of an act o 47th year of his present majesty, as allo Bounty upon double refined Sugar expo until the 25th of March 1811; and so n of the same act as allows a bounty on Sugar exported, until the 25th of M 1810.

. An act for further continuing, until the 25th of March 1810, certain Bounties and Drawbacks on the Exportation of Sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the Countervailing Duties and Bounties on Sugar when the Duties imposed by an act of the 46th year of his present majesty shall be suspended.

. An act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better payment of the Army and their Quarters.

. An act for the more effectually preventing the Forging of Bank Notes, Bank Bills of Exchange, and Bank Post Bills, and the Negociation of forged and counterfeited Bank Notes, Bank Bills of Exchange, and Bank Post Bills, of the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

4. An act for repealing an act of the Parliament of Scotland, relative to Child Murder; and for making other Provisions in lieu thereof.

5. An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, and for extending the Times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th of March 1810; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file Affidavits of the Execution of Indentures of Clerks to Attornies and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st day of Hilary Term 1810.

6. An act to allow the Importation of Rum and other Spirits, from the island of Bermuda into the province of Lower Canada, without payment of Duty, on the same terms and conditions as such Importation may be made directly from his majesty's Sugar Colonies in the West Indies.

7. An act to authorize his majesty, during the present War, to make Regulations respecting the Trade and Commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

8. An act for continuing until the 25th day of March 1814, several acts for the free Importation of Cochineal and Indigo; and until the 25th of March 1819, an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, to permit the exportation of Wool from the British Plantations in America.

9. An act for the Regulation of his majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on shore.

0. An act to make perpetual several Laws relating to the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures; to the allowing the Importation of Rape Seed, and other Seeds used for extracting Oil, whenever the prices of middling British Rape Seed shall be above a certain limit; to the encouraging the growth of Coffee in his majesty's Plantations in America; and for amending and making perpetual several Laws relating to the preventing the clandestine running of goods, and the danger of Infection thereby; and to the allowing the Importation of Seal Skins cured with Foreign Salt free of Duty.

21. An act for granting Annuities to discharge certain Exchequer Bills.

22. An act for allowing the Importation and Exportation of certain goods and commodities into and from the port of Falmouth in the island of Jamaica.

23. An act for further continuing until the 25th of March 1810, an act made in the 39th year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the Exportation from and permitting the Importation to Great Britain of Corn; and for allowing the Importation of other articles of provision without payment of Duty.

24. An act for charging with Duty Spent Wash, re-distilled in Great Britain.

25. An act to permit, until the 25th of March 1811, the Importation of Tobacco into Great Britain, from any place whatever.

26. An act for allowing until the 25th of March 1810, the Importation of certain Fish from parts of the coast of his majesty's North American colonies; and for granting a Bounty thereon.

27. An act for establishing Courts of Judicature in the island of Newfoundland and the islands adjacent; and for re-annexing part of the coast of Labrador and the islands lying on the said coast to the government of Newfoundland.

28. An act to enable the Clerks of the King's Coroner and Attorney in the Court of King's Bench to be admitted as Attornies.

29. An act for the Appropriation of 20,000*l.* out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, toward the Encouragement of the saving of Flax Seed for sowing in Ireland.

30. An act to continue until the 25th of March 1810, certain acts for regulating the Drawbacks and Bounties on the Exportation of Sugar from Ireland, and for warehousing in Ireland, Rum or Spirits of the British Sugar Plantations.

31. An act to continue until the 25th day of March 1810, an act of the 41st year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the Exportation from Ireland, and for permitting the Importation into Ireland, Duty free, of Corn, and other provisions.

32. An act for continuing and making perpetual several Duties of 1*s.* 6*d*, repealed by an act of the last session of parliament, on Offices and Employments of profit, and on Annuities, Pensions and Stipends, and thereby granted for one year to the 25th of March 1809.

33. An act to grant an Excise Duty on Spirits made or distilled from Sugar in Ireland, during the prohibition of Distillation from Corn or Grain there, in lieu of the Excise Duty now chargeable thereon, and to allow a Drawback on the Export thereof to foreign parts.

34. An act to permit the Registry at Malta of Ships taken as prize.

35. An act for the more convenient payment of Pensions to Widows of Officers of the Navy.

36. An act to amend an act made in the 45th year of his present majesty, for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the parliament of Ireland, for erecting and establishing public Infirmaries or Hospitals.

37. An act for increasing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Inn-keepers and others on quartering Soldiers.

38. An act for further continuing until the 25th of July 1811, an act made in the 33rd year of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of Creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

39. An act for making Compensation to the Proprietors of such Lands and Hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his majesty's Docks, Ships, and Stores, at Portsmouth: and for extending the lines and works at Dover; in pursuance of an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty.

40. An act to amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent Local Militia Force, under certain Restrictions, for the Defence of the Realm.

41. An act to amend an act made in the 48th year of his present majesty, to provide that British ships captured by the enemy, becoming the property of British subjects, shall not be entitled to the privilege of British ships.

42. An act for better regulating the public Records of Scotland.

43. An act for regulating the mode in which the average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, exclusive of the Duty thereon, is to be ascertained under the provisions of an act passed in the 46th year of his present majesty.

44. An act to permit Goods brought in as Prize, and restored by the Court of Admiralty, or which have been seized as Droits, and so restored, to be sold or transferred within this kingdom, without paying the Home Consumption Duty.

45. An act for more conveniently paying of Allowances on the Compassionate List of the Navy, and of Half pay to Officers of the Royal Marines.

46. An act to authorize the principal Officers of the Customs in the British colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies, to examine Witnesses on Oath.

47. An act to permit certain articles, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, to be laden and shipped on board ships arriving with British North American produce, and Fish taken by settlers in the British North American colonies, at any port of Europe, in order to be exported to the principal ports in the British colonies and plantations in North America.

48. An act to amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent Local Militia Force in Scotland, under certain Restrictions, for the Defence of the Realm.

49. An act to authorize his majesty to permit, until the 25th of March 1812, any Goods and Commodities to be imported into and exported from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in any Ship or Vessel whatsoever.

50. An act to amend so much of an act made in the 37th year of his present majesty, for granting to his majesty certain Stamp Duties, as relates to the Limitation according to which the Discount of Newspapers is regulated.

51. An act to continue until the 1st of August 1810, and amend certain acts for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments received in several Public Offices in Ireland; to examine into any Abuses which may exist in the same, and into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for Public Money in Ireland.

52. An act for raising the sum of 6,000,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

53. An act for completing the Militia of Great Britain.

54. An act for the Relief of certain Insolvent Debtors in Ireland.

55. An act for rectifying Mistakes in the Names of the Commissioners appointed by an act of the last session of parliament for appointing Commissioners for carrying into execution an act of this session of parliament for granting to his majesty a Duty on Pensions and Offices in England, and an act, made in the 38th year of his present majesty, for granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land Tax to be raised in Great Britain for the service of the year 1798, and for appointing other Commissioners together with those named in the first mentioned act, to put in execution an act of this session of parliament for continuing to his majesty certain Duties on Malt, Sugar, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain, and on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in England, for the service of the year 1809, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present majesty; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted as Commissioners for executing the said acts.

56. An act for completing the Militia of Ireland.

57. An act for improving the quality of Beer in Ireland, by further preventing the use of unmalted Corn, or of any deleterious or unwholesome Ingredients therein, and for the better securing the collection of the Malt Duties in Ireland.

58. An act to explain and render more effectual an act, passed in the parliament of Ireland in the 36th year of his present majesty's reign, for the Encouragement and Relief of Friendly Societies.

59. An act to permit the Trade between

reat Britain and the United States of Ame-
ca to be carried on in Ships or Vessels be-
nging to the Inhabitants of the said States.

An act for allowing the importation from
ny Port in Europe or Africa, of goods or
mmodities the growth or produce of any
ountry, until six months after the ratifica-
on of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act for making Sugar and Coffee of
artinique and Mariegalante liable to duty
n importation as Sugar and Coffee not of
e British Plantations.

An act to amend several acts for the Pre-
ention of Smuggling: for better securing
e Duties on Coals, Culm, and Cinders;
nd for permitting the exportation of Salt,
epper, and Wine from Guernsey or Jersey
Sark, in small packages.

An act for repealing the duties on the ma-
rials used in making spread Window Glass
nd Crown Glass, and for granting other du-
es in lieu thereof, and for the better collec-
on of the said duties.

An act to amend an act passed in the last
ession of parliament for enabling the com-
issioners for the Reduction of the National
ebt to grant Life Annuities.

An act for giving Jurisdiction to Justices
the Peace to hear and determine prosecu-
ons for penalties incurred by any offence
gainst the laws relating to the Revenue of
ustoms; and also requiring all Goods,
ustomable and not exciseable, seized by
ny police or peace officer, to be brought to
e Custom-House warehouse in London
thin a certain period.

An act for the abolition of certain Holi-
ys, and for altering and extending the
ne for keeping open the Chief Office of
xcise.

An act to amend an act passed in the
th year of his present majesty, for the re-
emption and sale of the Land Tax, and to
ake further provision for exonerating small
vings and Charitable Institutions from the
nd Tax.

An act to explain and amend the Law of
astardy, so far as relates to indemnifying
rishes in respect thereof.

An act to indemnify Persons who have in-
vertently printed, published, or dispersed
pers or books without a full description of
e place of abode of the Printers thereof
om penalties incurred under an act of the
th year of his majesty's reign.

An act to amend an act passed in the 48th
ar of his present majesty, to enable his
ajesty's Postmaster-General of Ireland to
rchase premises for the enlargement of the
eneral Post-Office in the City of Dublin.

An act for raising the sum of 14,600,000*l.*
way of Annuities.

An act to continue until the 25th of March
11, certain acts of the parliament of
eland, for the improvement of the City of
ublin, by making wide and convenient Pas-
ges through the same, and for regulating
the Coal Trade thereof, and for other purposes.

73. An act to grant to his majesty Duties upon Spirits made or distilled in Ireland, and upon British Spirits imported into Ireland, and upon Licences to sell Spirituous Liquors in Ireland in quantities not less than two gallons.

74. An act to continue until the 5th day of July 1810 several acts for granting certain Rates and Duties, and for allowing certain Drawbacks and Bounties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland.

75. An act to provide for the better collection of the Duties and Taxes on Carriages, Servants, Horses, and Dogs, in Ireland.

76. An act for vesting in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by advice of the Privy Council, the power of prohibiting the exportation and carrying coastwise of Gunpowder, Saltpetre, Arms, Ammunition, and Naval Stores.

77. An act to amend the several acts for securing the Duties on Paper made in Ireland.

78. An act for raising the sum of 1,250,000*l.*, by way of Annuities and Treasury Bills for the service of Ireland.

79. An act for raising the sum of 500,000*l.*, by Treasury Bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1809.

80. An act for allowing Dealers to roast their own Coffee on certain conditions.

81. An act to amend several Laws of Excise relating to Paper, Silks, and Salt, and for authorizing the seizure of Utensils in cases where vessels used in Excise Manufactories are subject to Forfeiture.

82. An act to amend several acts passed in the last and present sessions of parliament relating to the Local Militia.

83. An act for the amendment of the laws now in force in Ireland, relative to persons entering into Recognizances in Criminal Cases, in custody under any fine, or under such recognizance.

84. An act for amending the Irish Road Acts.

85. An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March 1810, the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Ireland; for holding Courts Martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making Allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

86. An act to make Provision, in certain cases, for the wives and families of ballotted men, substitutes, and volunteers, serving in the militia of Ireland.

87. An act for defraying the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain for the year 1809.

88. An act for making Allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

89. An act to revive and continue until the 25th day of March 1810, and amend so much

of an act made in the 39th and 40th year of his present majesty, as grants certain Allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

90. An act for providing Relief for the Wives and Families of the Militia-men in Scotland, when called into actual service.

91. An act to empower the Judges to try Civil Causes in their own counties in England.

92. An act for charging the sum of 11,000,000*l.* raised for the service of Great Britain for the year 1809, and the sum of 7,932,100*l.* in Exchequer Bills, funded, pursuant to an act of this session of parliament, upon the duties granted to his majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

93. An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's Treasury to issue Exchequer Bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

94. An act for granting to his majesty a Sum of Money, to be raised by Lotteries.

95. An act for further regulating the Constitution of the Board of Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts.

96. An act to provide for a durable Allowance of Superannuation to the Officers of Excise, under certain restrictions.

97. An act for empowering the Board of Ordnance to exchange Lands at Purfleet, in the county of Essex, for other lands in the said parish.

98. An act for repealing the several Duties of Customs chargeable in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

99. An act to amend the several acts for the regulating and securing the collection of the Duties on Spirits distilled in Ireland, and for the regulating the sale of such liquors by retail.

100. An act to amend the several acts for securing the collection of the Duties on Auctions in Ireland.

101. An act to regulate the Fees payable by persons charged with treason, felony, and all other offences, at assizes and quarter-sessions in Ireland; and for amending an act of the parliament of Ireland, made in the 36th year of his present majesty, relating thereto.

102. An act to appoint commissioners to enquire and examine, until the 1st day of August 1811, into the nature and extent of the several Bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them, and the best means of effecting the same.

103. An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for making Provision for the building and rebuilding of Churches, Chapels, and Glebe Houses in Ireland.

104. An act to amend several acts, made in the parliament of Ireland, for granting Life Annuities with benefit of survivorship.

105. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1810, an act of this present session of parliament, to suspend the importation of British or Irish made Spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively.

106. An act for allowing further Time for taking Goods out of Warehouse, and paying duties thereon.

107. An act for the more effectual Recovery of Penalties and Forfeitures, incurred in the British colonies and plantations in America.

108. An act to amend the several acts respecting the Payment of Wages and Prize-money, and Allotment of Wages, to persons serving in his majesty's royal navy.

109. An act to repeal several acts respecting the Woollen Manufacture; and to amend other acts relating to the said Manufacture; and for allowing persons employed in any branch of the Woollen Manufacture to set up trade in any place in Great Britain.

110. An act to rectify a mistake in an act, made in this session of parliament, for continuing and making perpetual several Duties of One Shilling and Six-pence on offices and employments.

111. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1811, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the public expenditure and the conduct of the public business in the Military Departments therein mentioned.

112. An act to amend an act, passed in the forty-fourth year of his present majesty to provide for the Defence of the Realm with respect to the purchase of lands an hereditaments for the public service.

113. An act for better regulating the office o Agent General for Volunteers and Local Militia.

114. An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 3,000,000*l.* for the service of Grea Britain.

115. An act for the Relief of certain Insolven Debtors in England.

116. An act to make further provision for the execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things, under the management of the Commissioners of Custom and Port Duties, and of the Commissioners of Inland Excise and Taxes, in Ireland.

117. An act for lowering the Duty of Excise on Coffee, of the growth of his majesty's dominions in Africa.

118. An act for better securing the Independence and Purity of Parliament, by preventin the procuring or obtaining of Seats in Parliament by corrupt practices.

119. An act to give to the persons named by his majesty, pursuant to an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, 'A Act concerning the Administration of Justice in Scotland, and concerning Appeals to the House of Lords,' further Time for making their Report or Reports.

120. An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the several Laws fo raising and training the Militia of Ireland.

11. An act to alter and amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts.

22. An act for preventing Frauds and Depredations committed on merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters, by Boatmen and others; and also for remedying certain defects relative to the adjustment of Salvage in England, under an act made in the 12th year of queen Anne.

23. An act to explain and amend an act, made in the 45th year of his present majesty, for the Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning his majesty's Navy during the present war; and for the further Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectually providing for the interest of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, and the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea; and to extend the provisions of the said act to cases arising in consequence of hostilities commenced since the passing of the said act.

24. An act for altering, amending, and explaining certain acts relative to the Removal of the Poor, and for making regulations in certain cases touching the examination of Paupers as to their Settlement; and for extending to all parishes certain Rules and Orders in Workhouses, under an act of the 22d year of his present majesty, intituled, 'An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor.'

125. An act to amend an act, made in the 33d year of his present majesty, for the Encouragement and Relief of Friendly Societies.

126. An act for the further Prevention of the Sale and Brokerage of Offices.

127. An act for further augmenting the Salaries of certain of the Judges of the Courts in Westminster Hall, and of the Chief and Second Justice of Chester, and Justices of the Great Sessions in Wales.

128. An act for granting to his majesty certain Sums of Money out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1809; and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this session of parliament.

129. An act to prevent the enlisting of Local Militia-men into the regular Militia of any other county or stewartry than the county or stewartry to which they belong.

The Substance of a Speech delivered by Joseph Marryat, Esq. in the House of Commons, May 15, 1809, upon the Second Reading of the Martinique Trade Bill.

Since our Report of Mr. Marryat's Speech, as given at p. 581, *we have been favoured with the following authentic Copy of the said Speech.*

Mr. Marryat rose and spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,—When this bill was read for the first time, I could not help expressing my surprise, that a measure unsupported by a single precedent, and, as the language of the Bill itself admits, contrary to all the laws, customs, and usages established in similar cases, by the wisdom of our ancestors, should be recommended to parliament on the ground of an alledged expediency; without any attempt whatever to prove that expediency being made, and without any of the parties whose interests are involved in this projected innovation, having been previously consulted. I also stated, shortly, my reasons for thinking that this measure, which I was aware had been suggested to his majesty's ministers by the Committee of West India planters and merchants, could be productive of no possible advantage to them, while it would be highly injurious to the Sugar Refiners, and unjust to the inhabitants of Martinique.

If the first of these propositions only could be maintained, it would not be a sufficient ground for rejecting this Bill; for I know of no objection to complying even with the prejudices of any body of men, provided those prejudices are innocent prejudices: but if it can be shewn, that complying with those prejudices would be injurious to the interests of others, and a violation of good faith on the part of the British nation, then I am persuaded that this Bill will no longer receive that official support from his majesty s ministers, under the sanction of which it has been presented to this house.

With respect to the interests of the West India Planters, I contend, that as in consequence of the capture of the island of Martinique, the sugars of that colony must find their way to Europe, all the mischief that can be done to the British Planters by that conquest, has been done; that it is now perfectly immaterial to them, whether these sugars are brought in neutral vessels to the foreign ports of the contitinent, or in British vessels to the ports of Great Britain: and in the latter case, that it is equally immaterial, whether they are brought here for exportation or home consumption.

When I say that all the mischief that can be done to the British Planters has been done, I mean to cast no reflection on the policy which dictated the capture of Martinique; for if the conquest of that colony were desirable, either as extending the carrying trade, or opening a new market for the manufactures of Great Britain; as depriving the enemy of a cruising station, peculiarly favourable to the annoyance of our commerce by his privateers, and of the finest harbour in the West Indies, which had long served as an asylum to his flying squadrons; as giving us possession of an important colony, on which Buonaparte probably sets more than common value, either to be retained at a peace, or restored for some valuable equivalent; as placing within our power the patrimonial estate of Madame Buonaparte, with many of her relatives, and perhaps in consequence facilitating some arrangement, that may put an end to the captivity of our countrymen so long detained in France; if, I say, from any of these considerations, or others which may have suggested themselves to the minds of his majesty's ministers, they were induced to undertake this enterprize, I must admit that an object of such great national advantage, ought not to be abandoned from a regard to the interests of any particular class of individuals. But I must also contend, that, where the interests of any class of men are injured by measures adopted for the general good, that class of men has a strong, nay, an unanswerable claim upon the legislature for relief. Whether the capture of Martinique, by bringing a new influx of sugars into the European market, will again plunge the British West India Planters into that distress from which they are just emerging, depends upon political events which it is impossible to foresee. But should it produce that effect, I put in my claim to the justice and liberality of the legislature, and I will not weaken that claim by accepting as a boon what is in fact no boon: I will not sacrifice substantial for imaginary advantages, nor lose the substance by grasping at the shadow.

As in the part which I am about to take on this occasion, I have the misfortune to differ in opinion with many of the gentlemen with whom I generally act, I think it right to guard against any misconstructions that may be put on my conduct. No man who is acquainted with my situation in life, can for a moment suspect me of harbouring any feelings inimical to the interests of the British West India Planters. On the contrary my interests are bound up in theirs; for the greatest part of my property is invested in securities in the British West India colonies. It is true that I have also connections both at Martinique and at Guadaloupe; but in point of extent they bear no proportion to my other concerns. As far, therefore, as interest may be supposed to operate on the human mind, the British Planters have an unquestionable pledge of my sincerity in their cause. It happens fortunately for my consistency too, that so long ago as the year 1792, I published the very same doctrines that I am now about to maintain; in proof of which I beg leave to read the following passage from a pamphlet respecting the sugar trade, written at that period.

'It is granted that when charters were 'first given to encourage the settlement of 'the British islands, and during the infancy 'of their establishment, it was an expedient 'and necessary encouragement, to secure 'to them the exclusive supply of the British 'market, by imposing such duties on foreign 'sugars as should amount to a prohibition. 'But now that their produce is more than 'adequate to the consumption of the mother country, so that one third part of it 'must be re-exported, and the price it will 'fetch in foreign markets must necessarily 'regulate the price of what is sold here, it 'is evident that this restriction can no 'longer be of use to them; that not Great 'Britain alone, but Europe is the market 'for sugars the British Planter has to look 'up to; and that the demand from abroad 'must increase, in proportion to the increased quantity, that diverted from their 'markets, finds its way to ours, so as to 'keep the universal price at one common 'level.'

The charge of inconsistency, therefore, cannot justly be brought against me; but how some of my West India friends will rescue themselves from this imputation, I am at a loss to imagine; for the great mass of evidence given by these very gentlemen, before the various Committees of this house, which have been appointed to report upon West India subjects within e few years past, goes to establish proposition for which I contend, and ch they now mean to oppose; namely it is the quantity of sugar brought to ope, that governs the price of the com- ity in Great Britain. In the evidence n before the Commercial Committee 1807, this truth is laid down as an m: and the distress of the British nters is justly attributed to the quan- of sugar brought to Europe from the ny's colonies, in neutral ships. Now are to be told, that it is not the bring- sugars to Europe, but the bringing m into the home consumption of Great ain that is injurious to the interests of British Planter. I shall not read the lence given by any of the gentlemen m I see in their places, because I am rilling to put my friends to the blush; therefore I shall confine myself to the imony of a gentleman, not a member his House, but who stands high in the mation of all those who know him, for talents, and for his application of se talents: a gentleman who thinks ly, and thinks deeply. I mean Mr. anquet. On being asked, 'to what uses do you principally impute the in- equacy of the returns since 1801?' gives the following answer; 'I attri- te it to an excess of importation beyond e home consumption, which has ren- red the sale of the grower's produce pendent on exportation, not only for e consumption of the quantity, but also r the price, which I conceive to be rmed on a standard inadequate to his pences. I mean the market price on e Continent; which market can be, d is supplied with sugar, at a cheaper te than it can be grown by the British lanter; and according to the axiom, at the price of a commodity will en- rely depend upon the price at which e surplus can be sold, it is obvious that e market price at home, has, ever since e importation materially exceeded the me consumption, been governed by the rice on the Continent.' These opinions, , so far from being controverted, are firmed by the concurrent testimony of ry gentleman connected with the West ies, who was then examined to the same nt.

The House may naturally wonder how happens, that gentlemen should think so ferently on the same subject, at different riods. I can only observe, that the timents they formerly delivered, were not given with a view to any particular circumstance likely to affect the home consumption, and may therefore be considered as the genuine unbiassed sentiments of their minds. The sentiments they will now deliver, are framed with a view to a particular circumstance likely to affect the home consumption, and may perhaps have received a bias from that circumstance.

Perhaps there are few classes of men altogether free from certain prejudices, on points connected with their own interests. We are all apt to receive opinions into our minds, without due examination; to take them as it were upon trust, particularly when they come to us with a sort of hereditary sanction; and thus it is that prejudices sometimes acquire the force of principles. Men are so sensibly alive to their own interests, that if a measure is proposed which they know can do them no good, and fancy that it may by any possibility, however remote, do them harm, they will scarcely allow themselves to give it a fair and impartial discussion. An impression of this sort was lately very liberally got the better of by the landed interest, who consented to the substitution of sugar for grain in the distilleries; though some few gentlemen contended to the last for the principle, that the agriculture of the country ought never to be interfered with under any possible circumstances. This principle, however, as it was termed, could not be maintained: for the real principle of all the corn laws, is founded upon an interference with the agriculture of the country, and sanctions the importation of foreign corn, whenever the price of British corn exceeds certain limits. It was, therefore, in strict conformity to that principle, that we resorted to substitution, when the means of importation were no longer within our power; and, I trust, Sir, that in future, whenever our own growth of corn is insufficient for our consumption, we shall give our fellow subjects the preference over foreigners; and, if the situation of the West India Planter requires it, that instead of importing, we shall continue to substitute. The West India Planters, are now, in their turn, contending for the principle, as they call it, of the monopoly of the home consumption of Great Britain; but this principle has never been recognised to the extent to which they would push it; for the produce of the conquered colonies has uniformly been admitted into home consumption. Even if this principle were acknowledged, it would be of no use to them in the present state of things, as I trust I shall shortly satisfy the House; and I must say, that it is with a peculiar ill grace that they attempt to maintain prejudices of their own, at the very moment when they are reaping the most substantial advantages from having overcome the prejudices of others.

The propositions which I shall endeavour to establish, are these: that the exclusion of the produce of Martinique would be of no benefit whatever to the British Planter; that this exclusion would be highly injurious to the British Sugar Refiner; that it would be unjust to the inhabitants of Martinique: and a violation of honour and good faith on the part of the British Government.

I have already granted, Sir, that in the infancy of the British West India settlements, the monopoly of the home consumption of the mother country was a most valuable privilege of the Planter: but the advantages of this monopoly having been felt and acknowledged by our predecessors, we retain the same ideas of its importance as were justly impressed upon their minds, without adverting to the change of circumstances that has taken place since their days. For many years past, the cultivation of the British West India colonies has been so much extended, that the consumption of the mother country has been insufficient to take off their produce; and a considerable proportion of their sugars has necessarily been re-exported. In this state of things, it is not Great Britain alone, but Europe at large, that the British Planter must consider as his market. While sugar is dear upon the Continent, it never can long continue to be cheap in Great Britain; nor when it is cheap upon the Continent, can it long be dear in Great Britain; for the price which the surplus will produce for exportation, regulates the price of what is sold for home consumption. If the British market is depressed below the standard of the Continental markets, the foreign buyer finds it his interest to purchase, and continues so to do as long as it will afford him a profit on exportation. When this competition ceases, as the importation exceeds the home consumption, the stock accumulates; and as the value of every commodity depends on the proportion which the supply bears to the demand, the price falls, till it becomes the interest of the foreign buyer to purchase as before. Perhaps the action and re-action of the British and Continental markets on each other, may be best illustrated by a familiar example. Many gentlemen who hear me, have doubtless occasionally been at some of the watering places on the coast of Kent or Sussex, and may have observed, that when the fishing boats belonging to those places have a favourable wind for getting up to London, fish is very scarce and dear; but that when the wind is contrary, and they cannot get up to London, fish is cheap and abundant. The London market is to those places with respect to fish, just what the Continental market is to Great Britain with respect to sugars. When there is a demand for the Continent, sugar uniformly becomes dear and scarce in Great Britain; when there is none, it becomes cheap and abundant: and all the fluctuations in the price of British plantation sugar sold for home consumption are occasioned by the demand, or want of demand for exportation.

I may state, in farther proof of this proposition, that the value of foreign sugars brought to Great Britain for exportation, is, generally speaking, precisely the same as that of British plantation sugar imported for home consumption, with the difference of duty only. Within my memory, I have known but one exception to this general rule; and that is one of those exceptions which do not weaken, but confirm it. After the Act was passed last year substituting the use of sugar for that of corn in the distilleries, British plantation sugar became 10*s.* per cwt. dearer than foreign sugar, exclusive of the duty; for it was then thought, that the distilleries and the home consumption would consume all the British plantation sugar, and leave the Planters independent of the foreign market. But this expectation has since proved fallacious; more than 40,000 hogsheads still remain in the West India Docks, now that the new crop is on the eve of arrival; and the disclosure of this fact, together with the capture of Martinique, has occasioned a fall in the price of British plantation sugar of from 12 to 14*s.* per cwt. The value of foreign sugars, on the contrary, has remained nearly stationary, and the prices of both are again restored to their usual equilibrium, now that the dependence of the British Planter upon exportation is clearly ascertained. If the arguments I have before adduced, fail in convincing those who hear me, this fact establishes the truth of the proposition for

ch I contend, beyond all possibility of
tradiction.

admit, Sir, that if his Majesty's Mi-
ers, at the commencement of the pre-
t war, had adopted the plan of ex-
ding the produce of all the conquered
onies from British consumption, they
uld have given a most important ad-
tage to the British Planter; because
home consumption and the distilleries
uld, in that case, have rendered him in-
pendent of the foreign market. But
have captured French settlements,
tch settlements, Danish settlements, and
e admitted the whole of the produce
home consumption, to an extent that
v puts this independence entirely out
the question; as will appear by advert-
to the amount of our exports. In 1807
exported 95,000 hogsheads of sugar;
1808 we exported about 50,000, and
l also the benefit of the distilleries; not-
hstanding which a surplus of 40,000
gsheads remains on hand. As therefore
is now impossible to prevent our de-
dence on the foreign market, and the
ars of Martinique must at all events
me to Europe, the excluding them alone
home consumption would be of no
antage whatever to the British Planter.

farther admit, that if a total stop
ld be put to the exportation of sugar,
y addition to the quantity imported for
me consumption would affect the price,
l prejudice the interests of the British
nter; and this is the only case that I
figure to my imagination, in which
admission of the Martinique sugars in
accustomed mode could be made the
ject of a reasonable objection. But
perience has now so clearly demon-
ated the inefficacy of the decrees of
onaparté, to prevent our commercial
mmunication with the Continent, that I
nsider this as an impossible case; and
ely the Legislature will not think of
oviding against impossible cases, and
erlooking those which actually exist.

But however fallacious the idea may be,
the British Planter deriving any ad-
ntage from the exclusion of the Martini-
e sugars from the home consumption of
eat Britain, there are other parties, and
rties too whose interests have strong
ims to the attention of the Legisla-
e, to whom this measure is pregnant
th the most serious injury. I shall men-
n in the first place the Sugar Refiners of
eat Britain. An Act was lately passed,
rmitting the exportation of refined sugar
in a crushed state, so as to imitate the French clayed sugars; and nearly two-thirds of the whole quantity of refined sugar exported during the last year has been of that description: but if the clayed sugars of Martinique are imported for exportation alone, they will supply the place of these crushed lumps on the Continent, and the British plantation sugars, from which they are now made, will necessarily be left a dead weight upon the home market. Now I cannot really comprehend how the price of sugar would be more depressed, by bring these clayed sugars into the home market, than by leaving those raw sugars upon the market, which are now manufactured in imitation of them, and exported.

The clayed sugars of Martinique are peculiarly calculated for making a certain description of refined sugar, known by the name of Hambro' loaves; which circulate all over the Continent with the greater facility in the present state of things, from being made in such moulds as are used at Hambro,' and it being therefore impossible to distinguish them from the goods of the Foreign Refiners. If then we send away the Martinique clayed sugars, we send away this branch of the manufacture also, from the British Refiners, to the Foreign Refiners.

The three principal descriptions of refined sugar now exported, are the crushed lumps, the Hambro' loaves, and the double refined loaves; the two former being four-fifths of the whole quantity. If we export all the Martinique clayed sugars, they will supersede the demand for the crushed lumps, as foreigners will prefer the originals to the copies; and they will also supersede the demand for the Hambro' loaves, as we shall give the Foreign Refiners the exclusive right of using the choicest and best materials from which they can be manufactured. Thus the export trade of the British Sugar Refiner, will be reduced to one-fifth of its actual amount, by the operation of this Bill; and nearly one-third of the refineries at present at work in this metropolis, will be thrown out of employment.

It may here be proper to say a few words on the value and importance of the sugar refinery to this country. The buildings and utensils employed in that manufactory occupy a capital of about two millions of money; exclusive of a much larger capital necessary for carrying it on. The annual expenditure of the Sugar Refiners amounts to about one million, and perhaps scarcely any million of money is expended by any set of men, in a manner so beneficial to this country; it being principally expended in giving value to the produce of our mines—coals, lead, iron, and copper; and in furnishing employment to a great number of artificers, manufactures, and workmen, of various descriptions. Some idea may be formed of the employment furnished to the potteries by the Refiners, when I state that 80,000 pots and moulds may be found in a single sugar house in this metropolis; and that a very large proportion of the whole quantity in use is annually consumed by breakage. This manufactory possesses an advantage of which few can boast; that both the raw material it works up, and all the articles used in carrying it on, are the growth, produce, and manufacture, either of Great Britain or her colonies: so that the whole amount of the exports made by the Sugar Refiners to foreign markets, is a contribution levied upon foreigners by British industry, and an accession to British wealth.

Is it possible that his Majesty's Ministers can contemplate this picture, and seriously resolve to destroy this valuable manufacture? Can they deem it consistent with sound policy, to drive the Refiners to the extremity of transporting themselves, their capital, and their industry, to foreign countries, as must be the case, if they deprive them of their accustomed employment here, by giving that encouragement to the foreign refineries, which they ought to secure to our own?

With respect to the gentlemen connected with the British West India colonies, who urge his Majesty's Ministers to this rash step, men too, in other respects, of intelligent and enlarged minds, I am really astonished at their contracted notions in this particular case. They are, I believe, the first set of men who ever devised, as a contrivance for raising the value of a raw commodity, the ruin of those by whom it is manufactured. Can any idea more erroneous, I must say, more preposterous, be possibly conceived? They remind me of the short-sighted policy of the man in the fable, who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.

In another point of view, the exporting the clayed sugars of Martinique to the Continent, instead of refining them here for exportation, will be a great national loss; for by refining these sugars, we add very materially to their value. The balance of exchange is now so much against Great Britain, that the guinea is not worth more than 17*s.* on any part of the Continent; and Government feels this depreciation very heavily in the purchase of every article of naval stores procured from the Baltic, as well as in the bills necessarily drawn for subsidies to our foreign allies, and for the maintenance of our armies on foreign service. When the alternative is laid before us, either to diminish or increase this evil, by diminishing or increasing the value of our exports, can we hesitate how to decide?

The inhabitants of Martinique are also parties to this cause, and have a right to be considered in this discussion. I am aware it may be said, that the privilege of having their produce admitted to the home consumption of Great Britain, can be an object of no consequence to them, if the price of sugar be just the same, whether it be sold for exportation or home consumption. But, I would ask, are men influenced by pecuniary considerations alone? Have they no feelings of any other description? Even in the most trifling cases, no man is satisfied to be put on a worse footing than his neighbour. If he does not feel a distinction made to his disadvantage as an injury, he considers it as an insult, and resents it still more strongly. Can it be expected that the inhabitants of Martinique will contentedly endure, that while the produce of every other West India colony conquered by Great Britain during the present war, is admitted to her home consumption, their produce alone should be excluded? Will they not ask what they have done, that, like Cain, they should be branded with a mark of opprobrium, and treated as a stigmatised race? But unfortunately for the effect that this measure may be expected to produce upon their minds, it so happened, that when the island was captured, that temporary difference between the price of sugar for home consumption and exportation, to which I have already adverted, did exist; and therefore they will consider the distinction, not as an imaginary, but as a real grievance. Besides, they will naturally be led to conclude, from the strenuous opposition made by the British Planters to the admission of their sugars for home consumption, that the object is worth contending for; and rrefore this argument cuts both ways. e claim of the inhabitants at Martinique the privilege of which this Bill would rive them, might safely be rested on ground of established law, custom, usage, all which are uniformly in ir favour; for innovations ought not to lightly adopted, and the *onus probandi,* proof of the policy or necessity of h innovations, rests upon those by whom y are proposed.

But the claim of the inhabitants of rtinique stands upon a still firmer ndation; on the good faith and honour the British Government. In stating s part of their case, it will be necessary to give some little detail of the ex- ition against Martinique. The re- ts that at one time prevailed here, of enterprise having been abandoned, ear to have been perfectly true; for miral Sir Alexander Cochrane com- nces his official letter of February 4th, he Admiralty, in the following words: aving on the 20th of January received a tter from Lieutenant-General Beck- ith, informing me that, *in consequence of me alteration of circumstances, he was in- ced to proceed on the attack of Marti- que,* and expressing a wish to see me Barbadoes, in order to make the final rangements, I lost no time in meeting m there for that purpose." What the ration of circumstances was, that in- ed the Commander in Chief to proceed the attack of Martinique, we are not cially told. It certainly was not the ival of any reinforcements to co-operate he enterprise; but the diminution of enemy's force, would produce just the e effect as an addition to our own ce; and report says, that a communica- had taken place with some of the ding inhabitants of Martinique, which to an understanding that the militia he island, consisting of 6,000 effective well-disciplined troops, perfectly red to that climate, would take no part opposing our operations. This may sonably be supposed to have been the ration of circumstances that induced Commander in Chief to proceed on the ck of Martinique. What assurances re held out to the inhabitants, in order bring them to this determination, we only judge from the proclamation n the table; which is addressed to n exclusively, and was probably framed onformity to the assurances previously en. I beg the attention of the House to the language of this proclamation, which appears to have been prepared at Barbadoes; for although it is dated at head-quarters, the 30th of January, the day of the debarkation, we cannot suppose that printing presses, and the other materials necessary for issuing it, could be found either on the beach, or among the cane fields of Martinique. It runs thus:

‘Colonists and inhabitants of Martinique; his Majesty, yielding to imperious circumstances, replaced you under the power which then ruled France. His Majesty, deceived in the hope that the prosperity arising among you from his Government would have been promoted by your new masters, has deeply lamented the unfortunate circumstances to which the events of war, or rather the total want of all respect for property, has reduced your colony. But the termination of your misfortunes is at length arrived; famine will disappear; the *sources of your prosperity will be renewed; your ancient laws shall be restored; and that Government, the protector of persons and properties, to which you were subject under the British flag, shall be re-established in the colony.* It is with these intentions, that his Majesty has entrusted to us the command of a formidable military and naval force, in order to retake Martinique, and to restore to that suffering colony abundance and tranquillity, the inseparable attendants of a just and protecting Government. In conformity with these beneficent dispositions, we invite you, in the name of humanity, forthwith to submit to the forces of his Majesty, which will not fail to punish the rashness of an ineffectual resistance. We order, that all the civil and military commissaries do immediately resign their functions. That every inhabitant, of whatever rank or condition, do retire quietly to his home, there to maintain order. We declare that every colonist or inhabitant who shall be taken with arms in his hands, shall be treated as a prisoner of war. That every free person of colour taken with arms in his hands, shall be sent out of the island; and that every slave so taken, shall be subject to be tried by a military tribunal. Ministers of Divine worship, your religion shall be protected; and the property and rights of the church shall be respected.

‘Given at head-quarters, this 30th day of January, 1809. ‘*Geo. Beckwith,*
‘*Alex. Cochrane.*’

This proclamation immediately produced the expected, or I should rather say, the preconcerted effect; for General Beckwith, in his official letter of February 1st, writes, 'Hitherto we have experienced 'no resistance from the militia of the 'country; and they manifest a disposi'tion, every where, to return to their 'homes, in conformity to a joint procla'mation by the Admiral and myself, 'which is obtaining a very extensive 'circulation:' and Admiral Cochrane concludes his official letter of Feb. 4, in the following words: 'The militia, who were 'forced to serve, have returned to their 'homes.' On the 8th of February, a detachment of the 63d regiment (consisting of only 200 men) was sent to take possession of St. Pierre, the capital of Martinique, defended by strong forts and batteries, containing a population of more than 20,000 inhabitants, and comprising among them the major part of the embodied militia. Major O'Rourke, the British Commanding Officer, advanced against this place, not with a battering train of heavy artillery, but with the following letter from General Maitland, addressed to the Commandant of St. Pierre, who happened to be also the Commanding Officer of the militia of the island.

'Camp, La Coste, Feb. 8, 1809.

'Sir; Lieutenant-Colonel Barnes, who 'commands a brigade in the army, under 'the command of Lieutenant-General 'Beckwith, proceeds to St. Pierre, to 'take possession of the town in the name 'of his Britannic Majesty. I therefore 'summon you to surrender the forts and 'batteries to the troops under his com'mand, being part of my division. In'closed is a proclamation, issued by the 'Commanders in Chief. This proclama'tion is the basis upon which you are 'expected to capitulate; but the detailed 'conditions can only be explained when 'the capitulation takes place, at the sur'render of the fort besieged. In the 'mean time, I require, by order of the 'Commander in Chief, that you receive 'the troops sent; and that you observe a 'faithful and loyal conduct towards the 'British army; and this I demand, under 'pain, in case of refusal, of severe mea'sures being taken against you.

'I have the honour to be, &c.

'Fred. Maitland.'

Immediately on this letter and proclamation being read, the inhabitants capitulated; and the 4th Article of this capitulation runs thus:—'The inhabitants and 'people of all descriptions to conduct 'themselves peaceably, and in conformity 'to the orders and regulations of the Com'mandant *ad interim*, under a full assu'rance that their private property will be 'protected, and their true interests consi'dered, by the respective Commanders 'in Chief by sea and by land of his Britan'nic Majesty's forces, in their definitive 'regulations, founded on the basis of the 'proclamation already published.' On the 24th of February, the garrison of Fort Bourbon, being thus left to themselves, also surrendered; and the conquest of the island was complete. The capitulation made by the Governor contains very few stipulations respecting the inhabitants. Indeed he must have been well aware, that they had stipulated for themselves: he merely therefore proposed, that the laws, religion, and the administration of justice, should continue in their present state, which was granted, subject to such alteration as his Britannic Majesty might think necessary. This reservation, however, can be no bar to the claims of the inhabitants. They were no parties to this capitulation: they had made a separate capitulation for themselves, founded on the basis of the proclamation which had been addressed to them exclusively; and on which they now stand, as their Magna Charta, and Bill of Rights. This proclamation assures them, that the sources of their prosperity will be renewed; that their ancient laws shall be restored; and that Government, to which they were subject under the British flag, shall be re-established in the colony. If there be any meaning in words, these words convey a general assurance, that they would be replaced in that situation in which they before stood, while under the British Government.

The Commanding Officers of his Majesty's forces seem to have been placed in rather a delicate and embarrassing situation. They were instructed to capture the island of Martinique: they were also instructed, not to consent to the insertion of any article in the capitulation, which bound his Majesty's Government to admit the produce of Martinique into the home consumption of Great Britain. They seem to have felt that the conquest of the island was not attainable with the force under their command, if they were to be opposed by the combined force of the inhabitants

t the garrison; but that it was attainable,
e inhabitants could be separated from
garrison. Either to have abandoned
enterprise, or to have failed in it,
ld have been disgraceful to the British
ss, and a triumph to the enemy.
der these circumstances, they would
rally consider the conquest of the
nd as the great object; the restrictions
e imposed upon the produce of it, as
ubordinate object; and that if both
e incompatible, the latter ought to give
to the former. On this principle,
may account for the tenor of the
lamation: and I think that in issuing
ey acted wisely; availing themselves
hat discretionary power which all
ers are at times under the necessity of
cising, in such manner as they judged
calculated to promote the interests of
country.

f the effect produced by this procla-
on on the minds of the inhabitants of
tinique, and the corresponding effect
uced on their conduct by the expecta-
s to which it gave rise, no doubt can
ntertained. The official dispatches of
Commanding Officers prove that they
ormed all the conditions required of
: that they retired to their respective
es, and conducted themselves peace-
. They now call upon us to
our part of the covenant; and to
e good the promises, on the faith
which they have put themselves
our power. In deciding upon their
n, we are bound to interpret this
lamation in the most liberal sense;
rding to the established rule in every
ulation, that where doubts arise as to
meaning of any article, it shall be
preted in the most favourable manner
he weaker party. I am entitled,
fore, to state the question thus: If
Commanding Officers had candidly
the inhabitants of Martinique, that
were instructed to exclude their pro-
from the home consumption of Great
in, would they have acted as they
now done? And unless that can be
n to be the case, if we deny them
of the advantages which that proclamation taught them to expect, we expose ourselves to the charge of insincerity and want of candour, and are furnishing a most formidable weapon against ourselves and our posterity, in case of future wars and future enterprises against the Colonies of France; for we are teaching their inhabitants, that no dependence ought to placed on the promises and assurances of British Commanding Officers. I might remind the House that, last war, we took Guadaloupe by the assistance of the inhabitants, and were driven out of it again, after a series of bloody and destructive conflicts, in consequence of having alienated their affections; but I will not make this a question of policy. I stand upon the good faith and honour of the British nation.

I know, Sir, that a memorial from the inhabitants of Martinique, praying his Majesty that they may be put on the same footing as last war, and that their produce may be admitted to home consumption, is in contemplation, and probably now on its way home. I know too, that this memorial has been promised the support of the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's forces, to whom they capitulated; and who must be allowed, from having all the circumstances of their case before him, to be the best judge of the validity of their pretensions. Would it be just, Sir, would it be decent, that, under these circumstances, we should thus precipitately prejudge the question, and deprive his Majesty of the power of doing justice? that we should deprive the inhabitants of Martinique, not only of the privilege which they claim under their capitulation, but of another most valuable privilege common to all British subjects—the privilege of being heard in their own defence? I cannot think, Sir, that this House will so act, I trust they will preserve the justice and good faith of the British nation inviolate: and from a regard to this most important of all considerations, as well as the other considerations to which I have already adverted, I shall move as an amendment to the present motion, that this Bill be read a second time this day three months.

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